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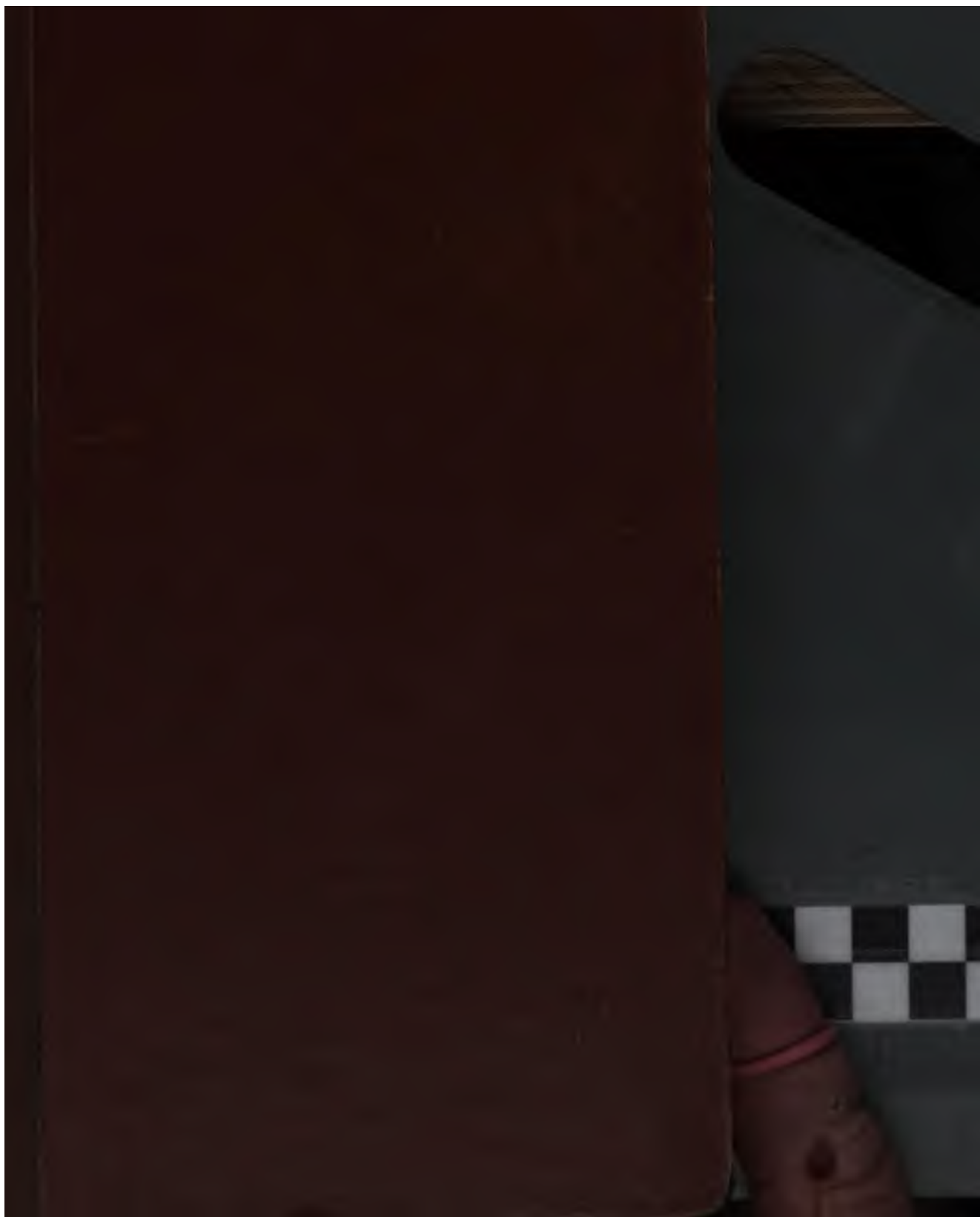
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Clarendon Press Series

A COMMENTARY ON CATULLUS

*ELLIS*

**London**  
**HENRY FROWDE**



**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE**  
**AMEN CORNER, E.C.**

Clarendon Press Series

A

COMMENTARY ON CATULLUS

BY

ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A., LL.D.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY READER IN LATIN LITERATURE

*SECOND EDITION*

**Oxford**

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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TO  
GEORGE GRANVILLE BRADLEY

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

I DEDICATE

THIS COMMENTARY ON CATULLUS

IN GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION OF THREE YEARS

PASSED AT RUGBY

UNDER HIS UNRIVALLED TUITION



## PREFACE.

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As far back as 1859 I designed a commentary on Catullus, and only interrupted it to reconstitute the text as a preliminary. But the earlier plan, for which from the first I had accumulated a considerable store of materials, had never been abandoned, and after the publication of my edition of the text in 1867 became the principal object to which my studies were directed.

As compared with Vergil<sup>1</sup> and Horace, or even with Tibullus and Propertius, Catullus may almost be said to have been during the past century a neglected book. While each of those poets has found an interpreter of first-rate ability, Doering's edition of 1788 remained without a rival for ninety years. How imperfect that edition is is known to every one. Doering's chief merit was his brevity. He carefully avoided all discussion where discussion was more than usually interesting, and when the student was asking for information on the numerous points where the poems touch on the personal or public history of the time, was contented to illustrate his author by quotations from the elegiacs of the ill-fated and interesting, but now forgotten Lotichius.

This neglect was certainly not justified by the history of the poems in the preceding centuries. From Parthenius and Palladius at the end of the fifteenth century, to Vulpus and Conradinus de Allio in the former half of the eighteenth, Catullus was edited and reedited by a series of scholars including some of the greatest names in philology. The sixteenth century alone produced no less than four commentaries of primary importance, those of Alexander Guarinus in 1521, of Muretus in 1554, of Achilles Statius in 1566, of Scaliger in 1577. Of these the three former were published at Venice, with which city Catullus may in modern times claim an almost special connexion. Guarinus' edition is now known to few; but it is for all that a most valuable book. No doubt modern taste is offended by the plainness, not to say grossness, of his explanations; which indeed perpetually suggest that he was illustrating the corruptions of Catullus' time by observations drawn from his own. But in fulness, in general correctness, in the absence of irrelevant matter, in the accident of its authorship<sup>2</sup>, lastly in its very rarity, the book

<sup>1</sup> I have adopted this spelling of the name for the present edition mainly in deference to the arguments of the Roman jurist Castalio, *De Vergili nominis scribendi recta ratione*, Romae 1594.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Guarinus was the grandson of Guarinus of Verona, one of the most prominent scholars of the Renaissance, and the son of Baptista Guarinus, whose MS of Catullus, as well as his corrections and interpretations, are several times quoted in his son's commentary. According to the *Biographie Universelle* Alexander was himself the father of the well-known author of the *Pastor Fido*.



has a permanent interest literary no less than philological. The commentary of Muretus is slighter, and less minute in the explanation of particular words; but Muretus possessed what Guarinus did not, a considerable knowledge of Greek; in spite of which his work is, if weighed by his reputation, disappointing. He did very little for the elucidation of passages where the MSS fail us, or where the allusion is really recondite. Far more important is the commentary of the Portuguese Estaço (Statius). In the accumulation of really illustrative passages, drawn from the stores of a most extensive reading, he anticipates the learning of a later period; his notes too contain frequent references to inscriptions, a branch of classical archaeology then in its infancy, now perhaps exalted to a position beyond its real importance in philological investigation. The value of Estaço's labours may be estimated by the use which subsequent editors have made of them; even Scaliger seems sometimes to be merely repeating him, perhaps unconsciously. Scaliger's own *Castigationes* are rather a series of notes on disputed or corrupt passages than a commentary: he disdained to linger over what he thought easy or trivial, and contented himself with the discussion of difficulties. Sometimes his critical sagacity has cleared up what had been dark to all before him, as notably in LXI. 189; often his wide knowledge of the whole range of classical antiquity has traced allusions which had escaped even Statius. But his archaeological learning was out of proportion to his critical delicacy; and his castigations, valuable as they are, are at times defaced by outbursts of childish self-conceit or reckless infelicities of correction. Partly perhaps this is attributable to the exaggerated estimate which he formed of Cujas' MS, which since Professor Arthur Palmer's<sup>1</sup> discovery can no longer be thought a lost treasure. Only as compared with other late MSS of the fifteenth century can the famous Cujacianus be considered a MS of first-rate importance for the criticism of Catullus: its readings where they differ from the MSS of the fourteenth century differ for the worse; a single instance is in VIII. 15 *Scelestia rere*, an obvious correction of the genuine reading *ne te*, and as obviously wrong. Even Scaliger's so-called restitution of LXXXVII to its supposed proper place before LXXV, based as it was on the Cujacianus which had *Nunc* in LXXV. 1 for *Huc* of most MSS, plausible though it undoubtedly seems, and accepted though it is by Lachmann, can hardly be considered more than an ingenious guess, in the enlarged knowledge which we now possess not only of the MSS of Catullus, but of the omissions and lacunae of MSS generally. Scaliger's edition was supplemented before the close of the century by the *Praecidanea* of the elder Dousa, and the *Coniectanea* of the younger.

The Commentaries of Passerat (1608) and Voss (1684) have experienced a singularly different fortune. Passerat's work is little known: Voss is quoted more than any other editor. For this there are many reasons. Passerat's *Praelectiones* were not a set commentary on the whole of Catullus; most of the shorter poems are omitted altogether, on others he has left only a few scanty notes: even the longer poems are treated un-

<sup>1</sup> I agree with Prof. Palmer in thinking it beyond doubt that the MS of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and the Priapea, now in possession of Mr. Henry Allen of Dublin, is identical with Scaliger's Cujacianus. See our combined article in *Hermathena* iii. 124-158.

equally; the Attis and the Coma Berenices have each barely a column; LXVIII is omitted entirely; only LXI, LXII, LXIV, LXV are treated at length. The work was published after his death, and we may conjecture that he never finished it. But where his notes are full they are valuable, especially on the two Epithalamia, which require more illustration. He is particularly great in accumulating passages which illustrate the meaning of special words; but he rarely throws much new light on corrupt or otherwise unexplained passages. This was the merit of Voss. His notes abound with recondite learning. Of all Commentaries on Catullus his is the most erudite. Hence his diatribes have a substantial value independent of their goodness as explaining the difficulties of Catullus' text; hence too they were and are quoted and read by learned men. Not that Voss is an ideal expounder; his learning is often wrong-headed, as for instance on LXIV. 178, where he has a long note on the Thracian Idoneus, or again on XXXIV where he tries to show that the Hymn to Iana was written for the *ludi saeculares*: sometimes he does defiance to sense, as in LXIII. 85, where he rejects *Ferus ipse sese adhortans* for the impossible *Ferus ipse ardore talis*. But Voss, besides his abstruse learning, was a great collector of manuscripts, and supplemented his knowledge in one department of philology by his experience in another. To him therefore we are indebted for some of the happiest emendations; e. g. XXIV. 4 *Midæ dedisses*, LXIV. 55 *quæ uisit uisere credit*, the first since confirmed by the Bodleian MS, the second a wonderful example of happy emendation. To the beginning of the same century belong the Asterisms of Marcius (1604), a scholar whose figure has become familiar to Englishmen in Mr. Pattison's graphic life of Casaubon. The work, like the man, was not contemptible; but it is slight, and can hardly be said to drag into the field much that is new.

The seemingly exhaustive commentary of Vulpinus (1710) added really very little to our knowledge. It is true he rarely omits anything of consequence in the notes of his predecessors, and that he is always decorous and sober in his interpretations. Anything like ingenious fancy or recondite learning is foreign to his dull, pedantic, over-clerical temperament; even his antiquarianism has failed to clear up any of those points which are peculiarly the province of the antiquarian. His notes are made up of piles of citations, generally of the most commonplace kind, and in unnecessary profusion. The defects of Vulpinus seem to have prompted the edition of Conradinus de Allio (Venice, 1738), a book now become scarce. Contr. de Allio had a supreme contempt for almost all his predecessors, and a most unbounded confidence in his own discernment. In coarseness he almost equals Alexander Guarinus, in grossness of suggestion actually surpasses him. He is over-fond of quotations from Italian poetry, and he is never tired of giving advice to the undoubtedly insufficient lexicographers of his time. Yet he has the merit of seeing that Catullus is his own best expositor; instead of heaping quotations from Cicero on quotations from Vergil, he compares Catullus with himself. This naturally led him to the attempt, so common in modern times, of reconstructing the personal history of the poet, a task in which, as might be expected, he has failed. Still it was something to be as much in advance of the mode of his contemporaries as he was; whence, in spite of numerous absurdities, his commentary is still

interesting. In one passage (XXXIX. 17) modern criticism has universally adopted his suggestion.

The specimen of an intended edition of Catullus which Santen published in 1788, a monograph of 64 pages on LXVIII, is sufficiently copious to make us regret that he did not leave more. Probably the publication of Doering's edition prevented the completion of his design. Of Doering something has been said already: his commentary is so meagre as to make us marvel how it can so long have retained exclusive possession of the field. In the *Peleus and Thetis* he availed himself of an excellent monograph by Mitscherlich (1786); Valckenaer's disappointing edition of the *Coma Berenices* did not appear till 1799.

Little was done for Catullus at the beginning of the present century. In 1803 Ugo Foscolo published an edition of the *Coma Berenices*, with a lengthy commentary; Hand discussed some of the disputed passages in his *Observationes Criticae* (1809); and Sillig gave a collation of the Dresden MS in 1823. With Lachmann's edition of the text in 1829 began a new era. Haupt, in his *Quaestiones Catullianae* 1837, *Observationes Criticae* 1841, emended, sometimes with success, the corrupt tradition of the archetype, as displayed with lucid clearness by Lachmann. The simplicity of Lachmann's *apparatus criticus* and the admirable style of Haupt's two disquisitions awoke once more the long dormant interest of philologists. The programmes and disquisitions of every kind, all based on Lachmann's text, which now began to multiply, show how many scholars tried their skill on the corrupt passages of Catullus, and how very few achieved anything.

In 1855 appeared the admirable translation of Theodor Heyse<sup>1</sup>; in 1857 Iungclaussen's *Zur Chronologie der Gedichte des Q. Valerius Catullus*; in 1862 the *Quaestiones Catullianae* of L. Schwabe. The latter work contains the results of the most minute investigation which has yet been bestowed on the life and chronology of Catullus. Schwabe aspires to fix the period of every important event in the poet's life, and to tabulate the poems into a historical series. In this attempt he has, I think, only partially succeeded in spite of undeniable devotion and scrupulous care. Not seldom the reasoning is unsubstantial, and the result inconclusive. To estimate the real value of Schwabe's *Quaestiones*, they should be compared with works like Westphal's *Catull's Gedichte*, the extravagance of which at times reaches romance. On the other hand Bruner's dissertation *de ordine et temporibus carminum Catulli* published in the *Acta Societatis Fennicae* for 1863, and quite independent of Schwabe's examination of the same questions, is marked by equal, perhaps greater, soberness of judgment, and must always rank among the best contributions to the history of the poet's life. Ribbeck's *C. Valerius Catullus eine literar-historische Skizze* (Kiel, 1863) hardly adds any fact of importance, but contains a fresh and genial criticism of Catullus' poetry; much of it is repeated in Vol. I of the same author's *Geschichte der Römischen Dichtung* (1887). Couat's *Étude sur Catulle* is mainly interesting as exhibiting Catullus in his relation to the poets of Alexandria.

These works were all written before 1876, when I published my *Com-*

<sup>1</sup> I take this opportunity of mentioning my own similar work—Catullus translated in the *Metres of the Original*; Murray, 1871.



commentary on *Catullus*, seventeen years from the time when it was first projected. At that time (1859) Mr. Thomas Clayton, of Trinity College, was preparing a school edition of the poems: the notes for which, short, as might have been expected, and not extending beyond LXIV. 110, he made over to me. To these notes, wherever they have been used, I have appended their author's name. But as my purpose was to write a completely new commentary on Catullus, such as might suit the requirements of matured philologists, and as my reading ranged over a very wide field of literature, Greek and Roman indifferently, the stores which I was thus continually accumulating from 1859 to 1876, became so copious that not the least part of my task was to select from this vast number of references those which illustrated each passage most aptly. And, as my aim was to produce a book which in its citations and parallels should represent the philological epoch in which we live, I was careful to draw, if possible, from the predecessors or contemporaries, rather than from the followers of Catullus; from the less hackneyed writers, such as Plautus, Lucilius, Varro, rather than such as have become insipid by familiarity; from Greek at least as much as from Latin.

Whatever its merits or defects, my commentary elicited numerous criticisms, favorable or unfavorable, from the Continent or my own countrymen. Besides a variety of reviews and dissertations on particular points connected with the poems, among which I signalize the articles of K. P. Schälze, and a hostile but suggestive critique by Dr. Magnus of Berlin, it occasioned at least five works, each of distinct value for the study of Catullus. The first of these is the *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus* by H. A. J. Munro (Cambridge, 1879). Accepting Bährens' hypothesis that the Oxford MS (*O*) and the Paris (*G*) practically represent all that is necessary for constituting the text of Catullus, Munro bases upon these his own recension of some of the poems, generally such as are of a shorter or lyrical character; only in two cases of any length (LXVII, LXVIII). This is accompanied by discussions or dissertations on special points of language or idiom; in many cases suggested by my volume, of which indeed the *Criticisms and Elucidations* may be said to form an extended review.

Munro wrote nothing without stamping on it the impress of a master-mind, and this is as true of his *Catullus* as of his *Lucretius* and *Aetna*. I have weighed all his observations with care, even his emendations, which form the least able portion of his volume. Wherever he speaks of grammar or metre, his remarks have the gravity which belongs in all ages to the greatest masters in their respective lines; England has produced but one Bentley, and (though in a somewhat more restricted sphere) but one Munro. It may seem strange, therefore, that I so often dissent from his conclusions, even on points of syntax, where he might be expected to speak with absolute authority. I have done so with diffidence; elsewhere, e.g. in the interpretation of certain disputed passages or, occasionally, of entire poems (notably LXVIII), it must be palpable to my readers that our views are divergent, if not irreconcilable.

The German commentary of Riese (1884) does not exceed the dimensions of a school-book. Though considerably based on my two volumes, it contains many remarks of originality and value.

I feel some hesitation in speaking of the Latin commentary of Bährens

(1885). Any one who takes the trouble to examine this work, will see how greatly its author is indebted to my pages, and how little acknowledgment he has made of his debts. If he mentions my name it is more often to depreciate than to praise. His own commentary is lengthy and not too attractive in style; crowded too with impossible emendations, which waste many pages and much time. As an interpreter, Bährens often begins with discarding the views of all his predecessors as unlikely, and ending with a suggestion which either as diction or conjecture is impossible: in a choice of interpretations he sometimes singles out for preference the least plausible; in poems of chronological or historical difficulty, *e.g.* the *Coma Berenices*, neither his knowledge of Greek nor his command of historical information was competent to clear up what his predecessors had left unsolved. Nor can he bear comparison with any of the really great interpreters, with the many-sided erudition of J. E. B. Mayor's *Commentary on Juvenal*, the inductive richness of W. L. Newman's *Commentary on the Politics of Aristotle*, or, to take an example from Bährens' own countrymen, with the profound learning and fine feeling of language which mark Otto Jahn's unique *Commentarius in Persium*. Yet, though German thoroughness will hardly acquiesce in his commentary as final, it will doubtless remain for many years a largely read and often-quoted book.

The edition of Eugène Benoist (1882) follows me so very closely that it might almost seem a reproduction of my work in the French language. Its accomplished author left it only half completed; but the introductions, critical and metrical, which are prefixed to each poem, have a special value partly as containing M. Bonnet's careful re-collation of the Paris MS *G*, partly as a *résumé* of most that is critically important for the constitution of the text of the poems. Benoist accepts, like Munro, the Bährensian hypothesis of the unique position of *G* and *O* as adequate representatives of the whole body of MSS: a view which I have never accepted, and to which the present volume will be found to raise many objections. That hypothesis however gives a simplicity and clearness to Benoist's, as to Bährens', edition. In regard to explanation of difficult passages, I confess, not without regret, that I have found very little that is new.

Of more consequence as contributing many fresh points of view and bringing into revived prominence some questions which had too lightly been treated as settled is the recent (1888) Tauchnitz edition of Bernhard Schmidt. This is not a commentary, but the text of the poems, with Prolegomena (pp. i-cxxxvi) discussing (1) Catullus' life, (2) the textual criticism of the poems. The life is probably the best which has yet appeared. Schmidt has worked up the *Quaestiones* of Schwabe and the comparatively little known treatise of the Scandinavian Edward à Bruner into a studied monograph of great practical utility. He is however at times open to the charge of building upon insufficient or unsubstantial proofs as if they formed a solid foundation. I must, here, once again express to M. Schmidt my grateful thanks for the more than courteous manner in which he has spoken of my own labours.

It is unnecessary here to mention particularly the smaller treatises which I have used for my new edition. In every case where I have taken anything from them, they are quoted with the author's name.

The present edition differs from the former, as in other points, so

particularly in recalling the attention of scholars to the earliest period of Catullian criticism, the latter half of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. In the Introduction to his *Lucretius* Munro has shown how much we owe to Niccolo Niccoli, Avancius, Pius, Marullus, for the right understanding of that difficult poet. Hardly less signal is the service rendered by the Guarini, Poliziano, Avancius, Aldus Manutius, to the criticism and elucidation of the Veronese. In 1496 Avancius, himself a native of Verona, published his *in Val. Catullum et in Priapeias emendationes*, a copy of which work, now excessively scarce, is in the possession of my friend, Mr. Ingram Bywater, and has been throughout at my disposal. This little book in eight short folio pages proves how well Catullus' diction and metre were already studied and understood in the last decade of the fifteenth century. A very large number of Avancius' corrections are indisputably right. His later and little known edition dedicated to the youthful Cardinal Farnese early in the pontificate of Pope Paul III (circ. 1534-1540) contains among many emendations which are unnecessary or improbable (see Vol. I. pp. lxviii-lxxv), several anticipations of later scholars, e.g. XVII. 24 *Si pole stolidis*, XXIX. 8 *Adonius*, XXIX. 17 *Paterna prima*, LVII. 9 *Riuales socii*, LXI. 102 *Lenta quin*, LXII. 63 *Tertia pars patri, pars est data tertia matri*, LXIII. 4 *Stimulatus ibi*, 49 *Patriam allocuta maesta est ita uoce miseriter*, LXIV. 13 *Tortaque*, LXVI. 25 *at te ego*, 92 *affice*, LXVIII. 81 *noui*, not to mention others which are less certain. It is strange enough to find a contemporary of Leo X already emending XXIX on the assumption that none but pure iambs could be admitted in any part of the verse: it is even more strange to reflect that this indubitably right assumption has been questioned by several modern critics of authority. But in fact, as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Renaissance under Petrarch and Boccaccio begins, the scholars of Italy, whether ranking themselves under the banners of the Church, or in declared opposition to it, had entered on that course of Classical Research which, as its first fruits, brought to light so many Latin authors long buried and lost, and in its later stage, not only after the taking of Constantinople in 1453 but before that date, revived the study of Greek, and re-endowed the exiled professors of Greek culture. Hence it is that before the close of the fifteenth century Italy had attained to an exactness and a refinement in its knowledge of Latin which other countries could only claim much later. Hence it is that Constantius<sup>1</sup> of Fano in his *Hecatosfys* published 1507, and his *In Ibin Ouidii Sarritiones* 1508, could correct the corruptions of Latin, occasionally even of Greek texts, with a felicity which after the lapse of 400 years is still admirable. This however is not the place to enlarge on a topic to which Mr. J. A. Symonds' *History of the Renaissance in Italy* has called new attention, and on which my own researches in editing the Ovidian *Ibis* enable me to speak with more knowledge than most of my contemporaries. It is introduced here with one purpose, and one only. I wish to contrast the amount of certain gain obtainable from these early Italian correctors of the text of Catullus (most of them before 1540) with the emendations of later critics, French, German, Dutch, or English. In comparison with Italy, how little that is certain can even France claim to

<sup>1</sup> In Ciris 165 Constantius anticipated the conj. of Scaliger *gelidis Edonum* for *gelidi Sidonum* of MSS, in 169 *Sicyonia*, the conj. of Leopardus, for *sic omnia*.



have contributed in that splendid period of classical learning which produced Muretus, Turnebus, Scaliger, Lambinus, Passerat, Casaubon, Salmasius. In extent of knowledge, it is true, in the amount they had read and remembered, these giants of learning tower high above their earlier rivals; this was natural and inevitable when printed books took the place of MSS. But in nice perception of language, and sometimes even in delicate feeling for what was probable in metre, the earlier generation much outstript their successors. Only two conjectures of Scaliger's (LXI. 196, LXIII. 78) can be thought certain; some few are probable; the remainder forced and without verisimilitude. Voss made three emendations which are accepted as final (XXIV. 4, LXIV. 55, 211): one of these is now found to have the support of the Oxford MS of Catullus, and may have been thus suggested to its author. None of Bentley's conjectures on Catullus (even in LXVI) is more than probable; and the same may be said of those of Heinsius. It may be doubted whether any eighteenth century correction of Catullus will stand, except perhaps *Nunc Celliber es* in XXXIX. 17. In the present century Hand's *Mellitus* XXI. 11, Lachmann's *Graia* LXVI. 58, *restituit* LXVI. 70, Haupt's *anxiis* LXI. 46, Fröhlich's *aes imaginosum* XLI. 8, perhaps A. Palmer's *Perspecta est igni tum* C. 6, approximate, though only *Graia* attains, to certainty. I say nothing of my own restitutions, though I believe myself to have divined the truth in LXXVI. 11, perhaps in LXVIII. 55.

The above calculation goes to prove that for the recovery of Catullus' *vera manus*, disappointingly little has been effected since the Renaissance; and that in this sense, 'that age was best which was the first.' This philological fact, which I regard as indisputable, will be palpable on any examination of the critical editions of the poems; and, if I mistake not, many will agree with me in rejecting (at least as in any sense conclusive) several emendations which the authority of Lachmann, or Haupt, might seem to stamp with finality. The foremost of these is Heinsius' *Quaene etiam* for *Quae uetet id* of MSS (LXVIII. 91). This has been accepted by Santen, G. Hermann, Haupt, L. Müller, Bährens, Schwabe and B. Schmidt; Lachmann, however, does not notice it in his edition of 1829, and it never commended itself to Munro. Its incongruity with the general style of the poem, an elaborately wrought series of tableaux, which never pass into familiar or conversational language, has always condemned it to my judgment, though the right reading is difficult to recover. Another conjecture of a very questionable kind is Haupt's *Nereine* LXIV. 28. It is adopted by almost all German critics: yet it is open to many objections. For the word *Nereine*, whilst in Greek it is confined to late writers like Oppian and Quintus Smyrnaeus, cannot be shown even to exist in Latin, in which the only form known is *Nerine* (Verg. Ecl. vii. 37), and to which the hiating vowels *ē ī* are comparatively strange. Moreover the MS reading *nectine* or *neptine* points to a word not beginning with *ner*, whilst the occurrence of *Neptunine* in a Latin lyric of the poet Pontano is very probably owing to its being written as a marginal variant in some of the lost codices of Catullus. Another guess of Haupt's *horribile aequor ultimosque Britannos* (XI. 11) has found very general acceptance, and I have been severely censured by Dr. Magnus for not giving in my adhesion to so 'convincing' a conjecture. To me its easiness has always appeared in inverse ratio to its probability; not only is its

occurrence in 11 improbable after *aequora* in 8, but the word is hardly strong enough for *horribile* with which it is combined; while the MSS do not all agree in *horribilesque*, some giving *horribiles*. I shall only add one more instance. It is Lachmann's *Hei mihi surrepens* for *Seu mihi surrepens* (LXXVI. 21). I venture to assert that Catullus *could* not have thus written; and I will go a step beyond and declare my conviction that neither Poliziano nor Constantius Fanensis nor Avancius nor Marullus could ever have believed it possible that he should thus have written.

These remarks are offered not from any wish to detract from the greatness of critics so justly eminent as Haupt, Lachmann, or Heinsius, but to remind readers of Catullus of a fact they are too apt to forget, I mean, that philology is a progressive science, and that the gratitude which in these last years of the nineteenth century we naturally feel to the scholars whose labours have in successive ages purified the text of this great poet, should be extended to every period alike; that we must not in our admiration for our own century, with its enormously improved facilities for research, its easy access to early MSS, its schools of Epigraphy, be oblivious of the equally great, and in actual result even greater, epoch of the Italian Revival. It is indeed not often that the wild growths which during the Middle Age gathered round the fairest monuments of an earlier world have been removed so soon and with such success as in the case of Catullus. For my own part I do not doubt that there was some careful, if still groping, study of his poems even in the fourteenth century; and from 1400 onwards this must have been steadily on the increase. From one of the Elegies of Beccadelli's *Hermaphroditus*, written it would seem early in the fifteenth century (Forberg thought circ. 1410-1415), we learn that even women were beginning at that time to be interested in Catullus, and were eager to procure copies of his poems. About 1430 Xicco Polentonius describes the *liber Catulli* and quotes its very words. Three generations of Guarini concerned themselves with the preservation, correction, or explanation of Catullus. Guarinus of Verona (1370-1460) repeatedly cites him in his Epistles, though the latest editor of these, Sabbadini, makes it doubtful whether he emended any passage (Schwabe, *Testimonia* p. xix, ed. 1886). His son Baptista (1425-1513) is said to have presented an emended Catullus to the poet's mother-city Verona, and Schwabe makes it probable that he was occupied with this task between 1450 and 1470 (*Testimon.* p. xx). Baptista's son Alexander published in 1521 at Venice an edition of Catullus with a commentary containing some of his father's criticisms; a work which I have several times had occasion to refer to. Cynthius Cenetensis cites XXXIX. 12, II. 13 in his commentary on the Aeneid. Poliziano collated all the MSS of Catullus he could procure and found them all equally corrupt (Schwabe, *Testimon.* p. xxiii). By his knowledge of Greek he was able to restore the right reading in LXVI. 48, XCVIII. 4, and to defend the MS tradition in LXVI. 94: to his collation of the unique fragment of Festus (see De Nolhac, *Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* pp. 213-216) we owe the rare word *supernata* in XVII. 19 where the MSS wrongly gives *superata* or *seperata*. In one of his Miscellanea (xix) he describes how, whilst still a youth (probably before 1470), he corrected the MS reading of LXXXIV. 2, 12 by adding the letter *h* to *insidias*, *Ionios*; and this before a group of learned men in Florence, the Italian



Athens of Lorenzo de Medici. Doubtless the disputed passages of Catullus would often relieve the sublimer and more abstruse discussion on Plato which were part of the fashion of that time; for the very immoralities which marked the whole of the fifteenth century and were preparing the way for the iron hand of the Catholic reaction would contribute to make poems like those of Catullus more read; just as when that reaction had fully set in, it was attended at least in Italy by a marked and notable change in the direction of learned studies generally, as well as by an almost complete abandonment of this particular portion of the classical field<sup>1</sup>. It is true that both Muretus (1554) and Statius (1566) lived at Rome and under the eye of the Papal court; but though each edited Catullus, they were foreigners, not Italians. What is more, the severer tone of Catholicism is perfectly perceptible in their commentaries from which the broad allusions to contemporary licentiousness which mark Alex. Guarinus are as a rule quite absent. Though I do not, with my friend Mr. Symonds, deplore this effect of the revival of clerical strictness in Italy, it is noticeable that most of what will remain as permanently valuable in Italian criticism on Catullus' text is before this date. With Statius commences a period in which the *explanation* of the poet's meaning and the illustration of it by a far wider range of reading than had been possible in the first age of printing, became the main object to which an editor aspired. Scaliger did but supplement Statius, and so far as he dealt with MSS added little or nothing of importance: for his codex Cujacianus, as I have stated before, is now known to be deeply interpolated. Isaac Voss, removed by half a century from Scaliger, possessed a rare collection of MSS, and might have been expected to give something like a detailed account of the codices of Catullus from the knowledge which his own library furnished. He has done nothing of the kind, though some of his emendations are so admirable as to suggest that he got them from a good MS. Even Heinsius, to whom Latin poetry owes so vast a debt, the friend and correspondent of princes, the indefatigable explorer of MSS in every library of Europe, rarely throws much light on Catullus; Bentley, whose Manilius shows what he could do for restoring Latin poetry where a thoroughly good MS<sup>2</sup> served him as a guide, cannot be said to have cleared up any of the deep-seated corruptions of the one Catullan poem which he had studied minutely, the *Coma Berenices*<sup>3</sup>; it was only in the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the first step towards the formation of a really critical basis was taken by Santen. How large was the scale on which Santen had projected his edition, we learn from the preface to his specimen, the Elegy to Manlius (LXVIII). No fewer than twelve scholars are named who had

<sup>1</sup> Fulvio Orsini seems to have designed a *Catullus illustratus* on the model of his *Virgilius illustratus*, if M. de Nolhac is right in drawing this inference from the edition annotated by Orsini now in the Angelica library at Rome. Orsini in whose studies Epigraphy formed a great part has there illustrated Cat. X. 16 by an inscription which he had seen in S. Cecilia in the Trastevere. The intimate connexion of Orsini with a long series of Popes during the very strictest period of the Catholic reaction would be quite enough to divert him from any such design of an illustrated Catullus. (De Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de F. Orsini*, p. 271 note.)

<sup>2</sup> The codex Gemblacensis, recently collated again by M. Thomas, Gand 1888.

<sup>3</sup> Neither *Thiaë* for *phitæ*, nor *Loeridos* for *elocridicos*, nor *Vnguiniis* for *Sanguiniis* is more than probable.

contributed MS readings, and one of these had excerpted no less than seven MSS with his own hand. He complains, however, that many codices still remained of whose readings he could procure no information; and by an accident which has preserved the sheets of paper on which the variants had been written out for Santen but not sent, we know that among these was the celebrated Canonici codex (*O*) now in the Bodleian, at that time in Venice. Santen's *apparatus criticus*, therefore, though large, was not complete. It comprised, however, the Datanus. When Santen's library was sold in 1800, it was purchased by Diez, by whom it was subsequently transferred to the Royal Library of Berlin. On this collection, partly of actual MSS, partly of the collations supplied to Santen by his friends, Lachmann, who examined the whole, based his epoch-making edition of 1829, laconically informing his readers that he had selected two MSS, the Datanus (*D*) and another which he called *L*, as representing all the rest. '*Codices D et L, cum quorum alterutro ceteri non interpolati ubique consentiant hac editione totos exhibemus. quas emendationes nullo auctore indicato receperimus, eae Italici saeculi xv debentur.*'

I have revived this now almost forgotten sentence (for *D* and *L* are at the present day admitted to be wholly inferior to *G* and *O*, the former first thoroughly collated in Schwabe's edition of 1866, the latter in my edition of 1867, and both together, to the rejection of all other MSS, by Böhrens in 1875), to show how perfectly the opinion of Lachmann, the greatest Latin critic of this century, not excepting Ritschl, accords with the prominence which in this edition I have assigned to the early Italians. Lachmann, indeed, only faintly indicates the magnitude of our debt. Let any one who wishes to estimate it adequately, take up one of the fourteenth century MSS of Catullus, and compare it with the text of the Aldine. Nothing at all comparable with the amount of indisputably right corrections produced in this interval will be found at any subsequent period in the history of the poems. Nay, there are not wanting instances in which the nineteenth century has retrograded from the sixteenth. More than one German critic of eminence can still believe that the poem *Quis hoc potest uidere, quis potest pati* was not written in pure iambi throughout. Could any English scholar say the same? I believe not: and the emendations of that poem proposed by Avancius in the Trincavelli edition proved that he had quite settled the question on the same side.

I have to thank two of my friends for the Index now added to this volume, Mr. Charles Simmons of University College School, London, who drew up the first portion (I-LX), and Mr. R. G. Routh, of Trinity College, who completed the remainder, and reduced the whole to alphabetical order. I must also acknowledge my obligations to M. Omont, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, to Dr. Anziani of the Laurentian Library at Florence, to Father Bollig, S. J., Sub-Librarian of the Vatican, and Mr. Edward Scott, Keeper of the MSS in the British Museum, for valuable information on points connected with MSS.

Amongst the latest contributions to the literature of Catullus I would record the names of two Scandinavian critics, A. B. Drachmann, Catulus Digting, Copenhagen 1887, and L. F. Stenersen, Catulus Digting, Christiania 1887. These two treatises only reached the Bodleian after my Commentary had been printed off.

Oxford, May 11, 1889.



## PROLEGOMENA.

### CATULLUS AS POET.

It is not often that so great a poet as Catullus has risked extinction, and been preserved almost by miracle. All our MSS are derived from a single imperfect copy discovered, we do not know where, at the beginning of the xivth century: no complete poem, with the exception of LXII which is included in the Thuanean Anthology of the Paris Library, and the quatrain to Priapus cited by Terentianus Maurus 2755-2758 Lachm., has come down to us in any other collection. Yet only the loss of Alcaeus and Sappho in Greek literature could compare with the loss of the lyrics of Catullus; and we may estimate the barbarism which followed the decline of the Roman empire by nothing more signally than the absence of even one copy of the two Greek poets, and the almost casual preservation of the Veronese in a single mutilated MS, the parent of all our extant MSS. During the long period which elapsed between Isidorus of Hispalis and Iulianus of Toletum<sup>1</sup> in the seventh century and the re-discovery of the poems at the beginning of the fourteenth, only one writer is *known* to have read Catullus, Rather, bishop of Verona circ. 930-970: though LXII may have been copied into the Thuanean Anthology from a complete MS of the poems, and traces of possible imitation, as well as glossarial extracts, are not wanting, as I have shown in my former volume, Prolegomena pp. viii, ix. Cf. Schwabe ed. 1866 pp. xiii-xiv. These may be and, in the existing ardour for medieval<sup>2</sup> study, are perhaps likely to be supplemented by new dis-

<sup>1</sup> Isidori Art. ed. Lorenzana, Romae 1797, p. 63 Da propriae qualitatis nomen. Sol : *et sic dicit soles ire et redire possunt, pro diebus hoc dicit.* Excerpta cod. Bern. 207  
<sup>2</sup> Eugeni Anecd. Helvetica p. ccxx Quomodo dicis solem propriae qualitatis esse  
*et dicat: Soles ire et redire possunt. Pro diebus hoc dictum est.*

<sup>3</sup> G. Ansel Rhein. Mus. for 1888, p. 309, quotes from Notker, a monk of St. Gallen (d. 1022), the following passage from Notker's translation of Boetius de Consol. iii. 4.  
*Id est Catullus nonium licet sedentem in curuli tamen strumam appellat. Fone dñu  
 et sic Catullus nonium gütter hiez. dóh er án demo hêrstuóle sâze. Catullus uuas  
 nonius poeta. nobilis pe dñu uuas ímo nonius únuuêrd. ter fone gallia ze Roma  
 nonius. mit gothorum suffragio ze consulatu gestéig.* Thus translated by Prof.  
 Lachm. 'From that (=thence) it was that Catullus called Nonius *gutter* (1 *gutter* =

coveries: still it remains true that Catullus was for a long time an almost unknown book: a singular fate if we think of the popularity which greeted him almost from the first amongst his countrymen. He himself tells us that his early attempts had been countenanced by Cornelius Nepos; Cicero, who nowhere mentions him by name, seems to have borrowed two of his expressions (ad Q. Fr. ii. 15. 4, Att. xvi. 6. 2 *auricula infima molliorem, ocellos Italiae*); the parallelisms between him and Lucretius cannot be shown to spring from our poet's imitation of the latter, and may with equal probability be ascribed to Lucretius' knowledge of Catullus: he is classed with Lucretius by Corn. Nepos as representing the literary epoch which preceded the rise of Vergil (Att. xii); J. Caesar considered his attack upon himself (probably XXIX) to have branded him for all time (Suet. Iul. 73); and his general popularity is attested not only by the undisguised imitations of the greatest poets who followed him, Vergil, Horace, Propertius<sup>1</sup>, Statius, Juvenal, above all Martial, or the various parodies of him found in the *Catalepta*<sup>2</sup>, *Priapea*<sup>3</sup>, or elsewhere, but even more in the sneer of Horace that he and his friend Calvus were sung to the exclusion of every other poet by the fashionable singer of the day (S. i. 10. 19). Horace's sneer no doubt expresses the position of the Augustan poets to Catullus; they belonged to an epoch which, greatly as it was influenced by the era which preceded it, was in the main antagonistic to its chief representatives, and this for literary no less than political reasons. On the one hand the son and successor of J. Caesar could not forget that Catullus had aimed his bitterest shafts at his predecessor and adoptive father; on the other the Augustan poets, aiming as

*struma*) although he sat on the honour seat. Catullus was Veronensis poeta nobilis: therefore Nonius was disliked by him. He having come from Gallia to Rome rose to the consulship by the suffragio Gothorum.' It is noticeable that the three words *Veronensis poeta nobilis* are also found in a twelfth century MS Commentary on this passage of Boetius (Digby MSS 174, p. 85) Catulus poeta nobilis ueronensis nonium dignitatem consularem deturpantem in presentia populi strumam despectue appellauit siue quod gibbosus esset siue quod sicut gibbus dorsum totumque hominem ita ille dignitatem turpiter uiuendo deturparet. The same MS, in the glosses which accompany the text of the de Consolatione, gives the following, p. 33. Catullus indignatus est de nonio, et quia indignatus est non appellauit eum consulari nomine .s. nonium sed strumam. Possibly there was an early collection of short glosses on the de Consolatione, which was worked up and amplified in the course of the Middle Age.

<sup>1</sup> The parallels in Tibullus are mainly in Book III which since Lachmann is usually ascribed to Lygdamus. Haupt cites Lygd. 6. 27, 28; 39-42; 50: add 4. 85-96 which is a direct imitation of Cat. LXIV. 153-1 6, LXVIII. 159, XXX. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. iii. 5, 6 *Vt ille uersus usquequaque pertinet, Gener socerque, perdidistis omnia. viii Sabinus ille, quem uidetis, hospites*, a parody of the *Phasellus ille*. xiii. 11 *Quare illud satis est si te permittis amari*, cf. Catull. LXVIII. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Priap. 52. 12, 61. 13, 64. 1, 69. 4. The author of the epyllion *Ciris* is full of direct imitations of Catullus.

they did at the suppression of the older and ruder literature of Rome, either consciously ignored the great poets of the immediately preceding era, as in the well-known assertion of Horace that he was the first who had shown the iambi of Paros to Latium, or silently disparaged them as having their own aim, but not attaining it adequately. But Horace whose satires drove Lucilius out of the field, did not supplant the lyrics of Catullus by his odes and epodes; the allusions scattered through the writings of the post-Augustan and subsequent periods, though they cannot be called numerous, are enough to show that Catullus remained a familiar book to the Romans, that he was read and read through<sup>1</sup>. Thus references to the poems on the Sparrow are found in Seneca, Juvenal, and Martial<sup>2</sup>; the elder Pliny quotes some words from the dedicatory hendecasyllables to Cornelius Nepos in the first sentence of his Natural History, and takes pride in calling the poet his countryman (*conterraneum*); the elder Seneca corrects our MSS of LIIL. 5, which he cites as *in hendecasyllabis*, Controu. vii. 7; Quintilian, who only once cites Tibullus, once Propertius, has seven references to Catullus<sup>3</sup>; the younger Pliny was a diligent student (iv. 14. 5, 27. 4), as well as an accurate critic, at least of the hendecasyllables (i. 16. 5); A. Gellius discusses at length two passages of Catullus (VII. 16, VI. 20) and indirectly proves how much he was read by the variety of readings which he found in the MSS then in circulation; Hyginus P. A. ii. 24 explains, perhaps wrongly, the word *magnanimam* in the Coma Berenices; and extracts from Catullus are found in Apuleius<sup>4</sup>, Porphyry<sup>5</sup> the Horatian scholiast, Censorinus<sup>6</sup>, Nonius Marcellus<sup>7</sup>, Ausonius<sup>8</sup>, Servius<sup>9</sup> the commentator on Vergil, Macrobius<sup>10</sup>, Apollinaris Sidonius<sup>11</sup>, Martianus Capella<sup>12</sup>, the Christian writers Hieronymus and Augustine, and the Grammarians<sup>13</sup>. Whether commentaries were written upon him, as upon Cinna's Zmyrna, we do not know; Haupt argued from a passage of Charisius i. p. 97 Keil that Asinius Pollio wrote on the diction of Catullus; but the interpretation is doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicunque perlegitur.' Mart. Praef., lib. i.

<sup>2</sup> Sen. Apocoloc. ii, Iuven. vi. 8, Mart. i. 7. 3, 109. 1, iv. 14. 13, vii. 14. 3, xi. 6. 16, xiv. 77.

<sup>3</sup> i. 5. 8, and 20; vi. 3. 18; ix. 3. 16, ix. 4. 141; x. 1. 96; xi. 1. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Apol. 6, 10, 11. <sup>5</sup> Porphy. on Hor. S. i. 10. 19, ii. 3. 299. C. i. 16. 22.

<sup>6</sup> 94 Iahn, 27, 97. <sup>7</sup> 108. 13, 134, 21, 198. 11, 517. 3, 546. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Praef. Gryphi, Praef. ad Pacat. 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Serv. ad G. ii. 95, Aen. iv. 409, v. 591, 610, vii. 378.

<sup>10</sup> S. ii. 1. 8, vi. 1. 41 and 42: perhaps ii. 7. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Epist. ii. 10. 6 (p. 35 Luetihann).

<sup>12</sup> iii. 229.

<sup>13</sup> See Schwabe's Testimonia pp. xi, xii. It is possible that the words *atractis pedibus* of a Pompeian Inscription, C. I. L. iv. 1261, are from Cat. XV. 18.



It is rather remarkable that the two poets who respectively represent the highest point of Roman imagination in the Ciceronian and Augustan ages, Catullus and Vergil, were both natives of Cisalpine Gaul, and both born within a few miles of each other. *Mantua Vergilio gaudet, Verona Catullo*, says Ovid Am. iii. 15. 7; Martial xiv. 195 declares that great Verona owed as deep a debt to her Catullus as little Mantua to her Vergil; and this contrast or parallel must have been as common in antiquity as it is with every modern traveller. Cisalpine Gaul was in fact at this time one of the chief literary centres of Italy; it produced besides Catullus, the epigrammatist Furius Bibaculus, and the annalist or biographer Corn. Nepos: Suetonius mentions Octavius Teucer, Sescennius Iacchus (? Laccus) and Oppius Chares as teaching grammar there with distinction (Gramm. 3). The profession of a grammarian implied, according to the definition of Nepos (Suet. Gramm. 4), primarily, if not invariably, the interpretation of poetry, nor can we doubt that Catullus, who began to write early, was, as a boy, trained to read and study the great works of Greek as well as Latin literature. The increased demand for Greek teachers was in fact one of the signs of the time; Lutatius Daphnis, Theophanes of Lesbos, Alexander Polyhistor, the elder and younger Tyrannio, Lenaeus, Asclepiades of Myrlea, Parthenius, Hyginus, Theopompus, most of them attached to the household of some great noble, settled in Rome, and partly as librarians or teachers, partly as authors, soon exercised a strong influence over the new generation. (Merkel ad Ibin p. 357.) This was the era of Scytobrachion and Dionysius Thrax, the author of the earliest extant grammatical compendium; as well as of Valerius Cato<sup>1</sup> *summi grammatici, optimi poetae* (Sueton. Gramm. 11) the poet-grammarian, the maker and reader of the poets of his time<sup>2</sup>.

The century 654-754 v.c., the golden age of Roman literature, was distinguished from the period which preceded it not so much by the mere imitation of Greek models as by the minute care with which the rules and niceties of Greek diction, grammar and metre were studied and applied. The process was in all probability much slower than we are apt to suppose. Between the comedies of Terence and the poems of Lucretius and Catullus nothing which is not fragmentary has survived except the Aratea of Cicero. We pass at one bound from this

<sup>1</sup> Suet. Gramm. 11 'Cato Grammaticus, Latina Siren, Qui solus facit et legit poetas.'

<sup>2</sup> Suidas s. v. Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς and Διονύσιος Μιτυληναῖος. In a similar manner Antiochus of Ascalon was attached as a sort of literary companion to Lucullus, Philodemus to L. Calpurnius Piso, Staseas to M. Piso, Philagrus to Metellus Nepos, Diodotus, Lyson, and Apollonius to Cicero, Strato, Posidonius, and Empylus to M. Brutus (Teuffel Rom. Lit. i. p. 227, Eng. Transl.).

prosiest translation of a prosaic original to the delightful grace of the Catullian hendecasyllable and the sublime exaltation of the Lucretian hexameter. Yet much had been written and many experiments tried. Laevius, perhaps a contemporary of the later years of Lucilius, adopted in his *Erotopaegnia* the lyrical metres of the Greeks with more precision and greater variety than had yet been attempted; Cn. Matius, besides introducing the mimiambus, seemingly scazons, translated the Iliad in hexameters of some skill; and the same metre underwent new modifications in the Annales of L. Accius, the Bellum Histricum of Hostius, and the Annales of A. Furius of Antium.

All these seem to belong to the age immediately preceding the birth of Catullus: M. Varro and M. Furius Bibaculus of Cremona were born some time before him and survived his death into the Augustan age. The literary developments of the time are exhibited in each of these writers, though M. Varro alone has left enough to form an idea of his powers and influence. In his Menippean satires Varro introduced every kind of Greek rhythm, with no great success and very imperfect manipulation; still with a sense of metre much in advance of the older generation. M. Furius Bibaculus born 651 | 103 is mentioned by Quintilian as a writer of defamatory iambs, by Tacitus as attacking the Caesars, by Suetonius as a composer of hendecasyllables: in each capacity he must have been the rival, perhaps the model, of his compatriot Catullus. But no one shows the change of styles, the decline of the old school and the rise of the new, more signally than the Transalpine poet, P. Varro Atacinus. Jerome on Ol. 174. 3 tells us he began studying Greek assiduously when thirty-five years old in 707 | 47; and it seems a natural inference that up to that time he had followed Roman models exclusively, probably in his *Bellum Sequanicum*, as opposed to his paraphrase of Apollonius' Argonautica, his Chorographia, Ephemeris, and elegies (Merkel ad Ibin p. 360 sqq., Teuffel Rom. Lit. § 208).

Miserable as is the accident of literature which has preserved to us next to nothing of these poets, and more than 600 lines of Cicero's Aratea, we cannot fail to trace in the few fragments still surviving of their works the growing perception of the predominant importance of form in art. The anapaests and hexameters of Accius are an advance upon those of Ennius, the rhythms of the Erotopaegnia and the hexameters of Matius are even more distinctly an advance upon Accius. The few specimens of Furius quoted by Macrobius would not discredit Vergil; those of Varro Atacinus, whatever their date, imply a mastery of the hexameter which must have been the growth of long and careful study; so far are they beyond Lucretius in finish, Catullus in variety. To what extent this common feeling of art was produced by recognized colleges



or associations of poets we cannot tell; Valerius Maximus speaks of a *collegium poetarum* as far back as the time of Accius (ii. 7. 11); the last century of the republic was emphatically a century of *sodalicia*; and the poems of Catullus are quite sufficient to prove the close connexion of all the leading representatives of his school. But the general tendency of an era is independent of anything like actual contact or personal intercourse between its chief exponents: the wide diffusion of Greek books and teachers, the increased facilities of communication between Rome and every part of Italy, as well as every part of the empire, the rapidity with which new works were transcribed and circulated, all contributed to the same result, the development of a feeling for literary perfection unknown before. If we may trust Cicero, Italy was never more alive to Greek influences or more ready to greet them than in the years which immediately preceded the social war, the period of the Greek poet Archias' arrival, in the consulship of Marius and Q. Lutatius Catulus 652 | 102 (Arch. iii. 5).

Catullus was born when this tendency had already set in, was moulded by it, and was himself the highest exemplar of its aims and achievements in its pre-Augustan, perhaps its highest period. Iungclaussen has rightly called attention to the finish of all his best poems; and we may feel sure that he never wrote hurriedly, and was constantly improving himself. Whether any part of our extant collection was included in the juvenile *nugae* which already attracted the favorable notice of Cornelius Nepos, is uncertain; but the finest of the hendecasyllables, such as those on Lesbia's sparrow, *Vivamus mea Lesbia atque amemus, Quæris quot mihi basiationes, Acmen Septimios suos amores, Iam uer egelidos refert tepores*, exhibit the metre in a perfection which must have been the growth of time: and we may fairly conclude that this, as it seems to have been his favorite rhythm, was also that which occupied him earliest. How perfect the hendecasyllables of Catullus are we can judge by comparing them not only with less finished specimens either of his own or of his contemporaries, but with the more severe hendecasyllables of Petronius, Statius, and Martial. Unlike these Catullus allows himself a trochee or iambus in the first foot; is freer in his elisions and occasionally negligent in his caesura. Yet who will venture to say that the total effect of any hendecasyllabic poem by Statius or Martial is comparable with the effect produced by the finest hendecasyllables of Catullus? There is an *abandon* in these, a sense of freedom working by rule but not dominated by it, to which Martial and Statius never, Petronius only rarely, attains. The younger Pliny living in the later and more artificial period of Roman literature seems to have felt the superior charm of Catullus when he says, speaking of his contemporary Pompeius

inus, *He writes verses like Catullus or Calvus. What a fund of wit, passion, bitterness, love! True he introduces side by side with verses of a soft and light character some of a harsher quality, but he does so consciously: here again following Calvus and Catullus* (Epist. i. 16. 5). It is at this point of view that Sentius Augurinus calls them both *ueteres* (Epist. iv. 27. 4). Of the other lyrical metres used by Catullus alone seem to have been elaborated by him to the same perfection. I mean his pure iambics, scazons, and glyconics: but here we cannot so well compare him with his successors; for Horace never uses the pure iambic except in combination with the hexameter (Epod. 17). The glyconics of Seneca are not divided by the regular recurrence of the pherecratean into strophes: the scazon alone is used frequently by later writers, in the Catalepta and Priapea, by Persius, Petronius, and Martial; under rules somewhat stricter, and of course with a much more recondite diction, yet hardly with more felicity, and throughout consistently based on the earlier, greater, less artificial and more artistic models in whose hands the metre had first become a success. Two other metres used by Catullus, the Sapphic and the Choriambic metre of XXX *line immemor atque unanimes false sodalibus*, were afterwards perfected by Horace: in Catullus they can hardly be thought more than an experiment; but the experiment is throughout closely modelled on Greek precedents, e.g. in the admission of a trochee into the second foot of the Sapphic and the frequent hypermeter *ulti-mosque Britannos, identidem rumpens, uelut prati ultimi*; as well as the lax caesuras admitted in either metre, *Ille mi par esse, Gallicum Rhenum horribilem, huius flos praeter* in the Sapphics, *tute iubebas animam, di meminere, minuit Fides* in the Choriambics. Whether in the *Attis* Catullus followed any famous writer of Galliambics we do not know; we retain only a few fragmentary lines by Varro and Maecenas in this measure; the splendour of Catullus' poem produced no imitators, or no rivals; it remains unique as a wonderful expression of abnormal feeling in a quasi-abnormal metre. Quasi-abnormal however only: for no poem of Catullus follows stricter laws, or succeeds in conveying the idea of a full freedom under a more carefully veiled regularity.

In his Epyllion, the Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, Catullus has not reached the same metrical perfection. Short as the poem is, the recurrence, line after line, of one monotonous cadence, gives an air of monotony which might almost be called inartistic. *Prognatae uertice uis, Neptuni nasse per undas, Argiuae robora pubis, abiegnis aquoribus,*—such is the predominant type from first to last, only occa-

sionally relieved by the spondaic endings which he and other poets of his school for a time made popular, sometimes by verses of a freer more luxuriant rhythm, like *Indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores*, *Spinosa Erycina serens in pectore curas*, *Tecti frustraretur inobseruabilis error*, *Huc huc aduentate meas audile querellas*. Whether Catullus had, like Lucretius, studied Cicero's Aratea is uncertain: but the coincidence in both poems of the same recurring rhythm is at least remarkable, though we may feel sure that Catullus would have held Cicero a very sorry versifier. It seems more probable that both Cicero and Catullus, in their determination to avoid the irregularities of the older poets, with whom accent and ictus had been allowed to agree or conflict in the last three feet of the hexameter indifferently, had recourse to the expedient of making the accent *as a rule* agree with the ictus in those feet; and that they succeeded in thus giving their verses greater uniformity, but did not avoid the monotonous effect which was its natural consequence. Catullus has followed the same principle in the two iambic poems *Phasellus ille*, and *Quis hoc potest uidere*, which as Munro has shown owe much of their effectiveness to this coincidence of ictus with accent, and are not long enough to be monotonous. It would be interesting to compare Catullus with his contemporaries Calvus and Cinna in this respect; but their epics *Io* and *Zmyrna* have perished, except a few short fragments: these however, so far as they go, seem freer in rhythm than the hexameters of the *Peleus* and *Thetis*; and even Cicero in the twenty-nine verses translated from the *Iliad* in the *De Diuinatione* (ii. 30) written ten years after the death of Catullus throws off much of his former sameness and attains to something like variety. Lucretius stands by himself, and is in no respect an adherent of the new school. I am inclined to believe that Catullus wrote his *Epyllion* before his only other extant hexameter poem, *Vesper adest, iuuenes, consurgite: Vesper Olympo*, in which the rhythm is more broken up, and a nearer approach made to Theocritus and the Alexandrian writers.

The simplicity and almost rudeness of most of Catullus' elegiacs is in strong contrast with the perfection of his lyrics. When indeed he is merely translating, as in the *Coma Berenices*, we cannot expect him to move with complete grace: and we can see from Callimachus' extant elegy the *Λουτρά Παλλάδος* how far removed from the Latin version the original of the *Coma* must have been. Callimachus was indeed the consummation of Greek elegy; elaborate and even symmetrical in his art, but charming in his ingenuity, and with a delicate, if not tender, vein of sentiment. We shall look in vain for this perfection in Catullus, except perhaps in the lines to *Hortalus* (LXV), those written at his brother's tomb (CI), and the fine self-apostrophe in which he determines to renounce *Lesbia*

(LXXVI). The first of the two longer elegies (LXVII) is revolting in subject and obscure in its allusions; the long epistle to Allius, though constructed on technical rules of the greatest intricacy, and obviously written with unusual care, fails to please<sup>1</sup>, either before we are conscious of its mechanism or after it has been detected; the studious art with which after the forty lines which form the Prooemium, Catullus has worked out his subject, the laudation of Allius, in a series of tableaux which beginning with Allius pass on to Catullus' love for Lesbia, to Laodamia, to Troy, to the death of his brother, the central panel of the picture, then in reverse order from Troy to Laodamia, to Lesbia, to Catullus, so back again to Allius, reminds us of a Chinese ball, constructed by the clumsy hands of an European; the device is Greek, and might have been beautiful, the workmanship is Roman and ends a failure. It has always seemed to me that Horace had in view this elegy, with its twice repeated lament for the death of Catullus' brother (20-24, 92-96), when he wrote the words *Fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis Insolabiliter*: just as in the well-known *Nil praeter Caluum et doctus cantare Catullum*, the choice of the word *doctus* was perhaps determined by its constant application to Catullus.

If we examine the metrical peculiarities of these elegies, we shall find their defects to lie mainly in the too exclusive imitation of Greek models. Greek elegy, whether written by Tyrtaeus, Theognis, Mimnermus, Hermesianax, or Callimachus allowed the thought to run on uninterruptedly and with every variety of pause; it did not break off the sentence at the end of the pentameter, and often began a new sentence in the middle or end of a line. Again it admitted words of any length, from a monosyllable to a heptasyllable, at the end of the pentameter, with a preference perhaps for trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic words. In these respects the Catullan elegy is completely Greek; in the short elegy to Hortalus the pentameter ends four times with a disyllable, four times with a trisyllable, three times with a quadrisyllable, once with a pentasyllable (*amabilior*). In the Coma quadrisyllables are the rule, disyllables are preferred after these, but are much less frequent: in the epistle to Allius, of 80 pentameters, 1 ends in a heptasyllable, 2 in a pentasyllable, 13 in a quadrisyllable, 26 in a trisyllable, 38 in a disyllable. The poem *Si qua recordanti* shows a similar preference for the disyllable; of 13 pentameters 8 terminate thus, *pium tibi miser pote opem mihi uelit mea*; 3 end in a quadrisyllable, 1 in a trisyllable, 1 in a monosyllable (*sunt*): the finished verses *Surripui tibi dum ludis* (XCIX), have 5 quadrisyllables, 3 disyllables. Catullus has not allowed himself equal licence in his

<sup>1</sup> F. Hermes rightly condemns as tasteless the comparison of Laodamia's yearning love with the *barathrum* of Pheneos (LXVIII. 109 sqq.).

management of pause: though he often introduces long sentences running on through six, eight or ten verses, the close of each distich as a rule coincides with the end of a clause; instances of a clause continued from the pentameter to the following hexameter though not unexampled are rare: thus LXVIII has only the following 28, 29 *quisquis de meliore nota Frigida deserto tepescit membra cubili*, 34, 35 *illa domus, Illa mihi sedes*, 64, 65 *aura secunda uenit Iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata*, 68, 69 *isque dedit dominam, Ad quam communes exerceremus amores*, 74, 75 *Laodamia domum Inceptam frustra*, 106, 107 *uile dulcius atque anima Coniugium*, 126, 127 *quae multo dicitur improbius Oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro*; and of these all except three have a quasi-pause at the end of the pentameter. In the epigrams Catullus is stricter: each distich generally contains a single thought, and the sentence closes with the pentameter: yet here also the pentameter ends with words of any length indifferently. These epigrams, widely as they differ from those of Martial, will not be denied to be in their way as effective: they will bear comparison with the best epigrams of the Greek Anthology, and seem to me to prove that the subsequent development of the Elegiac measure in the hands of Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Martial triumphed over the more Greek type not so much from any inherent superiority, nor even from the tendency of Roman genius to work better in trammels, but rather from the accidental circumstance that no poet of transcendent genius rose after Catullus to mould the elegiac in Catullus' way. Roman elegy, it is true, became in the *Amores* of Ovid an almost new and certainly most exquisite vehicle of poetry; but it seems rash to pronounce that this was its *necessary* development; had Vergil for instance chosen this field instead of the hexameter, Roman elegy might have assumed a form as purely Vergilian as the *epos*; and yet as far more Greek in type than Ovid made it as Vergil is more completely an imitative artist than Ovid. What the Catullian elegy might have become in skilful hands we may perhaps conjecture from such poems as the *Copa* or the lines *Si mihi susceptum fuerit decurrere munus*, Catal. vi. The latter especially, even if not the work of Vergil, as Niebuhr seems to have thought it, is very graceful and completely Greek in form<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From xiv. 77 *Si tibi talis erit qualem dilecta Catullo Lesbia plorabit, hic habitare potest*, Martial seems to have considered it a peculiarity of the Catullian pentameter to allow the third half-foot to be a short syllable. This occurs once in a doubtful passage, C. 6 *Perfecta exigitur una amicitia*, where, as in Martial's *plorabat*, the syllable is lengthened, no doubt on Greek analogies; in the same foot *u* is unelided three times *Chalybum omne, linguam esse, culum olfacerem*, if the MS reading is right. Propertius, like Catullus, allows the third half-foot of the pentameter to be a short syllable in ii. 8, iv. 5. 64, both however suspected passages.

I pass to the *dictio* of Catullus, a most integral part of his greatness as a poet. Niebuhr says truly of this that it is as natural as our common mode of expressing our thoughts is with us. It seems indeed, if we confine ourselves to the lyrics, to be an exact illustration of Wordsworth's paradox, that the language of poetry does not essentially differ from the language of prose. There is an utter absence in it of anything strained, far-fetched, or artificial: the thought clothes itself without effort in the required words, and is passionate, jocose, or homely, as it were spontaneously. Hence these lyrics stand alone in Latin poetry as equaling the great lyric poets of Greece; not indeed the later school, Pindar and his contemporaries, but the founders of lyric art, Sappho, Alcaeus, Anacreon, and, if we may include him among these, Archilochus. In nothing does Catullus stand in such marked contrast with the succeeding generation as in this inimitable spontaneity: it was a quality which neither Vergil nor Horace could attain to; Lucrétius alone has it in some measure, but only in his inspired moments, that is, in much the smaller part of his poem. Though it would be impossible to reduce to rules what is one of the highest qualities of genius, there are certain peculiarities in the language of Catullus which may be briefly classified.

(1) He is fond of taking an expression of every-day life and slightly changing it, e. g. *si placet Dionae* LVI. 6, a variation on *si dis placet*, LVI. 3 *quicquid amas Catullum* on *si me amas*, XXI. 7 *insidias mihi instruentem* on the common *insidias struentem*, XIV. 22 *pedem attulistis* for *pedem tulistis*.

(2) Most of the poems preserve some expression which might be used in prose—*Vt conuenerat esse delicatos*, *Quantum qui pole plurimum*, *quibus non est Cordi Catullum laedere*, *at quibus cordi est* which is raised into poetry by the substitution of *Catullum* for *me*, XXXVIII. 4 *quod minimum facillimumque est*, XXXV. 11 *si mihi uera nuntiantur*, XXXI. 6 *uidere te inuito*, XXVIII. 11 *sed quantum uideo pari fuistis Casu*, XV. 12 *ubi erit fors paratum*, VII. 2 *sint satis superque*: similarly *ni petitum aliunde eat* LXI. 146, *hodie atque heri* LXI. 130, and the recurring *boni malique* VI. 15 *lenis malisque* XV. 10, *bona cum bona alite* LXI. 19. Sometimes a whole line only differs from prose by being metrical, e. g. XLIV. 11 *Orationem in Antium petitorem*, XXXIX. 8 *Neque elegantem, ut arbitror, atque urbanum*, XXXII. 6 *Neu tibi lubeat foras abire*, XXVI. 4 *Verum ad muba quindecim et ducentos*, XXIV. 7 'Qui? non est homo bellus?' inquires. Est. XIII. 3 *Si legum attuleris bonam atque magnam Cenam*, LV. 15 *Dic mihi ubi sis futurus*.

(3) Catullus passes rapidly from speaking in one person to speaking in another. One of the best examples of this is VIII, in the first eleven lines of which the poet addresses himself in the vocative and speaks of



Lesbia in the third person: in 12-18 he makes a sudden turn to Lesbia, and speaks of himself in the third person, *Vale puella: iam Catullus obdurat*: in 19 he returns to his self-address. Similarly in XLVI after congratulating himself in the vocative on the return of spring which allows him to leave Bithynia, he makes a sudden apostrophe to his companions (9-12). So XXVIII in the compass of fifteen lines changes the vocative five times: *Pisonis comites—O Memmi—pari fuistis Casu—pete nobiles amicos—At uobis*: from Veranius and Fabullus to Memmius, then to Veranius and Fabullus again, then to an unnamed individual representing the world at large—finally, to Piso and Memmius together. The same rapid change forms part of the effectiveness of XXIX: the alternating third and second person, *Quis hoc potest uidere—Cinaede Romule, haec uidebis et feres?—Et ille nunc superbus—Cinaede Romule—Eone nomine, imperator unice—Parum expatruit—Quid hunc malum fouetis?* expresses from the point of language the same lively indignation which the coincidence of accent and ictus conveys metrically. No reader of Catullus can fail to notice his tendency to speak of himself; yet this is not felt to be egotistical; doubtless because the direct *I* is so constantly replaced by *tuus Catullus* XIII. 7, XIV. 13, XXXVIII. 1, or *Catullus* alone XLIV. 3, XLIX. 4, LVI. 3, LVIII. 2, LXVIII. 27, 134, LXXII. 1, LXXIX. 3, LXXXII. 1: sometimes by the vocative *Catulle* VIII. 1, 19, XLVI. 4, LI. 13, LII. 1, 4, LXXVI. 5, LXXIX. 2.

(4) Another feature of Catullus' style is his fondness for diminutives: hardly any of the poems, if we except the shorter epigrams, is without them; in some they abound to excess: XXV. 2 has three, *medullula imula oricilla*: 10 two, *latusculum mollicellas*: XVII five, *ponticuli acsuleis bimuli tremula tenellulo*, the last, like *medullula oricilla*, a double diminutive; besides these the nouns *uillula pupula sacculus flosculus lectulus pupulus hortulus uersiculus amicus sarcinulae puellula sauiolum brachiolum solaciolum corolla papillae ocellus gemellus labellum lucellum salillum scortillum lapillus codicilli homullus* with the proper names *Veraniolus Septumillus*: the adjectives *aureolus turgidulus molliculus imulus uetulus albulus turpiculus lacteolus frigidulus lassulus eruditulus perlucidulus unidulus pallidulus integellus misellus tantillus febriculosus*; he seems even to parade the idea, as in LVI. 3 *Cato Catullum*, 5 *pupulum puellae*, or the sound LXXVIII. 4 *Cum puero ut bello bella puella cubet*.

(5) Equally noticeable is the recurrence of the same phrase or even of whole lines; thus *plus oculis amabat* III. 5, *plus oculis amarem* XIV. 1, *si quid carius est oculis* LXXVII. 2, 4, *ambohus carior est oculis* CIV. 2: again *Non harum modo sed quot aut fuerunt Aut sunt aut aliis erunt in annis* XXI. 2, 3 occurs with a slight variation in XXIV. 2, 3, XLIX. 2, 3: *so milia multa* V. 10, XVI. 12, LXI. 203, *milibus trecentis* IX. 2, *milia*

*tracata* XLVIII. 3; *amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla* VIII. 5, cf. XXXVII. 12: *pessimus poeta* XLIX. 5, *pessimi poetae* genitive XXXVI. 6, *pessimi poetae* plural XIV. 23; *misellae Ignes interiorem edunt medullam* XXXV. 15, *Ignis mollibus ardet in medullis* XLV. 16, *imis exarsit tota medulla* LXIV. 93, *Cum uesana meas torreret flamma medullas* C. 7.

The Latin of Catullus will bear comparison with that of Lucretius in its purity: Lucilius, whom Catullus sometimes copies, had spoilt his style by a barbaric admixture of Greek; M. Varro was repeating Lucius' error in his own time: with these two warnings before him Catullus wisely introduced Greek sparingly, and preferably such words as had become or were becoming naturalized, *phasellus mnemosynum gratulus cinaedus hendecasyllabi platea pathicus Apheliotes zona pedicare thalamus lymenaci nothus papyrus thiasus chorus laena hypanum cymbalum pinestra stadium gymnasium ephebus strophium mitra thyrsus calathiscus arpetina*; less common are *raphanus palimpsestus catagraphus amaracus pernice onyx epistolium*.

In Greek proper names he preserves the original inflexion where the word is less common, *Propontida Cycladas Amathunta Thyadas Amphitriton Attis Athon Booten Callisto Phasidos Idomeneos* (genitive) *Penios* (nominative) *Hydrochoi*; sometimes without this reason *Cybeles Minoa*, perhaps because he is following a Greek original, but *Cretam Idae Idam Helene* even *Ariadna*; *Cnidum Rhodum Dyrrachium Idalium Erechthi* and even *Pheneum*; *Arabes* accusative *Sarapim Harpocratem*. It seems remarkable that he should write *Cybelles* yet *Dindymenae*; the principle seems to be that the cast of the *Attis* being Greek, the Greek form of the name of the goddess is preserved throughout *Cybele Cybèles Cybelles Cybelle Cybèle Cybelle*, whereas *Dindymenae* is an adjective *Dindymenae dominae* (13) and as such follows the inflexion of Latin adjectives. Sometimes metrical reasons seem to determine the form, e.g. *Amore* accus. XXXVI. 13 perhaps *Pasitheā* LXIII. 43.

Catullus does not affect archaisms: the chief instances are *uni* genitive XVII. 17, *deposiuit sospites* both in the hymn to Diana; *citarier* LXI. 42, *am* LXI. 68, *compararier* thrice LXI. 65, 70, 75; *componier* LXVIII. 12, *penite* for *penitus* LXI. 171: *ni* seems used for *ne* LXI. 146: *tetulit* LXIII. 47, 52, *tetulisset* LXVI. 35; *recepso* XLIV. 19. To what extent the spelling was archaic, our MSS are too modern to let us judge: but their indications are consistent. The voc. *Furi* occurs five times, but in the same poem XXIII. 1, 24, yet it is only once written, as it doubtless was always written by Catullus *Furei* XXIII. 1: our MSS have *Romae coniuges* vocative LXI. 225, the genitives *Romulei* XXVIII. 15, *hirci* LXI. 199, *Dindyme* LXIII. 91, *Pelei* LXIV. 278, *Iylei* LXV. the dative *mei* LXXII. 6, LXXVII. 3; the nominative plural *puerci*



LXII. 42. The nominative in *os* is preserved XXIII. 1 *seruos*, XLV. 1 *Septimios*, LIII. 3 *Meos Caluos*, LXI. 54 *nouos maritus*, LXVI. 54 *equos*: but in a disproportionately large number of cases *uus uum* has driven out *uos uom*. So again *beatus* of the MSS in XXIII. 27 seems to represent *beatu's*; in LXVI. 27 *adeptus* is a corruption of *adepta's*, in XXXIV. 23 *solitas es* of *L* seems to point to a dittography *solita's solita es*: but in XXXIV. 15 *notho es*, LXVI. 34 *pollicita es*, LXXXVII. 12 *amata mea es*, where Lachmann would write *notho's pollicita's mea's*, the MSS give no indication of this spelling. There can be no doubt that Catullus sometimes treated *es est* after a participle as metrically a distinct syllable, e.g. I. 5 *ausus es*, LXI. 194 *remoratus es* and this, the growing tendency of poetry, would naturally drive out the contracted form; even the inscriptions contained in the first volume of the C. I. L., all of them belonging to the Republican period, only rarely preserve 's 'st: it is exceptional in such MSS as claim the highest antiquity: hence I have not ventured to follow L. Müller and Munro in introducing it uniformly into the text of Catullus against the MSS, though it may have been written so. That it was so written, at any rate uniformly, by the Augustan poets, is hardly an inference justified by the MSS of Vergil, and is in my judgment improbable on metrical grounds.

As might be expected in a poet who deals so largely with the habits and emotions of every-day life, Catullus often uses *popular*<sup>1</sup> words. *Basium basiare basatio* he has made classical: *ploxenum*<sup>2</sup>, says Quintilian i. 5. 8, *circa Padum inuenit*: similar words are *carpatinae sicula pupulus caprimulgus salaputium scortillum stupor*, 'a dullard,' *lutum*, 'a filthy creature,' *lupanar*=*lupa*, *uenena*, 'poisonous wretches,' *sacer*, 'accursed,' *sacer libellus*, *hircus*, *lotium*=*urina*, *contubernalis* XXXVII. 1, with which compare Petronius' *uesticontubernium*, and Caelius' *praeclarae contubernales* ap. Quintil. iv. 2. 123; the verbs *supperare cacare* (with its participle *cacatus*) *conscribillare expatrare consuluere in gremium mingere* (= *stupro polluere*): to this class also belong the contracted imperative *inger*, and probably the obscure *multus homo*.

Sometimes, particularly in the *Attis*<sup>3</sup>, Catullus uses the licence of a great poet to coin new words: most of these are adjectives *ederiger nemoriuagus properipes pinnipes plumipes fluentisonus clarisonus buxifer coniger lasarpicifer inobseruabilis falsiparens* (Ψευδοπάτωρ); the substantives *siluicultrix*

<sup>1</sup> See Couat *Étude sur Catulle*, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Catullus no doubt used this strange word to add contempt to his epigram. Quintil. viii. 3. 21 'uim rebus aliquando uerborum ipsa humilitas adfert. An cum dicit in Pisonem Cicero cum tibi tota cognatio serraco aduehatur, incidisse uidetur in sordidum nomen, non eo contemptum hominis, quem destructum uolebat, auxisse?'

<sup>3</sup> See L. Müller, *Q. Ennius* p. 211.

*larifuga* are not found elsewhere. Here however he was far outstript in audacity by at least one of his contemporaries, Laevius: see Gell. N. A. xix. 7.

The Roman poets who followed Catullus habitually call him *doctus*: see Tib. iii. 6. 41, Ovid Am. iii. 9. 62, Mart. vii. 99. 7, viii. 73. 8, xiv. 100. 1, 152. 1: Propertius applies the same epithet to the friend of the poet, Licinius Calvus. To us, familiar with the far more learned poets of the Augustan and post-Augustan era, the term seems surprising; but this is not the point of view from which the great poets of the Ciceronian age were or ought to be estimated. To their contemporaries Catullus, Calvus, Cinna represented a completely new poetical creed, the foremost article of which was to ignore Ennius and the early versifiers, and to write in rigid subordination to the strictest canons of Greek criticism as expounded by the grammarians and teachers of the race. In this connexion the word *doctus* now acquired a special meaning; it implied not only that poetry was written on new rules, but that these rules were in distinct opposition to the old. Hence Lucretius, though Statius calls him *doctus*, would hardly have been included in the *docti* by the exquisites of his own time; and on the other hand the Lydia of Valerius Cato ranked with the Zmyrna of Cinna, which, despite the sneers of Martial (x. 21. 4), must have had real merits, as the favorite study of the *learned* and the despair of the *unlearned* (Suet. Gram. 11, 18). Everything shows that the rules of this school were very strict. Probably from a very early period they gave up eliding final short *s*, which when Cicero wrote his Orator had become *subrustic* (xlvi. 161) and was avoided by the new poets (*poetae novi*); it is only found once in Catullus, and that in an epigram (CXVI. 8), never in the lyrics, Epyllion, or elegies. Two other well-known passages of Cicero (Tusc. Disp. iii. 19. 45 *O poetam egregium, quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur*, Att. vii. 2. 1 *Ita belle nobis flauit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmiles. Hunc ἀνοιδεύσσαντα σὶ cui υἱοὺς τῶν νεωτέρων πρὸ τῶν πωδῶν*) criticize the prevailing tendency of the new school (*neoteroi*) to follow late Greek, particularly Alexandrian, models, and their taste for hexameters in which the fifth foot was a spondee.

Of late years it has become the fashion to talk of Catullus, Calvus, Cinna and the other *docti* as 'singers of Euphorion,' and thus to depreciate the revolution which they effected in Roman literature, and exalt the greatness of the only contemporary whom they did not greatly influence, Lucretius. But the Tusculan Disputations did not appear till 710 | 44, probably nine or ten years after the death of Catullus: Catullus therefore can hardly be included in Cicero's expression *his cantoribus Euphorionis*. He seems indeed to refer to some actual translation or adaptation then recently made, possibly, as Merkel thinks, to the elegies of Cornelius

Gallus, who is known to have either translated or imitated Euphorion<sup>1</sup>, or to Cinna's Zmyrna, which rivalled in obscurity (Suet. Gramm. 18, Philargyr. on Ecl. ix. 35) the works of the Chalcidian (*ille uero nimis etiam obscurus Euphorion* de Diuin. ii. 64. 132). Nor is it impossible that Cicero refers, as Casaubon and Salmasius thought, to musical recitations of the actual Greek poems of Euphorion; a fashion which might easily form part of the affectations of the time. In any case the expression can have very little meaning in reference to Catullus and, so far as it represents a literary fashion, applies rather to the period after his death and before the rise of Vergil.

It remains to consider how far Catullus is rightly described as an imitator of the Alexandrian poets. The title is a vague one, including as it does, writers of such widely different powers and achievement as Theocritus on the one hand and Lycophron on the other: the first one of the greatest poets not only of Greek but of all literature, the other a grammatical pedant of the true Indian type. It is sometimes said that the Alexandrians were the great masters of form in poetry: as if form were not the natural gift of the Greek race from the first; as if Sappho and Alcaeus, Archilochus and Simonides, Sophocles and Euripides were not as absolute in this as in every other quality of the highest art. Compare the stilted hymns of Callimachus with the odes of Pindar or the surviving hymns of the tragic writers: can any one doubt which shows the higher conception of form? The hymns of the Alexandrian remind us of the elaborate artifices of the later Greek ritual, its altars lighted up by ingenious mechanism, its doors opening to the sound of imitation-trumpets: the earlier poets preserve a freedom and ideality even where most artificial. It would be much truer to say that the Alexandrian writers aimed not at form, but at precision of form; they were not content to be graceful, they insisted on an absolute and defined symmetry. Often this symmetry is attained with little effort, and leaves a pleasing impression: sometimes it becomes palpable and strained. Nothing can be more beautiful than the Idylls of Theocritus; yet easy and natural as they seem, they follow the most careful and even arithmetical principles of symmetry: few representations of passion are finer than Apollonius' description of Medea, yet every line is constructed with a restless care only equalled by Vergil. Perhaps a better illustration may be found in two hymns of Callimachus, the Hymn to Apollo and the *Δουρὰ Παλλάδος*: both are obviously framed with the idea of expressing by the pauses or divisions into which the verses fall the momenta of a religious ceremonial: but the first, though solemn and im-

<sup>1</sup> Donatus Vit. Vergil. *Transtulit Euphorionem in latinum et libris quattuor amores suos de Cytheride scripsit.* Probus in Ecl. x. 50 *Euphorion elegiarum scriptor Chalcidensis fuit, cuius in scribendo colorem secutus uidetur Cornelius Gallus.* Similarly Diomedes, Art. Gram. iii. p. 484 Keil, mentions Euphorion with Callimachus as the Roman model of *elegy*.

pressive, is too formal to be pleasing: the latter is sufficiently graceful in its movement to make us see why Callimachus was held the perfection of Greek elegy. In this confined sense, the rigorous assertion of a symmetry which would bear a minute analysis, the Alexandrian poets may be considered the supreme masters of form; and they exercised a supreme influence on their Roman pupils mainly for this reason. The early poets, Ennius and his followers, had shown how badly it was possible to imitate: they had copied great models, but with a rudeness proportioned to the colossal scale of those models. It was not to be expected that the first writers of Roman tragedy should equal Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides, or the first writers of Roman hexameters, Homer. Hence these works, though very popular, must soon have become shocking to cultivated ears; and it became necessary to imitate in a new way. It was natural to turn to the latest development of Greek literature, where the models were on a smaller scale, and the rules of construction more precise. Hence in the last century of the Republic literature busied itself with the criticism, the grammar, the poetry, and the science of Alexandria. And the result was, if we look at it as a whole, a success: whatever the short-comings of Roman poetry, in this its happiest period, it attained to a very rare perfection of form.

Metrically this Alexandrian love of precision shows itself mainly in two ways: first, in the tendency of these writers to eliminate the loose and undefined metres of the earlier lyric poetry, secondly, in the clear-cutting and defined manipulation of such rhythms as their artistic sense taught them to retain. Theocritus in his Idylls employs, besides the hexameter and elegiac couplet, two metres only, the Sapphic fourteen-syllable (xxix) and the Choriambic sixteen-syllable (xxviii): in his epigrams he combines various metres, but all of them precise and with no resolution of long into short syllables. Callimachus in his Epigrams uses the Anacreontic iambic dimeter catalectic (Heph. 32 Westphal), the Phalaecian hendecasyllable, and the Archilochius maior<sup>1</sup>, a favorite metre with the school generally; elsewhere the scazon, the choriambic pentameter<sup>2</sup>, the choriambic sixteen-syllable<sup>3</sup>, the Euripidean<sup>4</sup> fourteen-syllable (iambic

<sup>1</sup> Heph. 93 W. τοῦτο παρὰ μὲν τοῖς νεωτέροις πολὺ τὸ μέτρον ἐστίν. ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ Καλλιμάχου.

τὸν με παλαιστρίταν ὁμόσας θεὸν ἐπτάκις φιλήσειν.

<sup>2</sup> Heph. 57 W. καὶ τῷ (χοριαμβικῷ) πενταμέτρῳ δὲ Καλλιμάχου ὅλον ποίημα τοῦ Εὐρύχων συνίσθαι.

δαίμονες εὐνομότατοι Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεὺ Διδύμων γενάρχα.

<sup>3</sup> Callim. fr. 114 Schneider

Ἄ ναῖς ἃ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὴν τὸ γλυκὺ τᾶς ζῴης

Ἄρπας, ποτὶ τὸ Ζανὸς ἱκεῖναι λιμενοσκόπου.

Ἔρεστ' Ἀπόλλων τῷ χορῷ τῆς λύρης ἀκούω.

καὶ τῶν Ἑράτων ἡσθόμεν' ἐστὶ κάφροδότη.



dimeter + three trochees, Heph. 98), the pherecratean<sup>1</sup> (ib.), all well-articulated and defined metres<sup>2</sup>. A similar aim was steadily pursued in the treatment of the hexameter. Theocritus gave this rhythm new vitality; the Bucolic caesura, in which the fourth foot was a dactyl and ended a word, so that the fifth and sixth feet were separable from the rest of the line, gave a character of its own to pastoral poetry: the spondee in the fifth foot, preceded by a dactyl, which is only found occasionally in the earlier writers, now became in the poems of Euphoriion, Callimachus, Theocritus, and Apollonius a regular and recurring artifice, often continued in two, sometimes in three<sup>3</sup> lines, consecutively: strophe and antistrophe found a representative in sectional divisions sometimes marked by a refrain, sometimes by a change of speaker, sometimes by a transitional pause, but always observing a nicely adjusted proportion. Apollonius, rather later, stamped epic poetry with a new character; mainly by the elaborate crescendo and diminuendo, the variation in pause and caesura, the rareness of elision in his hexameters. It seems probable that the master and the pupil, Callimachus and Apollonius, rivals and even antagonists as they were, had at least one literary point in common: Antimachus represented to both the fault they were to avoid, and the virtue they were to pursue: prolixity and indeterminateness on the one hand, brevity and a defined scope on the other.

The other characteristics of the Alexandrian literati were closely connected with this love of symmetry. They delighted in short works: μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν was a Callimachean dictum (Athen. 72), echoed by Catullus in his laudation of Cinna *Parua mei mihi sunt cordi monumenta sodalis* (Merkel ad Ibin p. 366): hence they wrote short descriptive poems like the Idylls and Epyllia of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus, Elegies, not of immeasurable length like the Lyde of Antimachus, but of moderate compass, Hymns, Epigrams, and occasional poems of every kind. When they attempted epic poetry, they aimed at condensation; Apollonius gives the whole voyage of the Argonauts in four books. Their didactic poems had the same merit: Aratus describes the heavenly bodies in the

<sup>1</sup> Heph. 121 Ἡ παῖς ἡ κατάλειπτος  
τὴν αἰ φασὶ τεύοντες  
εὐναιῶν δαρσμοῖς  
ἐχθεὶν ἴσον ὀλέθρῳ.

Hephaestion seems to regard the pherecratean as an imperfect verse, 114 W. *κατὰ στίχον μὲν ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέτρον καταμετρεῖται, ὡς τὰ Ὀμήρου καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰσομετρῶν ἐπη· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ πᾶν ὑπὸ κύβλου ἢ κύματος, ὡς τὸ Καλλιμαχίῳ τούτῳ ποιημάτων Ἡ παῖς—τεύοντες καταμετρεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ κύματος ἀντιστοιστίας, καλομένην φερεκράτειαν.*

<sup>2</sup> This is probably the reason why Callimachus is so often quoted by Hephaestion.

<sup>3</sup> As in Euphoriion fr. 27 Meineke, Theocr. xiii. 42-44: τὸν consecutive σπονδαῖς endings occur in Callim. H. Dian. 96-7, 170-1, 231-2, and consecutive in Lycophanes; Catullus has three consecutive σπονδαῖες Lxiv. 75-80.

compass of 732 hexameters, the prognostics of the weather in 422. They affected unusual subjects and unusual diction: *σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια*, says Callimachus in an epigram (30. 4) which expresses his disgust for the hackneyed in poetry and the common in love<sup>1</sup>; and how true he was to his profession is attested by the large number of rare words quoted from him. This peculiarity of the school reaches its climax in Lycophron's *Alexandra*: which in the darkness of its language and the recondite character of its allusions is unsurpassed in antiquity. Alexandrianism was indeed the triumph of erudite poetry, and paraded its learning in every possible form; it selected by choice the least-known myths, the most uncommon words, the least familiar genders and inflexions, the most untried combinations of metre. The *Ἰβίς* and *Αἴτλια* of Callimachus, the former imitated by Ovid in his difficult *Ibis*, the latter quite a text-book of recondite allusion, as we can see from Propertius (ii. 34) and Martial (x. 4. 12), collected the obscurer Greek fables and presented them in a shape which called out all the resources of grammatical and exegetical ingenuity (Clem. Alex. Strom. v. p. 244 S.). Similar were the *Mopsopia* and *Chiliades* of Euphorion<sup>2</sup>, which, like his other works, must have been extensively read at Rome in the last years of Cicero.

If now we turn to the sentiment of this poetry, we shall find it no less marked and individual. It pursued the receding; it flew past the common and ordinary<sup>3</sup>. At this late epoch of Greek literature, when the founts of tragedy had run dry and the heroic myths were no longer available for grand exhibitions of passion, poetry turned for relief as to the more obscure legends, so to the less obvious veins of emotion. Love, which always played a great part in Greek poetry, but had hitherto been exhibited with more or less simplicity in the early lyrics and in the drama, now became an object of minute study, especially in its less robust and sensual but more emotional and imaginative phases. The *Simaetha* of Theocritus, and Apollonius' exquisite study of the feminine passion in *Medea's* love for Jason, must both have been drawn from close observation: so actual and minute is each. Even more characteristic of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Faust, Part ii. p. 375 ed. Stuttgart 1858, *Das leicht Errungene Das widerert mir; Nur das Erwungene Ergötzt mich schier*.

<sup>2</sup> Helladius ap. Photium Bibl. p. 532, ed. Bekk. quoted by Meineke An. Al. p. 136, speaks of Euphorion's *affectations* in language (*κακοζήλεια*), and instances *ναυαγός* = *ναῦν ὄγων*, *κηπουρός* for the dragon that guarded the apples of the Hesperides. Similar was his use of *ἐνοσίχθων* and *γλανκῶπις* for a plough and an olive, (fr. 140 Meineke), *ἄτρεν* as an adj. = *ἀτρεστός*, *χείρ ἱπποδάμεια* = *χείρ ἡνιάχου* (fr. 95). Euphorion seems also to have introduced *etymologies* in his poetry, e.g. he derived *Achilles* from *χιλδῖ* = *χιλοῦ ἁπαστος* (fr. 56). I believe Catullus alludes to an etymology in XI. 9, LXIV. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Callim. Ep. 32 *Blomf.*

period is the predominance of the paiderastic sentiment. Popular as this had always been in Greek lyric poetry from Alcaeus onwards, it received a new development in the hands of the Alexandrian poets. None of Theocritus' Idylls breathes so tender an idealism as that which he has consecrated to Ageanax, as the *Ἀίτης*, as the *Παιδικά*: none of his dialogues is happier in its combination of rustic simplicity with a thoroughly Greek love of enjoyment than the elegiacs in which Daphnis describes all nature as rejoicing in the presence of the beautiful Milon; no legend has ever been told more perfectly than the Hylas. The elegiac poet Phanocles treated this subject exclusively in his *Ἐρωτες* or *Καλοί*. The epigrams of Callimachus are full of the names of his favorites; Apollonius has nothing more finished than his description of Eros and Ganymede; Aratus' passion for Philinus is associated by Theocritus with his own for Ageanax; six epigrams of Rhianus on this topic are preserved in the Anthology; and it probably figured in the poems, as it certainly did in the life, of the *Chalcidian* Euphorion<sup>1</sup>. The same feeling takes another shape in the apotheosis of the young and divinely beautiful Adonis, as exhibited in the *Adoniazusae* of Theocritus and the dirge of Bion: the former especially interesting as showing the connexion of the cultus with women. Widely as these writers differed in genius, they must together have done much to idealize a passion which was hardly considered reputable by the Romans even in the last days of the Republic<sup>2</sup>; and we may feel pretty sure that those who accepted their grace and imaginativeness did not altogether escape their immorality.

The characteristics of the Alexandrian school then may be thus summarized; precision in form and metre, refinement in diction, a learning often degenerating into pedantry and obscurity, a resolute avoidance of everything common-place in subject, sentiment, or allusion. That Catullus was much influenced by these writers we know from his allusions to Callimachus, as well as from his translation, the *Coma Berenices*. He seems indeed, if we may so interpret his words CXVI. 1-4, to have translated other poems by the same author: and the long and laboured elegy to Allius may well be an imitation of the same model. The expression of Pliny H. N. xxviii. 19 *Hinc Theocriti apud Graecos, Catulli apud nos proximeque Vergili incantamentorum amatoria imitatio* seems to refer to some poem now lost in which Catullus translated or paraphrased the *Simaetha* of Theocritus. There are traces, particularly in the Peleus and Thetis, of a close study of Alexandrian grammar both in syntax and declension, see my note on LXIV. 240, LXVIII. 90: the

<sup>1</sup> See Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* pp. 7-8. According to Hesychius *χαλαρίζειν* was synonymous with *παιδεραστεῖν*.

<sup>2</sup> Corn. Nep. Vit. Praef. 4, 5.

comparative rarity of elisions in this Epyllion is doubtless Alexandrian ; and Catullus' general preference for short poems seems attributable to the same influence. The charge of *mollities*, which by his own confession was brought against Catullus, was also brought against Callimachus and the Alexandrians<sup>1</sup> (Merkel on Ibis p. 356) generally, and was perhaps included in Cicero's sneer at the singers of Euphorion. It seems probable too that the hendecasyllable, the metre in which Catullus obtained his greatest success, was perfected by the same writers, as it is found in the epigrams of Theocritus, and in the epigrams and fragments<sup>2</sup> of Callimachus. Callimachus used also the scazon in his book of *χωλίαμβοι*, though he does not seem to recognize the law subsequently found in Babrius, which confines the last foot to paroxytone words; a rule which the nature of the Latin accent makes invariable to Catullus.

Yet how little that is truly Catullian can be ascribed to Alexandria, or indeed to any mere imitation ! For that Catullus did not confine himself to this school is shown not only by his translation of Sappho's ode *Φαίβεράϊ ποταμὸς ἴσως θεοῖσι*, and his adoption of her metres and subjects elsewhere, especially in his two Epithalamia ; but no less by his imitations of other poets, Homer, Pindar, Anacreon, and even more distinctly than these, of Archilochus. He was evidently a wide reader, and his translations prove that he was not a careless one ; though the fragments preserved of the original of the *Coma* do not correspond very closely with the extant version. But even if he could not have been what he was without assiduous study of the Greeks, it would be ridiculous to suppose that they did more than supply him with an outline ; his genius is essentially Roman no less in its simple and unaffected speech than in its Republican spirit of freedom. What is more he is the only Roman in whom nature and art blend so happily that we lose sight of either in the perfection of the whole result : unlike Lucretius he never ceases to be a poet, even where he speaks in the language of prose : unlike Horace or Vergil he is always an artist, yet with little of the consciousness of art. If indeed we compare Catullus with Horace, his only lyrical rival, we shall not be inclined to deny him the advantage in the comparison. Horace in his happiest efforts always leaves an impression of labour ; nothing is so charming in Catullus as his perfect spontaneity. Horace seems to write with a fixed plan : in Catullus ideas succeed each other as we can fancy them rising in the poet's mind. When Horace is copying Alcaeus or Pindar, the theft is palpable, sometimes from the very care which he takes to make the idea his own : Catullus even when he translates most literally transfuses his own nature into the words and remains as Italian as before.

<sup>1</sup> Ovid Trist. ii. 367, l. 2. 79, A. A. iii. 329, Rem. 381, 759.    <sup>2</sup> Callim. fr. 72.



In what, then, we may ask, is Catullus a follower of the Alexandrian poets? Not in their pedantry, for he is without a trace of it: nor in their obscurity, for he is rarely obscure: nor in their scrupulous choice of the least *Arrianus* expression, for all he says is simple and straightforward; nor in their Orientalism, for, as Mommsen has said, though his poems sometimes lead us to the valleys of the Nile, he is incomparably more at home by his native Padus; nor in their cosmopolitan Hellenism which has ceased to think of individual autonomy and cares only to influence the world, for he can never forget that he is an Italian, a Veronese, above all a Roman citizen; nor in their flattery of the great, for he is never happier than when he is scoffing at worthless nobles or reviling Caesar: nor even in the tone of their love poetry, for, with some unimportant exceptions, he expresses not a Theocritean sentimentalism, which feeds on the thought of a beloved object and half contents itself with the shadow, when the reality is away; but rather a full feeling of the enjoyment of life, the sensuous even coarse delights of a love present and palpable, the melancholy which attends the thought of death as ending these, and the various episodes of a lover's life, its quarrels, reproaches, reconciliation, or despair. So far as these love-poems are Greek at all, they are like the early Greek lyrics, not the later compositions of Alexandria: and we are left to the conclusion that Catullus is, except in the elegies, and to some extent in the *Peleus* and *Thetis*, less indebted to Alexandrian models than is generally supposed: amongst his personal friends Cinna, in the succeeding generation Vergil and Propertius, show far clearer proofs of direct and conscious imitation<sup>1</sup>.

#### THE METRES USED BY CATULLUS.

Some of the chief peculiarities of Catullus' hexameters and elegiacs are mentioned above p. xix. See L. Müller Preface to his edition of Catullus pp. lxiv-lxviii, Munro in *Public School Grammar* § 259 sqq. Besides these he uses:

<sup>1</sup> I have added little to these remarks on the poetry of Catullus as they appeared in ed. I, considering it better to refer my readers to some works which have appeared since. Munro *Catullus and Horace* pp. 227-242 of his *Criticisms and Emendations* (a reply to Conington's review on the style of Lucretius and Catullus in Conington's *Annals* 1860 pp. 1-230-244), H. Nettleship *Lectures and Papers* pp. 64-96, Peter Kroll *De Catulli Poetis* 3rd ed. 1885, Kroll *De Catulli Poetis* 2nd ed. of Kroll and Kroll's *Poetis de Catulli Poetis* 1885, Kroll *De Catulli Poetis* 1885 pp. 67-68 and 81, Kroll *De Catulli Poetis* 1885 pp. 10-11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 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776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

1. The Phalaecian hendecasyllable. Forty-two poems, including XIV<sup>b</sup>, are in this metre. The date of Phalaecus is uncertain, but the metre must have been known to Sappho<sup>1</sup> (Terentianus Maurus 2547) and Anacreon (Atil. Fortun. 2676 P., Anacreon fr. 39 Bergk). In the skolia or drinking-songs quoted by Athenaeus 694, which include the famous *Ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω* "Ὅσπερ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ascribed to Callistratus, the two first verses of each strophe are hendecasyllables: the two verses<sup>2</sup> quoted by Hephaestion 10 p. 57 Gaisford seem to be by Cratinus; Gaisford quotes from the Tragedians the following, Philoct. 136, 682, 1140, 1145, Hec. 465 Kirchhoff, Orest. 833, Rhes. 361, Heracl. 758. Of Phalaecus himself one eight-line epigram in this metre (Anth. P. xiii. 6) is preserved in the Greek Anthology; and it was used singly as well as in conjunction with other metres by Theocritus and Callimachus.

The Phalaecian is not found in Roman literature till the last century of the Republic. Two hendecasyllables ap. Macrob. S. i. 18. 16 have been referred to the Erotopaegnia of Laevius; it is found in several fragments of M. Varro, and in two poems of Furius Bibaculus ap. Suet. Gram. 11. Catullus and Calvus made it fashionable; hence it occurs in the fragments of Cinna and Cornificius, in the Catalepta and Priapea, in a fragment of Maecenas, in Isid. Orig. xix. 32. 6, in Petronius, Martial and Statius. Meineke (Anal. Alex. p. 378) attributes the use of hendecasyllables in long poems like Statius' *Via Domitiana* and *Genethliakon Lucani* to Greek models, perhaps to the *λέσχει* of Heraclides Ponticus, a poem in three books written *μέτρῳ Σαπφικῷ ἤτοι Φαλαικῷ*, in the reign of Claudius or Nero.

The scheme of the metre as written by Catullus is as follows—

— — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —

The first foot is ordinarily a spondee, sometimes a trochee<sup>3</sup> or iambus. In LV a spondee in the second foot is allowed to alternate, more or less regularly, with the usual dactyl. In the same poem the first foot is once resolved, *Cāmērium*.

2. Pure iambic trimeter IV XXIX.

— — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —

No other foot is admitted in these.

<sup>1</sup> <sup>4</sup> Tradunt Sapphicon esse nominandum Namque et ingiter usa saepe Sappho Dispersosque dedit subinde plures Inter carmina disparis figurae.

<sup>2</sup> Χαίρε χρυσόκερω βαβάκτα κήλων  
 Πάν Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἐμβατεύων  
 where Westphal 62 writes Χαῖρ' ὦ χρυσόκερος.

<sup>3</sup> The epigram in Phalaecian hendecasyllables ascribed to Phalaecus, A. P. xiii. 6, contains three trochees in the first foot.

3. Iambic trimeter, only once, LII.

4. Choliambus or Scazon, VIII XXII XXXI XXXVII XXXIX XLIV LIX LX.

Ascribed to Hipponax, of whom many fragments remain. See Bergk *Poetae Lyr. Graec.* pp. 751-785. In him the fifth foot is not invariably an iambus as in Catullus, but often a spondee, as in the Menippean satires of Varro. Besides Hipponax, the choliambus was used by Ananius Diphilus Herodas (in his *Μυρίαμβοι*) Cercidas Aeschriion (Bergk 785-804) as well as by Callimachus, and by Theocritus in his Epigrams. Among the Romans Cn. Matius in his Mimiambi, Laevius, and M. Varro employed this metre; Catullus, Calvus (*Fam.* vii. 24. 1), and Cinna popularized it: hence it became a favorite metre with the Roman poets: specimens are found in the Catalepta and Priapea, in Petronius, the Prologue of Persius' satires, and Martial. It seems to have gone out of fashion in the second century of the Empire. (L. Müller, Catullus p. lxx.)

Catullus is very dainty in his management of the scazon, as Cn. Matius seems to have been before him. A comparison of his scazons with Varro's shows why Catullus and his school were held pre-eminently *docti*: they rejected, no doubt unanimously, any of the varieties allowed by Hipponax and retained by Varro; hence the metre preserved the form fixed by them in all subsequent writers. Catullus has three resolutions of a long syllable, all *in arsi*, XXII. 19 *in aliqua*, XXXVII. 5 *Confutuerit*, LIX. 3 *ipso rapere*. The scheme as drawn from the actual poems is as follows:

$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ - & - & \cup & \cup & - & - & - & - \\ - & \cup & \cup & \cup & - & \cup & \cup & \cup \end{array}$

tribrach

but it is perhaps a mere accident that the tribrach in the third and fourth foot, both found in Martial, do not occur.

5. Iambic tetrameter catalectic, XXV.

$\begin{array}{cccccccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \end{array}$

The iambus is preserved pure throughout in 1, 2, 6, 8, 11, 12: a spondee is admitted in the first and fifth feet only, i. e. in the first foot of each half of the verse; seven times in the former, twice in the latter. It is very doubtful whether Catullus admitted any resolved syllable: hence Haupt's conjecture *mulierarios* in 5 is open to objection.

6. Glyconei, XXXIV LXI.

XXXIV has three glyconics followed by a pherecratean.

$\begin{array}{cccc} \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ - & - & - & - \end{array}$

Glyconei

$\begin{array}{cc} \cup & \cup \\ - & - \end{array}$

**Pherecrateus**      10 10 10  
                          10 10 10

The Glyconics never admit a dactyl in the last foot : the concluding syllable of which is always long either by nature or position (-o- not -uu).

LXI is composed of two systems (*a*) of 3 glyconics, (*b*) of 1 glyconic and 1 pherecratean; (*a*) is separated from (*b*) by the occasional interruption of the synapheia, in 116 136 146 151 156 161 166 171 176 181 216, as shown by the fact that the third glyconic is allowed to end sometimes in an unelided vowel, sometimes in a short consonant, before an initial vowel in the next verse.

In both poems the glyconic is sometimes hypermetrical XXXV. 11 *reconditorum*, 22 *Romulique*, LXI. 115 *uenire*, 135 *marile*, 140 *marito*, 227 *salutem*; a natural consequence of the synapheia. In LXI. 25 the second foot of the pherecratean is a spondee.

**Scheme of LXI :**

[illegible]

7. Glyconeus + Pherecrateus. This metre is called Priapeus by Hephæstion 10 (65 Westphal) who quotes three lines in it by Anacreon (Bergk Poet. Lyr. Graec. fr. 17). Catullus uses it in two poems, XVII and fr. I, cf. fr. III. It occurs also in the poem *Hunc ego o iuuenes locum uululamque palustrem* Priap. 85 ed. L. Müller.

### Scheme of the Priapeus :

[illegible]

In fr. III, *ligurrire* an iambus instead of a trochee or spondee is found in the fourth foot. A syllable may be elided at the end of the first half of the verse, as in *cavaque in, maximeque est, repente excitare, tenaci in*.

### 8. Sapphic hendecasyllable XI LI.

Caecilius follows Sappho in (a) admitting trochees in the second foot, (b) sometimes eliding a syllable before the beginning of the following verse *enim* *Ilia, prati Vltimi*, (c) breaking up a word at the end of the third verse so as to extend into the Adonic *ulti-mosque Britannos*, (d) allowing the second foot to end a word *Vltimi flos, Gallicum Rhenum horribilem, Ilie mi par esse*, (e) admitting monosyllables at the end of the verse *simul te, identidem te*—when Horace does this a monosyllable always precedes, except in iv. 6. 17 *heu nefas heu*, or where a word is elided before *et*, (f) placing the caesura after the fifth or sixth syllable indifferently.



9. Sapphic sixteen-syllable, or Asclepiadeus maior. The whole of Sappho's third book was written in this metre, apparently in distichs: see Introduction to XXX in vol. I. It was also used by Alcaeus.

— — — — —

Catullus follows Sappho in neglecting the law afterwards observed by Horace of making each of the two first choriambi end with the last syllable of a word, vv. 4, 7, 8, 11, 12: in 11 *meminerunt*, *meminit Fides* this is almost incredibly harsh, and was very early corrected into *meminere at meminit Fides*.

10. Galliambic. According to Hephaestion 12 (72 Westphal) the basis of the metre is ionic a minore, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ μέτρῳ μεγεθῶν τὸ μὲν ἐπισημότατόν ἐστι τὸ τετράμετρον καταληκτικόν, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ τοῦ Φρυγίχου τοῦ τραγικοῦ τουτί.

τό γε μὴν ξείνια δούσας λόγος, ὥσπερ λέγεται,  
ὀλέσαι κάποτε μεῖν ὀξεί χαλκῷ κεφαλάν.

καὶ παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ τῷ κωμικῷ·

ἀ δ' ἀνάγκη 'σθ' ἱερεῦσιν καθαρῆν φράσομεν

τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ Γαλλιαμβικὸν καὶ Μητρωακὸν καὶ ἀνακλῶμενον καλεῖται· ὕστερον δὲ (τὸ) ἀνακλῶμενον ἐκλήθη (μητρωακόν) διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους εἰς τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν γράφειν τούτῳ τῷ μέτρῳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ τοὺς τρίτους παιῶνας ἔχοντα (υ υ - υ) καὶ τὸν παλιμβακχεῖον (— υ) καὶ τὰς τροχαϊκὰς ἀδιαφόρους παραλαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὰ καθαρὰ, ὥς καὶ τὰ πολυθρύλλητα ταῦτα πυραδείγματα δηλοῖ

Γαλλαὶ μητρὸς ὀρείης φαλόθурсοι δρομάδες,  
αἷς ἔντεα παταγεῖται καὶ χάλκεα κρόταλα.

On this hypothesis the original outline of the metre was four ionic a minore, the last catalectic. But it is clear from the second of the last two galliambi quoted by Hephaestion that this outline was completely obscured; for this verse looks at first sight like an alternation of ionic a maiore with ionic a minore; an ionic a maiore basis is stated as a theory by Terentianus Maurus 2888 compared with 2868, and is perhaps traceable in Varro's Eumenides. On Hephaestion's hypothesis we must suppose that the ionic a minore are resolved in the Galliambics of Catullus by *anacalasis*<sup>1</sup> as follows:

In the first half  $\cup \cup \text{---} \cup \cup \text{---} \equiv \cup \cup \text{---} \cup \cup \text{---}$

In the second  $\cup\cup--\cup\cup-- \equiv \cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$

<sup>1</sup> The idea seems to be that the *ionici a minore* are broken up into each other in such a manner that the second as it were bends back into the first: for so I understand the schol. on Hephaest. 12 ἀνακλῶμενον καλεῖται τὸ μέτρον διὰ τὴν ποιὰν τοῦ μέτρον συμπάθειαν· ἥ γὰρ τελευταία τῶν προτέρων ποδῶν ἀνακλᾶται τῇ ἀρχῇ τῶν δευτέρων διὰ τὸ ἐν ὁρῇσιν ἀνακλασθῆναι μελῶν γίνεσθαι.

with such farther modifications as the substitution of ∪∪ for —, or — for ∪∪ produces. Hence the scheme of the verse as written by Catullus is as follows :

∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — | ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ —  
 ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ |

Super álta uéctus Áttís | celerí rate mária  
 Iam íam dolét quod égi | iam íamque poénitet  
 Ego múlter égo aduléscéns | égo ephébus égo puer  
 Vbi cápita Maénadés uf | iaciúnt ederígerae  
 Viridé m citús adit Ídám | properánte péde chorus.

The original ionicus a minore remains in 54

Ét éarum ómnía ádirém furibunda latibula,

perhaps in 18

Hilarate aere citatis erroribus animum

though *erae* is at least equally probable.

#### THE ORDER OF THE POEMS.

The poems of Catullus fall at once into three main divisions, the shorter lyrical poems I–LX, the long poems LXI–LXVIII, the Epigrams : or if we again divide the longer poems into Elegiac and non-Elegiac into four, I–LX, LXI–LXIV, LXV–LXVIII, LXIX–CXVI. As this arrangement is obviously metrical, it is *a priori* improbable that the poems as a whole follow a chronological order. That they do not is indeed clear : IV *Phasellus ille* was written some little time after the return of Catullus to Sirmio from Bithynia ; XXXI *Paene insularum Sirmio* at the moment of return ; XLVI just before he left Bithynia ; LXV LXVIII shortly after the news of his brother's death in the Troad, an event which preceded and probably determined the Bithynian journey ; CI *Multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus* on reaching Rhoeteum where his brother was buried, probably the first thing he did on landing in the Troad before proceeding to Bithynia. Again in XI XXXVII Lesbia is already the paramour of many *moechi* ; LI, a translation from Sappho, describes the raptures of the poet's love for her in its first beginning ; LVIII speaks of her as reduced to the last infamy, *Nunc in quadruuís et angiportis Glubit magnanimis Remi nepotes*. Yet in LXVIII. 135 the same Lesbia, though not faithful to Catullus, is described as observing some decorum and transgressing rarely ; and all the poems which follow LXVIII whether expostulatory, renunciatory, reconciliatory, or expressive of the mingled love and hatred which her conduct caused, must have preceded LVIII, probably also XI and XXXVII. Again XI mentions Caesar's invasion of Britain a.c. 55–54, in XXVIII Veranius and Fabullus

are either still with Piso or have only just left him, Catullus is still with Metimius in Bithynia, or has only a short time parted from him, events which cannot be later than 56-55, and may be much earlier: CVIII in which Cominius is attacked probably belongs to 65 B.C., CXIII certainly to the beginning of 55, *facto (Pompeio) consule nunc iterum*.

Hence it is certain that no consistent chronological sequence of events can be proved for the poems as a whole. It is equally certain that no such sequence can be made out for any one of the three or four divisions into which, as we saw, they fall.

In I-IX this is already proved.

In LXI-LXIV the principle of arrangement is obviously metrical, the lyrical poems precede the short epos. There is nothing to mark the period of composition, unless indeed the resemblances of the Peleus and 'Thetis to Lucretius' poem may be thought to show that one of the two poets had read the work of the other<sup>1</sup>.

In LXV-LXVIII an order is traceable. Omitting LXVII which is without note of time, the three remaining poems seem to have been written as follows<sup>2</sup>: LXVIII. 1-40, at Verona when Catullus was at the height of his grief for the death of his brother; LXV, with the accompanying translation from Callimachus LXVI, when the first transports of sorrow were subsiding. On the other hand LXVIII. 41-160 was composed when the reviving love for Lesbia led the poet to new thoughts, and perhaps suggested a return to Rome, if indeed it was not written there.

In LXIX-CXVI, if XCVIII refers to the informer Vettius it probably belongs to the years 62-59 B.C.: CVIII if it refers to one of the brothers Cominii would seem to fall in 66-65 B.C.: CXIII belongs to the beginning of 55.

We may therefore assume that if chronology at all affected the arrangement of the poems, it can only have done so in the most general sense: a conclusion confirmed by farther examination of the sections.

Two principles are traceable in the first and fourth of these—the lyrics and the epigrams: (1) that of grouping together poems on the same subject (*Vorläufer*): (2) of interrupting such groups by poems on a *different* subject (*Westphal*).

(1) The following groups are observable:—

(a) Furius and Aurelius XI XV XVI XXI XXIII XXIV XXVI.

(b) Veranius and Fabullus IX XII XIII: they recur later in XXVIII XLVII.

(c) Egnatius XXXVII XXXIX.

(d) Ammannia XII XLII XLIII.

<sup>1</sup> See Munro on Lucret. iii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*.

(d) Vatinius LII LIII.

(f) Gellius LXXXVIII-XCI, and separately LXXIV LXXX CXVI.

(g) Mentula CXIV CXV, and separately XCIV CV.

(h) Aufilena CX CXI, and separately CL. ? C

The same principle may be traced in the Lesbia series :

(a) Lesbia's sparrow II III.

(b) Basiationes V VII.

(c) Lesbia's literary character compared with that of Caecilius' mistress XXXV XXXVI.

(d) Lesbia's protestations of love LXX *Non si se Iuppiter ipse petat, LXXII nec prae me uelle tenere Iouem.*

(e) Lesbia's return and promise of perpetual reconciliation CVII CIX. And elsewhere, e.g. :

LXIX *Crudelem nasorum pestem, LXXI Illam affligit odore.*

It is however constantly obscured, and can scarcely be traced in many parts of the two divisions, e.g. XXX-XXXIV, XLIV-L, or again in XCII-CVI. Even when traceable it is modified by the continual interposition of a single poem, sometimes two poems, on a different subject. Westphal has conclusively shown this, and it will be apparent from the appended table :

	I	Qui dono.
II		Passer deliciae.
III		Lugete O Veneres.
	IV	Phasellus ille.
V		Viuamus, mea Lesbia.
	VI	Flauī, delicias.
VII		Quaeris quot mihi.
VIII		Miser Catulle.
	IX	Verani, omnibus.
	X	Varus me meus.
XI		Furi et Aureli.
	XII	Marrucine Asini.
	XIII	Cenabis bene.

Up to XIII there is thus a tolerably regular alternation of the Lesbia poems II III V VII VIII XI with poems on a different subject. It seems probable that XIV and the fragment XIV<sup>b</sup> *Si qui forte mearum uirgiliarum* stood together as another alternating couplet: then in XV a return is made to one of the subjects of XI, Aurelius :

XV	Commendo tibi me.
XVI	Pedicabo ego uos.
XVII	O colonia.



XXI	Aureli, pater.
XXII	Suffenus iste.
XXIII	Furei, cui neque seruus.
XXIV	O qui flosculus es.
XXV	Cinaede Thalle.
XXVI	Furi, uillula nostra.

This forms as it were a second cycle, the central point of which is Juuentius.

A third cycle in which amatory poems alternate with poems of a different character seems to be formed by XXXVII-XLIII, but the principle is less systematic.

XXXVII	Salax taberna.	19 Egnati.
XXXVIII	Malest Cornifici.	
XXXIX	Egnatius, quod.	
XL	Quaenam te mala mens.	
XLI	Ameana, puella.	
XLII	Adeste hendecasyllabi.	
XLIII	Salue nec minimo.	

A similar alternation is more perceptible in LXIX-LXXII:

LXIX	Noli admirari.	9 Nasorum interfice	} pestem.
LXX	Nulli se dicit mulier mea.		
LXXI	Si quoi, Virro, bono.	6 Ipsam affligit	
		odore.	
LXXII	Dicebas quondam.		

And perhaps in CVII-CXVI:

CVII	Si quoi quid cupido.		
CVIII	Si Comini.		
CIX	Iucundum, mea uita.		
	CX	Aufilena, bonae.	}
	CXI	Aufilena, uiro.	
CXII	Multus homo es Naso.		
CXIII	Consule Pompeio.		
	CXIV	Firmanus saltu.	}
	CXV	Mentula habet.	
CXVI	Saepe tibi.		

It is not to be denied that a system so often interrupted, obscured, or imperceptible,—a system too which is combined with a completely different principle of arrangement, I mean the great general division of the poems into sections determined by the metrical or at least poetical form, I-LX, LXI-LXIV, LXV-LXVIII, LXIX-CXVI, is too accom-

modating to be much of a guide. Our MSS too are imperfect, and supply us with only faint indications of the actual number of verses or poems lost. Yet it seems worth while not to let any clue, however trifling, escape us, especially where we have an additional reason for such care in the important bearings which any recognizable plan of arrangement has on the question of chronology. For if, as seems established, poems on the same subject are grouped together, it would seem to follow that the actual place of any poem in the collective series is little if any indication of the time to which it belongs, the principle on which they are grouped together being necessarily in conflict with anything like a sequence of time, at least as regards other groups or other poems; thus the series addressed to Furius and Aurelius XV XVI XXI XXIII XXIV XXVI, all of which are linked by a common subject, Juventius, and were all written perhaps much about the same time, cannot be thought to belong to an early period of the poet's life from their mere position in the collective series: nor can we conclude that XXXVII XXXIX on Egnatius preceded XLI XLIII on Ammiana, or that either of these groups was subsequent to XI because they follow it in the MSS. Nay, the very poems included in the same group cannot be *assumed* to follow each other in the order of time; nor where such groups co-exist with single poems on the same subject separated from them by wide or considerable intervals, as in the case of Gellius, LXXXVIII-XCI with LXXIV LXXX CXVI, would it be safe to conclude that they follow in chronological order, though this may have been so, and in this case at least it is probable that the last in the MSS was also the last written. Little weight therefore can be laid on arguments drawn from the position of any given poem; e.g. we are not justified in concluding that in the actual order of events IX preceded XII, nor that XI, in which Furius and Aurelius are instructed to carry a message to Lesbia and which cannot have been written earlier than 55, preceded XV and the subsequent poems in which the same Furius and Aurelius are addressed in a series probably spread over a considerable time.

Subject to these limitations—which are indeed almost destructive—we may admit the *possibility* of an attempt to keep the order of time. The poems to Lesbia are scattered over the whole collection; and, with two exceptions, are not inconsistent with such an assumption<sup>1</sup>. The Sparrow-poems (II, III) and the *Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus*, and *Quæris, quot mihi basiationes* (V, VII) were no doubt placed first because they were written during the first period of the amour; VIII *Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire*, may have followed a first, or at least an early, quarrel: in XIII 11, 12 Lesbia is still on good terms with Catullus: XXXVI.

<sup>1</sup> I speak here of the lyrics and epigrams alone, excluding LXI-LXVIII.

4, 5 implies a quarrel, but with a wish to return; in XXXVII. 11-14 Lesbia is already *amica omnium*, but still dear: in XLIII. 6-8 she is contrasted with Ammiana, in language which implies that Catullus could still think of her with pleasure: in LVIII she has reached the last stage of infamy. Only XI and LI can be said to be definitely inconsistent with the order of time; but we must not underrate the importance of the exceptions, or frame hypotheses to explain them away. They are sufficiently serious to throw doubt upon the whole theory; we cannot feel sure of more than this; the poems to Lesbia which stand first in our MSS must on internal grounds belong to a very early period of the amour; the poem (LVIII) which in our MSS stands last but two in the lyrical series which precedes the longer poems, *must* refer to the very latest period of Lesbia's career. The same may be said of the epigrams which refer to Lesbia: LXX LXXII *may* have been prior to the others, CVII, CIX later: that the intermediate poems follow the order of time is not inconceivable, but it is quite as little demonstrable. It would be so if we were certain of the order in which the poems succeed each other: as it is, no one since Scaliger's ingenious combination of the two fragments LXXXVII and LXXV can feel anything like certainty as to the real order of the poems in the archetype.

#### ACTUAL DATES IN CATULLUS.

##### IV. Dedication of the Phasellus after the return from Bithynia.

X. 6, 7 Quid esset iam Bithynia, quomodo se haberet.

After Catullus had returned to Rome from Bithynia. If Memmius was governor of Bithynia after his praetorship in 58 B.C., Catullus was probably in Bithynia in 57, and returned in 56, to which year X will therefore belong. But see on the journey to Bithynia *infra*.

XI. 9 Siue trans altas gradietur Alpes  
Caesaris uisens monimenta magni,  
Gallicum Rhenum horribilem insulam ultimi  
Mosque Britannos.

(55-54 Caesar's invasion of Britain.)

XXIX. 12 Fuisti in ultima Occidentis insula.

(After 55.)

XXXI. 5, 6 Vix mi ipse credens Thuniam atque Bithunos  
Liquisse campos et uidere te in tuto.

Written immediately after the return from Bithynia, perhaps in 56.

XXXV. 3 Veronam ueniat, Noui relinquens  
Comi moenia,

(After 59.)

XLV. 22 Maunt quam Syrias Britanniasque.  
(Probably in 55.)

XLVI. 1 Iam uer egelidos refert tepores.  
4, 5 Linquantur Phrygii, Catulle, campi,  
Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae.

In the spring of the year following Catullus' stay in Bithynia, perhaps 56.

LII. 2, 3 Sella in curuli Struma Nonius sedet,  
Per consulatum perierat Vatinius.

If *Per consulatum* refers to Vatinius' actual consulship, the poem cannot be earlier than 47. It is more likely that it refers to a period when Vatinius could already count on the consulship, perhaps his praetorship in 55, or the meeting of the triumvirs in Luca in 56.

LII. 1, 2 cum mirifice Vatiniana  
Meos crimina Caluos explicasset.  
(Probably, but not certainly, in 54.)

LXV. 5 Namque mei nuper Lethaeo in gurgite fratris  
Pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem,  
Troia Rhoeteo quem subter litore tellus  
Ereptum nostris obterit ex oculis.

Just after Catullus had learnt that his brother had perished in the Troad. To the same period belong LXVIII. 20-26, 91-100.

LV. 6 In Magni simul ambulatione.  
(Cannot be earlier than 55—*perhaps* as late as 52.)

·XCVIII, if the informer Vettius is meant, probably belongs to 62-59 B.C.

CI on arriving at his brother's grave at Rhoeteum, perhaps in 57.

CVIII probably to 66-65 B.C.

CXIII was written in the second consulship of Pompeius 55 B.C.

#### BIRTH AND DEATH OF CATULLUS.

Jerome, according to Schöne's edition of the Eusebian Chronicle, has these entries relating to Catullus: Ol. 173. 2 = 87 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, *Gaius Valerius Catullus scribtor lyricus Veronae nascitur*: Ol. 180. 3 = 58 B.C. *Catullus xxx aetatis anno Romae moritur*. If the former of these two dates is right, the latter must be wrong, as Catullus would have died in 57 B.C.<sup>2</sup> But it is certain from the poems that Catullus died neither in 58 nor 57; for in CXIII he speaks of the second consulship of Pompeius in 55; in XI XXIX of Caesar's invasion of Britain 55-54; in LIII of the oration of Calvus

<sup>1</sup> So the Bodl. MS in uncials.

<sup>2</sup> Some MSS give 57 B.C.

against Vatinius, probably in 54. If indeed the words of LII *Per consulatum perierat Vatinius* referred to the actual consulship of Vatinius for a short time at the end of 47, as Gibbon<sup>1</sup>, Clinton, Lachmann, Haupt, believed, Catullus survived the battle of Pharsalia: and if he was 30 years of age at his death, must have been born in 77-76. Lachmann accordingly supposed that Jerome confounded Cn. Octavius consul in 76 with Cn. Octavius consul in 87; and maintained that Catullus was born in 76, and died in 46. That this chronology is wrong, and that the explanation, though accepted by Haupt, is not worth more than other ingenious hypotheses in reference to the Eusebian Chronicle, is probable from the following considerations:—

Catullus certainly died *young*, even in comparison with others who did not attain middle age. Thus Lucretius died at the age of 44 (Jerome), Cornelius Gallus of 43 (Jerome); but neither is said to have died young. Even Calvus, whose life was certainly not more than 36 years, though Cicero combines him with C. Curio as *adulescens* at the time of his death (Brut. lxxxii. 279<sup>2</sup>) is nowhere so distinctly marked out as *youthful* as Catullus by Ovid in the well-known lines Am. iii. 9. 61

Obuius huic uenias hedera *iunuenalia* cinctus

Tempora cum Caluo, docte Catulle, tuo;

a passage which gives to Jerome's statement, that he died at the age of thirty, a substantial probability. Now if he died aged 30 in 47-46, and was therefore born in 77-76, the chronology of his life, if not absolutely inconsistent, is at least less in harmony with that of other literary men of the last century of the Republic as tabulated by Jerome (Lungclaussen). This will be seen from the accompanying table.

#### LITERARY DATES FROM JEROME'S CHRONICLE. (Schöne.)

	B.C.
Ol. 171. 3 Birth of Lucretius. Suicide 44 years later	94-50
	(Donatus [99]-55)

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works i. pp. 357-363 ed. 1796. The first eighteen chapters of Nepos' life of Atticus were written and published before Atticus' death on the last day of March 32 B.C. *Cn. Domitio C. Sosio consulibus*. (Att. 19). In the twelfth of these chapters Nepos speaks of Catullus as dead, and as belonging to a literary era preceding that of L. Julius Calidus. Hence Gibbon considers the medium point between the consulship of Vatinius and the consulship of Domitius and Sossius as the probable date of the death of Catullus, 714 | 40. His other arguments are identical with those of the present century. This discussion was written before Gibbon had reached the age of twenty, but it seems to deserve mention from the complacency with which the author dwells upon it in his autobiography, and the resentment with which he records Matthew Gesner's not discourteous, but somewhat slighting, reply.

<sup>2</sup> *Facienda mentio est duorum adolescentium, qui, si diutius uixissent, magnam*



# PROLEGOMENA.

lii

Ol 173. 2	Birth of Catullus at Verona . . . . .	B.C.	87
Ol 177. 4	Birth of Vergil <sup>1</sup> at Andes, Pomp. et Crass. coss. I . . . . .		69
		[must be 70]	
Ol 180. 3	Vergil educated at Cremona <sup>2</sup> . . . . .		58
—	Death of Catullus at Rome, aged 30 . . . . .		58
Ol 181. 4	Vergil takes the toga virilis, goes to Mediolanum, then after a short time to Rome . . . . .		53
Ol 184. 3	Death of Cicero <sup>3</sup> . . . . .		42
Ol 190. 3	Death of Vergil, Sentio Saturnino Lucretio Cinna coss. . . . .		18
		[must be 19]	
		A.D.	
Ol 195. 4	Death of Asinius Pollio, aged 80 . . . . .		4

Now if Catullus was born in 87, he was seven years younger than Lucretius, according to Jerome; twelve, according to Donatus, who places Lucretius' death in 55. This would agree with the words of Cornelius Nepos Att. 12 *Calidum quem post Lucreti Catullique mortem nullo elegantissimum poetam nostram tulisse aetatem uere uideor posse contendere*, which places the era of the two poets together. But if Catullus was born in 77, he would have been seventeen years younger at the very least than Lucretius: and if we take Donatus' account, Lucretius would have been twenty-two when Catullus first saw the light. Again as Vergil was born in 70, Catullus, born in 87, would then have been seventeen years old; a disparity quite in accordance with the fact that they represent two literary eras: whereas if Catullus only preceded Vergil's birth seven years, the *floruit* of the former would almost synchronize with the publication of the Eclogues which determined the reputation of the latter. Again, Asinius Pollio died according to the statement of Jerome Ol 195. 4, A. D. 4, at the age of 80, hence was born B. C. 76. Now supposing Catullus to have been born in 77, he would have been almost exactly coeval with Pollio; whereas he speaks of Pollio as a boy (*puer*), at a time when he himself was already well known as a writer of hendecasyllables, and when his friends Veranius and Fabullus had already been some time in Spain (XII. 7-9). But if Catullus was born in 87, or even three years later, in 84, Pollio would have been in 64, when Catullus was in his twenty-third or twentieth year, only twelve years old—and even if

cum eloquentiae laudem consecuti. 280 C. Curionem te, inquit Brutus, et C. Licinium Calpurn arbitror dicere.

<sup>1</sup> The newly discovered Bodl. MS of Jerome's Chronicle, written in uncials and considered by Mr. E. M. Thompson to be not later than the sixth century A.D., gives this entry under a. Abr. 1947 = Ol. 177. 3 = B.C. 70.

<sup>2</sup> The Bodl. MS gives this entry under a. Abr. 1958 = Ol. 180. 2 = B.C. 59.

<sup>3</sup> The Bodl. MS gives this entry under a. Abr. 1974 = Ol. 184. 2 = B.C. 43.

the poem was written some time later, would still be in the strictest sense of the term, a boy.

Catullus then cannot have lived from 77-47 B. C. It remains to accept Jerome's statement, with the modification necessitated by the internal data of the poems. Either then he was born in 87 B. C. and died in 54, Jerome's statement as to his living thirty years being inexact (so Mommsen): or if he was thirty at the time of his death, seemingly in 54, was born in 84, Jerome having perhaps confused Cinna's first consulship with his fourth, as Munro thinks. As to LII. 3 see there.

#### BIRTHPLACE.

*Verona*—Ovid Am. iii. 15. 7 *Mantua Vergilio gaudet, Verona Catullo*. Plin. xxxvi. 48 *Catulli Veroniensis*, hence Catullus was Pliny's *conterraneus*. (Praef. 1.) Mart. i. 61. 1 *Verona docti syllabas amat uatis*, x. 103. 5 *Nec sua plus debet tenui Verona Catullo*, xiv. 195 *Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo Quantum parua suo Mantua Vergilio*. Auson. Praef. ad Pacatum 1-3 *Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum? Veronensis ait poeta quondam, Inuentoque dedit statim Nepoti*. Macrobi. S. ii. 1. 8 *Veronensis poeta*. Catullus speaks of Verona XXXV. 3, LXVII. 34 *Brixia Veronae mater amata meae*, where the door seems to express Catullus' own relation to Verona, LXVIII. 27, C. 2. When there he probably lived at his father's house (Suet. Iul. 73).

#### RESIDENCES.

1. Rome. In LXVIII. 34-6 *Romae uiuimus, illa domus, Illa mihi sedes, illic mea carpitur aetas Huc una ex multis capsula me sequitur*. Rome was his ordinary home, and there he kept all his books: hence he was no doubt an eye-witness of many of the events alluded to in his poems. LV shows that he was familiar with all the haunts frequented by loose women.

2. A villa on the confines of the Tiburtine and Sabine territory XLIV. 1-4: it seems not to have been worth much, and in XXVI is spoken of as mortgaged for 15,200 sesterces.

3. A villa at Sirmio, a projection in the centre of the southern coast of Benacus (Garda), XXXI. Sirmio is at no great distance from Verona, where the poet's father was probably living at the time when he entertained J. Caesar, as he did often, and continued to do even after Catullus' attacks on Mamurra (Suet. Iul. 73).

#### HIS BROTHER.

Catullus mentions none of his relatives except a brother, who seems to have been the only other child, and to have died without leaving

beirs LXVIII. 22. This death probably took place in the Troad, where he was certainly buried LXVIII. 97-100. The event completely overpowered Catullus for the time LXVIII. 19-26, and drove him from Rome with only a few books ib. 36 to Verona: to his retirement there we owe LXVIII. 1-40, the *Coma Berenices* translated from Callimachus, the poem accompanying it sent to Hortalus (LXV) and later the conclusion of LXVIII. vv. 41-160, an elaborate encomion addressed to *Allius*. Catullus has expressed his deep grief for his brother in three distinct poems, (a) LXVIII. 19-26, 91-100 where five verses are repeated twice 20-24, 92-96; (b) LXV. 5-14; (c) CI written on visiting the tomb at Rhoeteum.

#### HIS CIRCUMSTANCES.

He often alludes jestingly to his poverty. XIII. 9 *tui Catulli Plenus sacculus est araneorum*. In XLIV he complains that his villa is not too wealthy, in XXVI it is mortgaged; his Bithynian journey brought him in nothing X. 9-14, and even the eight slaves which in a weak moment he ventures to say he bought there, turn out to be his friend Helvius Cinna's (X. 20 sqq.), cf. XXVIII. 6-9. Similarly he expostulates with Aufilena for taking money from him improperly (CX), with Ammiana and Silo for the sums they claim, in each case 10,000 sesterces: both Ammiana (XLI XLII XLIII) and Aufilena (CXI) seem to have provoked his bitter attack by their demands upon his purse; and the joke which is put in the mouth of Lesbius that he may *sell*, if he pleases, Catullus and all his gens, no doubt alludes to his impecuniosity.

#### JOURNEY TO BITHYNIA.

After his brother's death, perhaps determined by it, Catullus joined the cohorts of Memmius, pro-praetor of Bithynia, X XXVIII. 6-9. Among his companions on his journey was C. Helvius Cinna, X. 30, the poet and author of *Zmyrna* (XCV). The time of this event is very doubtful. If Memmius was pro-praetor of Bithynia in the year after his praetorship, he must have left Rome early in 57 B.C.: and supposing him to have remained not more than a year, returned in 56.

This is the ordinarily accepted date; see Schwabe *Quaestt.* pp. 158 sqq. But it is open to objections. For from XXVIII XLVII it would seem that Veranius and Fabullus were with Piso as members of his cohorts at about the same time that Catullus was with Memmius in Bithynia. Now if they were with Piso in Spain, as seems a natural inference from the fact that in XII. 14 they are mentioned as travelling together in Spain (for otherwise they must have accompanied each other on two separate journeys), the only Piso with whom they can well



have been is Gnaeus Piso, one of the leaders in the first conspiracy of Catiline, who was sent out to Hispania Citerior as *quaestor pro praetore* 689 | 65, and was killed there in the following year. (See introduction to IX.) It follows that Memmius was in Bithynia in 65. This is not inconsistent with history: for (1) though Memmius must have been in Rome in 66 when as tribune of the plebs he opposed the triumph of L. Lucullus, just then recalled from the conduct of the Mithridatic war, and may have been there at the end of 64 or beginning of 63, when after a delay of three years (Cic. Acad. Pr. ii. 1. 3) Lucullus at last obtained his triumph (Plut. Cato 29), nothing proves that he was there during the whole of the interval, and if not he may have gone with praetorian power to Bithynia; (2) Bithynia was bequeathed to the Romans by the will of its last king Nicomedes III in 680 | 74, and then became a Roman province (Liv. Epit. 93). M. Aurelius Cotta (Dion C. xxxvi. 23), L. Lucullus, M. Acilius Glabrio (Dion C. xxxvi. 26), are mentioned as administering it between the years 74-66 (Zumpt *Studia Romana* p. 48). In 66 by the provisions of the Manilian law Cn. Pompeius succeeded Glabrio; but the prosecution of the war with Mithridates seems to have called him away from Bithynia till the end of 65, when by the addition of the western portion of the Pontic kingdom, i.e. the coast-line from Heraclea in Paphlagonia to the Halys, a new province was formed called *Bithynia et Pontus* or *Bithynia Pontus* (Strab. 541, Liv. Epit. 102, Mommsen and Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* iv. pp. 192, 3<sup>1</sup>). This new province is stated by Appian to have been administered by a praetor yearly sent by the senate (B. Mith. 121); and it is to this enlarged, reorganized, and in 57 pacificated, province that Memmius is generally thought to have been despatched, as C. Papirius Carbo certainly was (Zumpt *Studia Romana* p. 49), *pro praetore*. It is not to be denied that nothing in the poems of Catullus which refer to Bithynia indicates that war was then raging on the frontiers: on the contrary they seem to imply peace, especially IV, which traces the long and in 65 dangerous voyage from Amastris through the Propontis and Hellespont down the coast of Asia Minor to the Cyclades; and the mere fact that Catullus had his yacht built at Amastris, and seems himself to have been there, perhaps points to the town being at the time included in the province of Bithynia<sup>2</sup>. Yet there are not wanting circumstances which might justify this earlier

<sup>1</sup> If Sallust speaks correctly in the fragment quoted below, the province was already called *Bithynia et Pontus* in 67 when the Gabinian law was enacted.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps fanciful to trace in the unusual construction of vv. 13, 14 where *Tibi* refers to *two* vocatives, an allusion to the grammatically singular, though actually double province *Bithynia et Pontus*. Priscian xviii. 41 Keil quotes from Sallust's Histories the remarkable sentence *legiones Valerianae comperto lege Gabinia Bithyniam et Pontum consuli datam esse*.

date. One of the provisions of the Gabinian law (67) by which Pompeius had received the supreme command of the sea for three years was that he should nominate 25 *legati pro praetore* (Momms. R. H. iv. p. 103 note), an innovation on which Mommsen dwells as a signal departure from the ordinary usage. The Manilian law a little later, conferring on Pompeius the absolute control of the war in the East, must have made it not only possible, but easy to nominate almost at will other such subordinates with pro-praetorian powers. Now in 65 Pompeius was busy with the reduction of the remote and barbaric tribes of Iberia and Albania, and only returned to Amisus for reorganizing the new province of Bithynia and Pontus towards the end of the year. How probable that he should delegate the government of Bithynia to a friend and a relation by marriage. Memmius was both. He had perhaps followed Pompeius to the East in the first instance; then he would be appointed *directly* by his chief, as Marius left his quaestor Sulla *pro praetore* (Jug. 103), as Albinus delegated his command to his brother Aulus with pro-praetorian power (Jug. 36), as Trebonius, pro-consul of Asia 43, was succeeded on his death by his quaestor with the title *pro quaestore pro praetore* (Fam. xii. 15, Waddington Fastes n. 38 and 40), as Crassus in Syria was succeeded by his quaestor Cassius on his death in 53 (Mommsen and Marquardt iv. p. 390). Or, as Catullus says, *meum<sup>1</sup> secutus Praetorem*, Memmius may have been sent out by the Senate, on the recommendation of Pompeius, with pro-praetorian power, Catullus and (probably) Cinna accompanying him as members of his *cohors*. That Memmius was in Bithynia under circumstances which made spoliation impossible (Cat. X. 19) is in complete accordance with Pompeius' strictness on this matter, as expressly stated by Cicero de lege Manil. v. 13, where the ordinary arrival of Roman governors in their provinces is compared with the sacking of a city by a hostile force, and contrasted with the temperance and mildness of Pompeius.

Before reaching Bithynia Catullus probably visited his brother's tomb at Rhoeteum, and wrote *CI Multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus Aduenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias*. It may have been then, too, that he gathered the materials for his poem on Attis by a personal inspection of Ida, Lecton, and the surrounding region. Bithynia was a bad province (X. 19) and did not enrich Catullus, which he ascribes

<sup>1</sup> Munro Elucid. p. 46 thinks *secutus* must mean that Catullus went out in the suite of Memmius, as in Mart. vii. 45. 5. But if a member of the *cohors* was delayed by accident, ill-health, or any such reason, and only afterwards joined his chief, the same word *sepsi*, I imagine, would still be used to describe his attendance; and equally perhaps if the praetor he was to join had received his appointment at a distance from the Capital.

mainly to Memmius X. 9-13, XXVIII. 6-9. Hence he was glad to leave it in the spring for a visit to the cities of Asia Minor XLVI. 1, 4-6. This return journey he made in a *phasellus*, of timber from Cytorus, the height overhanging the Pontic town Amastris; whence (IV. 18) he passed through the Propontis and Hellespont down the coast of Asia Minor to Rhodes, thence across the Aegean to the Cyclades, where he probably visited Delos, then, probably over the Isthmus of Corinth into the Adriatic and so to the mouth of the Po, and finally to Sirmio (IV, XXXI). Shortly afterwards he was at Rome (X. 2, 26) where the scene with Varus' mistress described in X occurred.

#### HIS RELATIONS WITH CAESAR.

He expresses his indifference to Caesar's good opinion XCIII. Attacks him as the patron of Mamurra XXIX *Quis hoc potest uidere, quis potest pati*, and LVII *Pulcre conuenit improbis cinaedis*. To one of these poems or perhaps both Suetonius alludes Iul. 73 *Valerium Catullum, a quo sibi uersiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulauerat, satisfacientem eadem die adhibuit cenae, hospitioque patris eius sicut consuerat uti perseuerauit*; hardly Cicero Att. xiii. 52. 1. The only other poem in which Caesar is personally addressed is the fragment LIV, in which his friends Otho Libo Fufficius are ridiculed and he himself threatened with a renewed attack in vv. 6, 7 *Irascere iterum meis iambis Inmerentibus, unice imperator*. But it is probable that the Mentula satirized in XCIV CV CXIV CXV, as an adukterer, a poetaster, and a man of enormous reputed wealth, is Caesar's friend and favorite Mamurra.

#### WITH POMPEIUS.

Pompeius is not attacked in any of the poems directly; but he is mentioned with Caesar as combining to ruin everything merely to enrich Mamurra XXIX. 13 *ista uostra diffulula mentula*, 21 *Quid hunc malum fouetis?* 24 *Gener socerque, perdidistis omnia*. CXIII alludes to his first two consulships, and probably to his wife Mucia; LV. 6 speaks of the Porticus Pompeia as *Magni ambulatio*.

#### WITH LITERARY MEN OF THE TIME.

1. Cornelius Nepos, I. cf. Auson. Praef. ad Pacatum 1-3. Catullus dedicated his poems to him, as the first man of literary eminence who had acknowledged his genius in a work of his own, I. 3-7, no doubt the *Chronica* mentioned by Ausonius Epist. 16<sup>1</sup>. The date of this work is

<sup>1</sup> Apologos Titiani et Nepotis Chronica quasi alios apologos (nam et ipsa instar sunt fabularum) ad nobilitatem tuam misi, gaudens atque etiam glorians fore aliquid, quod ad institutionem tuorum sedulitatis meae studio conferatur. In spite of the

uncertain, but it was published when Catullus was quite young l. 5, and some time before his fame as a poet was established, hence between 70-60 B.C., probably before 65.

2. Cicero, XLIX, an Eucharisticon for some service unknown.

3. C. Licinius Calvus, poet and orator (born 28 May 672 | 82, on the same day as M. Caelius Rufus, Plin. vii. 165, died prematurely certainly before 708 | 46, when Cicero wrote his *Brutus*, cf. Brut. lxxxi. 279, Quintil. x. 1. 115) is constantly mentioned as the poet-friend of Catullus, Hor. S. i. 10. 19, Prop. ii. 25. 4, 34. 87, Ovid Am. iii. 9. 62 *cum Caluo, docti Catulle, tuo*, Trist. ii. 431, Plin. Epist. i. 16. 5, iv. 27. 4 (Teuffel § 200).

Catullus addressed to him XIV, a remonstrance for Calvus' sending him as a Saturnalian present a quantity of bad poetry; L, which describes a wit-combat between the two poets; XCVI a hexastich condoling with him on the loss of his Quintilia. He speaks of his labours as a pleader XIV. 6, 11, and eulogizes his attack on Vatinius LIII, from v. 5 of which we learn that Calvus was of small stature, *salaputium disertum*.

4. C. Helvius Cinna, author of *Zmyrna*, a poem which he elaborated for nine years XCV. 1, 2, to which Catullus promises immortality (5, 6). Cinna was with Catullus, as a member of the cohorts of Memmius in Bithynia X. 33; thence he took with him as a present to a friend in a skiff built at Prusias (Cios) a copy of Aratus, written on malva-bark (Isid. Orig. vi. 12)<sup>1</sup>: from X. 29, 30 he seems to have been richer than Catullus.

5. Cornificius (died 713 | 41), if the friend addressed in XXXVIII is the poet. Valerius Cato<sup>2</sup> has been identified with the Cato of LVI, but

slighting way in which Ausonius here speaks of Nepos' Chronicle, the fact that it continued to be used as a school-manual in the fourth century A.D. and that it is several times quoted by A. Gellius, and was one of the authorities used by the elder Pliny, seems to prove that Catullus' eulogy was deserved. The fragments are collected by Peter Hist. Roman. Fragm. ed. 1883, pp. 218, 219.

Haec tibi Arateis multum uigilata lucernis  
Carmina, quis ignes nouimus aërios,  
Lentis in aridulo maluae descripta libello  
Prusiaca uexi munera naucula.

Weichert explained *Prusiaca* as 'Bithynian.' The explanation given above seems preferable, (1) as more exact; (2) as agreeing with the position of Prusias at no great distance from the sea, and under mount Arganthonius, whose forests might supply the wood of which the *naucula* was built. Strab. 563 τῇ δ' Ἀστυνηνῇ πόλις ἄλλος σπηλεὶς ἔσται, εἰσέχων μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἤλιον, ἐν ᾧ Προῦσις ἐστίν, ἡ Κίος πρότερον ὠκεοπόλις. The people of Prusias had continued on friendly terms with Rome, *εἰρηναῖοι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολιτευόμενοι* Strab. l. c.,) and this would be another reason for Cinna and perhaps Catullus visiting them.

Sic sua lasciuo cantata est saepe Catullo  
Femina, cui falsum Lesbica nomen erat.



see my Introduction to that poem. Memmius was himself the author of light verses, and is mentioned with Ticia by Ovid Trist. ii. 433, 4, after Catullus and Calvus.

6. Caecilius, otherwise unknown, but mentioned as the author of an uncompleted poem on the *Dindymi domina* XXXV. 13-18.

7. Hortensius, perhaps the orator of that name. Catullus satirizes him as a poetaster XCV. 3; he may be the Hortensius of Trist. ii. 441, Gell. xix. 9. It is doubtful whether the Hortalus to whom Catullus sent his *Coma Berenices* LXV. 2, 16 is this Hortensius. See Introduction to LXV.

8. Asinius Pollio, who is called *puer* XII. 9.

9. Volusius, mentioned as the writer of *Annales* in XXXVI, and with Hortensius XCV. 7. He has been identified, perhaps wrongly, with the Tanusius of Seneca Ep. 93. 9. See Introduction to XXXVI.

10. Suffenus XIV. 19, XXII, Aquinus XIV. 18, probably the Aquinius of Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 22. 63, Caesius XIV. 18, three bad poets.

Besides these Catullus mentions the *litterator* Sulla, probably Cornelius Epicadus, freedman of the dictator Sulla, XIV. 9: Sestius the orator XLIV. 10. Whether the Rufus of LXIX LXXVII is Caelius Rufus the orator and lover of Clodia quadrantaria (pro Cael. viii, xxx) is doubtful: the Caelius of C, and probably of LVIII, was a Veronese, and cannot have been the orator. The bearded Egnatius of XXXVII XXXIX is identified by Bährens with a philosophical poet who wrote *De Rerum Natura* (Macrob. S. vi. 5. 2, vi. 5. 12).

#### NAME.

Jerome on Ol. 173. 2 calls him *Gaius* (*Gallus* is noted by Schöne as a variant) *Valerius Catullus*: Apuleius Apolog. 10 *C. Catullus*. But some MSS of Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 81 *filius strumae Noni eius quem Catullus poeta in sella curuli uisum indigne tulit* read *Q. Catullus*, and Quintus is also found as his praenomen in four MSS of Catullus' poems, the Datanus and its cognate Riccardianus, the Cujacianus which is identical with Mr. Allen's codex, and the Colbertinus. Moreover in

Nec contentus ea, multos uulgauit amores,  
In quibus ipse suum fassus adulterium est.  
Par fuit exigui similisque licentia Calui,  
Detexit uariis qui sua furta modis.  
Quid referam Ticiae, quid Memmi carmen, apud quos  
Rebus abest omnis nominibusque pudor?  
Cinna quoque his comes est, Cinnaque procacior Anser,  
Et leue Cornifici, parque Catonis opus;  
Et quorum libris modo dissimulata Perillae  
Nomine, nunc legitur dicta, Metelle, tuo.



LXVII. 12 *Verum istius populi iamua qui te facit* the MS reading seems to point to Scaliger's conjecture *Quinte*.

These points may be considered separately.

The 37th book of Pliny's Natural History, in which the above quoted passage occurs, is found in comparatively few MSS of the earliest period. These however, so far as they are known, are not entirely in agreement. Detlefsen cites on XXXVII. 81 two only, the Bambergensis of cent. x, the Chiffletianus of cent. xi. Of these the former omits *Q*., the other gives *n̄ Catulus*. Coming to the later codices of the xiii<sup>th</sup> and xiv<sup>th</sup> centuries, the preponderance, so far as I have been able to verify it by special examination, is in favor of the *Q*. Thus it is found in *both* the two most ancient MSS of the 37th book in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, 6802 and 6803, each of which M. Omont believes to have been copied in France in the xiii<sup>th</sup> century. Of two other MSS in the same library 6797 and 6798, in both of which the 37th book has been copied in a later hand of the xiv<sup>th</sup> century, the former has the *Q*, the latter omits it. Similarly of two MSS in the British Museum, one written in the xiv<sup>th</sup>, the other in the xv<sup>th</sup> century, the former (Royal 15. C. xvii) gives the *Q*, the latter (Harl. 2676) omits it. It is absent from Canonici Lat. 295 in the Bodleian, from Sillig's Monacensis and Vindobonensis II, all of xv<sup>th</sup> cent.; and from four Laurentian codices, which Dr. Anziani examined for this purpose, Plut. LXXXII. 2, ascribed by Detlefsen to the early xiii<sup>th</sup> century, and three others of the xv<sup>th</sup>. Two Vatican codices, which my friend Padre Bollig examined for me, Vat. 1953 and Urb. 245, the latter copied about the time of the Council of Florence (1438) seemingly from an old and trustworthy original, both have the *Q*. Lastly the xiii<sup>th</sup> century codex of Le Mans (no. 163) gives the passage thus: *filius strume noniensis quem Q. Catullus poeta in sella curuli usum indigne tulit*.

The result of this inquiry is tolerably clear. The *Q* does not date from the xv<sup>th</sup> century, but was in MSS from which extant copies of the xiii<sup>th</sup>, xiii<sup>th</sup>, and xiv<sup>th</sup> centuries were drawn, i.e. in MSS at least as old as the xii<sup>th</sup> century. And it may well have been earlier; for, as I have said, the 37th book is found in only a few MSS of an ancient period, and it is quite possible that some yet unexplored copy of the xii<sup>th</sup> or xiii<sup>th</sup> century may contain the *Q*. How then did it come into the MSS? Possibly, no doubt, by some error, e.g. a confusion with *quem* which immediately precedes it, or of *q* with *Q*, or the transference to Catullus of the praenomen of *Q. Catulus*. But it is equally possible, and to those who have studied the transmission of classical texts in the Middle Ages perhaps more likely, that it is a genuine tradition, copied originally from an uncorrupted archetype, and existing side by side with the other tradition, in which the *Q* was omitted. If it is so, it cannot lightly be set

aside. It may remount to Pliny himself. Between Pliny (23-79 A. D.) and Apuleius in the latter half of the 2nd century there is an interval of at least 100 years. Between Pliny and Jerome there is an interval of nearly 300 years. Such a difference is not unimportant in a question of name like this. It is much more important when we remember that Pliny was a fellow-countryman of the poet (*Catullum conterraneum meum*) and would be careful to give his name correctly, as a test of his accuracy which might at once be applied.

The case is very different with the MSS of Catullus. Munro thought the *Q.* was introduced into these from Pliny, a very popular author at the time they were written. But the Datanus and Riccardianus are as distinct from the Colbertinus as both are from *P* (Cujacianus); and I cannot believe that any unbiassed student of palaeography will dissent from the opinion of Lachmann and Fröhner, each of whom has pronounced the Datanus to hold a position of unique importance in the Catullian codices. The spelling alone of this MS is enough to prove that it is derived from an exceptionally ancient source; see especially on LXI. 156. Nay the very title in question, as there written, belongs to an early and unsophisticated period, *Q. Catuli Veronensis liber incipit ad Cornelium L.* For if the scribe of the Datanus was sufficiently educated to take the praenomen from Pliny, it is not likely that he would have made the mistake of writing *Catuli* for *Catulli*: the knowledge implied by the added *Q.* is inconsistent with the ignorance implied by the retained *Catuli*. It is in every way more consistent with the facts of the Datanus as well as with general probabilities that this MS represents throughout, as Fröhner shows in the *Philologus* xiv. 578, a substantially incorrupt tradition; and if so, the *Q. Catuli* is as old, to say the least, as the *Catulli* of the Sangermanensis *G* and the Oxford MS (*O*). Besides, if the *Q.* was taken from Pliny, we might expect to find in some one of the MSS of Catullus, a *G* or *C* taken from Jerome, of which there is no trace. From another point of view, it does not seem that Jerome's testimony is unimpeachable. He is certainly wrong as to the date of Catullus' death: he may have blundered about his name, as he has in some other names. Thus on Ol. 184. 3 he calls Falcidius<sup>1</sup>, the author of the law *de legatis*, Gaius; his real name was Publius (Dion C. xlviii. 33), and Jerome has confused him with the C. Falcidius of Cic. de leg. Manil. xix. 58. Similarly the comic poet Atta, whom Diomedes p. 488 P. 490 Keil, calls G. Quintius appears in Jerome on Ol. 175. 4 as T. Quinticius<sup>2</sup> Atta: a discrepancy very similar to the divergence in Catullus' praenomen.

<sup>1</sup> The Bodleian codex has G. FALCILLIS.

<sup>2</sup> So the Bodleian codex: of Schöne's MSS of the Chronicle the Phillippe codex alone has T. Quintius (Schöne, vol. i. Praef. p. xiv).

Sometimes again the MSS of the Chronicle vary, e.g. on Ol. 213. 4 where for Q. Asconius Pedianus of most MSS the Bern MS has C. Pasconius. It is true, as Munro has remarked, that in the notice of Catullus' birth as given in the Chronicle<sup>1</sup>, the praenomen is written at length, *Gaius*, whence seemingly the variant *Gallus*: but this in no way proves that Jerome did not make a mistake in the first instance as to *Gaius* being the name at all<sup>2</sup>. As to Apuleius, in one sentence he has congregated a whole series of mistakes as to names; for T. Albucius he has written A. Albucius, for C. Norbanus Cn. Norbanus, for L. Fufius C. Furius, for M'. Aquilius M. Aquilius (Apolog. 66, ed. Krüger).

I cannot therefore, on the authority of Apuleius and Jerome's Chronicle, consider the praenomen *Gaius* to be established; the *Q.* of Plin. xxxvii. 81 is found in many of the best MSS: nothing proves the *Q.* of the *Datus* to be taken from Pliny or any other extraneous source; it is found in three other MSS of Catullus; *Quinte* for *qui te* is undeniably the most natural and plausible emendation in LXVII. 12. And if the poet's name was not introduced here, it could not have been introduced into the poem (LXVII) at all; against the plain directness which the occasion seems to demand, and, as a German critic has observed, quite at variance with Catullus' ordinary manner. Last, but not least, *Quintus* is accepted by Scaliger, Lachmann, Haupt, and Mommsen. On the other hand, the arguments of Schwabe and Munro in favor of *Gaius* are accepted as conclusive by Prof. Sellar and all foreign editors of the poems since Schwabe.

## LESBIA.

Ovid Trist. ii. 427 *Sic sua lasciuo cantata est saepe Catullo Femina cui falsum Lesbia nomen erat* expressly states that Lesbia was an assumed name, and Apuleius Apol. 10 *Eadem opera accusent C. Catullum quod Lesbiam pro Clodia nominarit, et Tigidam similiter quod quae Metella erat Perillam scripserit, et Propertium qui Cynthiam dicat Hostiam dissimulet, et Tibullum quod ei sit Plania in animo, Delia in uersu*, gives her real name as *Clodia*. Hence Poliziano<sup>3</sup>, Victorius, Muretus, and Achilles Statius main-

<sup>1</sup> So very clearly the Bodleian codex GAIUS VALERIUS CATVLLVS.

<sup>2</sup> It is rather singular that in the life of Terence ascribed to Suetonius, which probably formed the basis of Jerome's statement about this poet's life, C. Memmius has this his right praenomen only in A, a Paris MS of the xith century; all the others (xvth century) collated in Reyfferscheid's edition have Q. Memmius, no doubt because they are derived from a common archetype, not that from which A was drawn. Yet if we had not A, the praenomen *Gaius* would be a mere conjecture. Is it not possible that the wrong name may have got into Jerome's Chronicle by a similar accident?

<sup>3</sup> In his *Nutricia*.

Sed quanquam imprimis docto Verona Catullo  
Gaudet, vulnificos elegis qui miscet iambos,  
Et sub adoptivum redigit te, Clodia, nomen.

tained that Catullus' mistress was the famous Clodia of Cicero's oration *pro Clodio*, the sister of P. Clodius Pulcher and wife of Q. Metellus Celer, consul 694 | 60. This view was revived by Haupt, who promised, but never wrote, a treatise to prove it; and since him by a variety of writers, including the eminent French critic, M. Gaston Boissier. The arguments in its favor have been reviewed and supplemented at considerable length by Schwabe, *Quaestt. Catull.* p. 56 sqq., K. P. Schulze and B. Schmidt. (On the other hand, it is rejected by Paldamus, Hertzberg, Leutsch<sup>1</sup>, and only doubtfully admitted by Riese, whose objections I shall consider later.) The facts of Lesbia's life, as stated by Catullus, are:

(1) She was, at the time when Catullus first knew her, a married woman, LXVIII. 145, 6 *Sed furtiva dedit mira munuscula nocte, Ipsius ex ipso dempla uiri gremio*, words too definite to be explained of any other connexion: cf. LXVIII. 67 *Is clausum lato palefecit limite campum*.

(2) Her first meeting with Catullus was secret (*furtiva munuscula* LXVIII. 145) in the house provided by Allius (LXVIII. 68-72).

(3) She was unfaithful to Catullus, at first within bounds (*Rara uerecundae furta feremus herae* LXVIII. 136), afterwards with an increasing number of paramours, *Cum suis uiuat ualeatque moechis Quos simul complexa tenet trecentos* XI. 17, 18, *hanc boni beatique Omnes amatis, et quidem quod indignum est, Omnes pusilli et semitarii moechi* XXXVII. 14-16, finally with the rabble of Rome LVIII.

(4) Amongst these paramours were Egnatius XXXVII. 17, Gellius XCI. 9, 10, Quintius LXXXII. 3, 4 compared with CIV. 2, perhaps Rufus LXXVII. 7, 8, if these verses belong to that poem, finally a person who from his connexion with her is named Lesbius LXXIX.

(5) The poems of Catullus made her famous in the lifetime of the poet, XLIII. 7, LVIII. 1: the same inference may be drawn from XVI. 12, which seems to refer to V, VII.

(6) She was not only beautiful (II. 5, XLIII. 7, LXVIII. 70, 133, LXXXVI. 5, 6), but witty and accomplished, XXXVI. 17.

(7) She was already unfaithful to Catullus at the time LXVIII<sup>b</sup> (41-160) was written, not long after the death of his brother. This must have been before his journey to Bithynia, which seems to fall either in 57 B.C. or 65-64 B.C. On the former hypothesis, allowing three or four years for the rise and progress of the amour, its commencement may be placed in the years 62-60 (Iungclaussen, Schwabe, Westphal, Bährens); on the former view in 69-67. Whether we assume as the birth-year of Catullus Jerome's date 87 B.C. or suppose him to have been born three years

<sup>1</sup> To these must be added F. Hermes, in his two dissertations, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Catull*, Frankfurt am Oder, 1888, and *Neue Beiträge*, 1889.

later in 84, his age would well suit either of the two hypotheses above mentioned; on the former he would have been from 25 to 21 years old; on the latter from 16 to 20.

(8) *Lesbia*, though still called *mea puella*, was virtually estranged from *Camillus* when he wrote XI, which from the allusions to Caesar's conquest of Britain was probably composed in 54 B. C.

With this outline compare the facts of *Clodia's* life as stated by *Cicero* in his oration *pro Caelio* and elsewhere.

(1) *Clodia* was married to *Q. Metellus Celer* at least as early as 69 | 63<sup>1</sup> (*Fam. v. 2. 6*, quoted by *Schwabe*, *Quaestt. p. 60*). He died in 69 | 59, as was suspected, poisoned by his wife, *pro Cael. xxiv. 60*, whence *Caelius ap. Quintil. viii. 6. 53* called *Clodia quadrantaria Clytaemnestra*.

(2-4), (7-8). *Q. Metellus Celer*, who was one of the praetors in 63, the year of *Cicero's* consulship, was sent in the latter part of that year into *Cisalpine Gaul* with proconsular power, and the army which had been decreed to *Cicero*. During his absence *Cicero* visited his wife *Clodia*, to prevent, if possible, the steps which *Celer's* brother, *Q. Metellus Nepos*, was taking against him; in spite of which *Nepos* interfered as tribune to prevent *Cicero's* addressing the people on the events of his consulship on the last day of the year. (*Fam. v. 2. 6*.) *Celer* seems to have been absent from *Rome* some time<sup>2</sup>, though he was in *Rome* at the end of 61, and was then consul elect (*Att. i. 17. 9*): during his absence in 62 his wife must have been in frequent correspondence with *Cicero*, if the story mentioned by *Plutarch Cic. 29* is true—that *Clodia* wished to marry the orator and attempted to negotiate the matter by means of a certain *Tullus*, whose constant visits to *Clodia's* house aroused the jealous suspicions of *Terentia*, and obliged *Cicero* in self-defence to turn against

<sup>1</sup> *Fam. v. 2. 6* *Egi cum Claudia uxore tua et cum uestra sorore Mucia—ut cum ab illa iniuria deterrerent* (*cum* = *Metellus Nepos*, who was actively opposing *Cicero* as tribune of the plebs). *Atqui ille, quod te audisse certo scio pridie Kal. Ianuarias, qua iniuria nemo unquam in minimo magistratu improbissimus ciuis adfectus est, ea me consullem adfecit cum rem publicam conseruassem, atque abeuntem magistratu contumis habendae potestate priuauit.* Hence the interview between *Cicero* and *Clodia* must have been at the end of 63.

<sup>2</sup> To give time for the incident mentioned by *Plin. H. N. ii. 170* *Idem Nepos de septentrionali circuitu tradit Q. Metello Celeri, L. Afranii in Consulatu collegae, sed tum Galliae proconsuli, Indos a rege Sueuorum dono datos qui ex India commercii causa nauigantes tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti.* The same story in *Mel. iii. 5*. It seems incredible that this should refer, as *A. W. Zumpt* thinks (*Studia Romana, p. 64*), to a supposed subsequent command in *Gallia Narbonensis*; for *Dion C.* expressly states that *Metellus* did not leave *Rome* at the end of his consular year, and the gifts mentioned by *Pliny* and *Mela* must surely have been sent to the proconsul in *Gaul*.



Clodius at the time of his trial early in 61. Hence Clodia must have already (63-61) been suspected of infidelity to her husband, for which indeed she had many precedents in her family, as her sister Clodia, the wife of L. Lucullus, and Mucia, the half-sister of the two Metelli and wife of Pompeius, were both notorious as adulteresses<sup>1</sup> long before they were divorced by their husbands after returning to Rome from the East, the former in 66, the latter in 61. (Plut. Lucull. 38, Pomp. 42.)<sup>2</sup> Thus in 60, when Q. Metellus Celer was consul, Cicero says Clodia was at war with him (Att. ii. 1. 5); and the scandalous story of her incestuous connexion with her brother Publius so often alluded to by Cicero and others was then matter of public notoriety (Att. ii. 1. 5, Plut. Cic. 29). It is in allusion to this that Cicero calls her *Ἡρα βοῶντις* (Att. ii. 9. 1, 12. 2, 14. 1, 22. 5, 23. 3, Schwabe Quaest. p. 60). In 645 | 59 M. Caelius Rufus, who had just returned from Africa and was beginning his career as an orator by a successful accusation of C. Antonius (Cael. xxxi. 74) took a house on the Palatine and became one of the paramours of the now widowed Clodia (Cael. viii. 18): the intimacy had ceased when Caelius was accused by L. Sempronius Atratinus in 56 of taking money from Clodia to secure the death of the Alexandrian envoy Dio, and attempting to poison Clodia herself<sup>3</sup>. But at the time when this trial took place, Cicero, who defended Caelius in the still extant oration *pro Caelio*<sup>4</sup>, describes Clodia

<sup>1</sup> The mother of Metellus Nepos was also accused of adultery, Plut. Cic. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Sest. xvii. 39, Pis. xii. 28, Cael. xiii. 32, xv. 36, xxxii. 78 *mulier cum suo coniuge et fratre*, ad Q. Fr. ii. 3. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Schöll thinks the words of pro Cael. xxix. 69 *Quod etiam si est factum, certe a Caelio non est: quid enim attinebat? est enim ab aliquo fortasse adulescente non tam insolito quam non uerecundo* refer to Catullus (Jahrb. for 1880, p. 481).

<sup>4</sup> Cael. xiii. 32 *Quam omnes semper amicam omnium potius quam cuiusquam inimicam putauerunt.*

xv. 36 *Habes hortos ad Tiberim ac diligenter eo loco parasti quo omnis iuventus natandi causa uenit: hinc licet condiciones quotidie legas.*

xvii. 38 *Nihil iam in istam mulierem dico, sed si esset aliqua dissimilis istius quae se omnibus peruulgaret, quae haberet palam decretum semper aliquem cuius in hortos domum Baias iure suo libidines omnium commearent, quae etiam aleret adulescentes et parsimoniam patrum suis sumptibus sustentaret, si uidua libere, proterua petulanter, diues effuse, libidinosa meretricio more uiueret, adulterum ego putarem, si quis hanc paulo liberius salutasset?*

xx. 49 *Si qua non nupta mulier domum suam patefecerit omnium cupiditati palamque sese in meretricia uita collocarit, uirorum alienissimorum conuiuio uti instituerit: si hoc in urbe, si in hortis, si in Baiarum illa celebritate faciat, si denique ita sese gerat non incesso solum, sed ornatu atque comitatu, non flagrantia oculorum, non libertate sermonis, sed etiam complexu osculatione aquis nauigatione conuiuio, ut non solum meretrix, sed etiam proterua meretrix procaxque uideatur.*

xxii. 55 *Crimen profertur ex inimica ex infami ex crudeli ex facinorosa ex libidinosa domo.* xxiii. 57 *in eiusmodi domo in qua mater familias meretricio more uiuat, in qua nihil agatur quod foras proferendum sit.*

as a shameless and perfectly abandoned woman, admitting lovers indiscriminately to her house, supporting them with her wealth, surrounding herself with all the externals of a prostitute, and proclaiming her infamy not only by her presence at Baiae and other places notoriously scandalous, but by her attendants, conversation, dress, walk, and even by the licentiousness of her look, and the unblushing freedom with which she kissed and embraced men. From her notorious profligacy she was commonly known as *Quadrantaria*, a nick-name alluded to by Caelius and Cicero<sup>1</sup>; that she was besides very powerful is evident not only from the whole tenor of the *pro Caelio*<sup>2</sup> but from the repeated references to her in Cicero's letters. It is not known how long she lived after this.

(6) The Bobbian Scholia on pro Sest. liv. p. 304 Orelli, mention Clodia's skill in dancing *Clodiam generis patricii feminam sororem huius, cum qua et ipse infamis erat, ueteres litterae tradunt studiosam fuisse saltandi profusius et immoderatus quam matronam deceret*, cf. Att. ii. 1. 5 *licet etiam alterum (pedem) tollas*, perhaps an allusion to this, though the passage is obscure. Cicero alludes to her glowing eyes (*flagrantes oculos* Har. Respons. xviii. 38, *flagrantia oculorum* Cael. xx. 49) and calls her *βοῶπις*; terms not complimentary in themselves, but consistent with a commanding self-asserting beauty.

Schwabe is perhaps right in supposing the words of Cicero Cael. xxvii. 64 *uelut haec tota fabella ueteris et plurimarum fabularum poetriae quam est sine argumento, quam nullum inuenire exitum potest*, to be a veiled allusion to Clodia's literary tastes.

There is thus a general agreement between the facts of Clodia's life as stated by Cicero and of Lesbia's as stated by Catullus. Both were married, unfaithful to their husbands, and at last infamous for their profligacy; both were impetuous in their feelings, unskilful in concealing

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Cic. 29 Κλωδίαν δὲ Μίτελλος ὁ Κέλερ εἶχεν ἢν Κουαδρανταρίαν ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τις αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς βαλάντιον ὡς ἀργύριον εἰσέπειμψε· τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κουαδραντήν ἐκάλουν. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ φημι σεν ὁ Κλέβιος. Quintil. viii. 6. 53 Haec allegoria quae est obscurior aenigma dicitur, iudicium meo quidem iudicio; quo tamen et poetae utuntur et oratores nonnunquam, ut Caelius quadrantariam Clytaemnestram et in triclinio Coam in cubiculo nolem. Cael. xvi. 62 Nisi forte mulier potens *quadrantaria illa permutatione* familiaris facta erat balneari. Cf. xxix. 69 Omnia quae cum turpitudine aliqua dicuntur, in istam *quadrare* videntur. The meaning of the word is explained by Plutarch, though the story he mentions was perhaps invented; Clodia admitted her lovers for the least possible gratuity, a *quadrans*, the sum paid for a public bath, Hor. S. i. 3. 137, Iuven. vi. 447, Sen. Epist. 86. 9. Cf. *diobolare prostibulum* Plautus, *ἑὸν ἰδὼλεον ἐταυρίδιον* Plut. de Nobilit. 13. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cael. xxxii. 78 In hac ciuitate ne patiamini illum absolutum muliebri gratia, M. Caelium libidini muliebri condonatum, ne eadem mulier cum suo coniuge et fratre (her brother Publius) et turpissimum latronem eripuisse et honestissimum adulescentem opprimisse uideatur.

the strength of their passion, and when once they had thrown aside decorum found with profligate company and in scandalous resorts.

Besides this general agreement, there are also particular points which tend to identify them.

1. Clodia had amongst her lovers M. Caelius Rufus: Catullus in LXXVII upbraids a certain Rufus<sup>1</sup> with betraying his friendship, depriving him of all he had (*omnia nostra bona*, cf. LXVIII. 158 *A quo sunt primo omnia nata bona*, which means Lesbia), and if the verses *Sed nunc id doleo quod purae pura puellae—carta loquetur anus*, belong to the same poem, of criminal intimacy with Lesbia.

2. Lesbia is repeatedly associated by Catullus with Venus and Cupid III. 1, XIII. 11, 12, XXXVI. 3, 4, 11-17, LXVIII. 133, LXXXVI. 6. Clodia, according to Cael. xxi, possessed a statue of Venus which she decked with the spoils of her lovers, 52 *Tunc (ausa es) Venerem illam tuam spoliare ornamentis spoliatricem ceterorum ? ib. tua hospitalis illa Venus.*

3. Catullus often mentions Jupiter and Juno in connexion with Lesbia LXX. 2 *non si se Iuppiter ipse petat*, LXXII. 2 *nec prae me uelle tenere Iovem*: cf. LXVIII. 137-140, where the infidelities of Lesbia to Catullus are compared with those of Jupiter to Juno. Cicero's recurring allusion to Clodia as *Ἡρα βοῶνις* makes it probable that she was habitually called Juno, as the paramour of her brother.

4. Catullus amongst other attacks on Lesbia accuses her (LXXIX) of preferring to himself a man whom he calls Lesbius; this Lesbius was vain of his personal beauty (*pulcer*) and avoided for his disgusting vices.

Lesbius est pulcer. Quidni? quem Lesbia malit

Quam te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua.

Sed tamen hic pulcer uendat cum gente Catullum,

Si tria natorum (*al. notorum*) saua reppererit.

If Lesbia is Clodia, Lesbius will be Clodius. Then the whole epigram becomes more meaning. The allusion is to the incestuous intercourse of P. Clodius Pulcher with his sister<sup>2</sup>, which was not only one of the scandals

<sup>1</sup> LXIX, also to Rufus, says nothing about Lesbia: LVIII is probably addressed to the same Caelius who is mentioned in C as a Veronese and faithful to Catullus at the height of his passion: hence cannot be Caelius Rufus, as Riese has shown.

<sup>2</sup> The particular charge to which LXXIX. 4 would most naturally allude (LXXX) is not expressly brought against Pub. Clodius (Schwabe p. 90 sqq.): Cicero ascribes it to Sex. Clodius, one of Publius' worst supporters, and this in connexion with Clodia (de Domo x. 25, xviii. 47, xxxi. 83, de Harusp. Responsis vi. 11, Cael. xxxii. 78): hence Lipsius considered the epigram *Lesbius est pulcer* to allude to Sextus Clodius, and so Bährens and B. Schmidt who consider him to be ironically included as a *gentilis* of the Claudii. But this spoils the epigram; both *pulcer* and *uendat* thus lose their meaning. Schwabe seems right in suggesting that the descriptions of Pub. Clodius in Cicero's orations might include this, see especially Sest. vii. 16 *omni inaudita libidine infamis*. I think Cicero intends to allude to it in Q. Fr. ii. 3. 2.

of the day, but the subject of libellous epigrams, as Cicero informs us ad Q. Fr. ii. 3. 2. *Tota gente* in 2 will be an allusion to the gens Clodia, in its double sense (Q. Fr. ii. 13. 2, Sest. xxxviii. 81): in 3 *uendit* would well apply to Clodius, who not only sold his services as a speaker, but put up to sale the effects of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and of whom Cicero says Har. Resp. xxvii. 58 *reges qui erant, uendidit: qui non erant, appellauit*: 4 whatever its particular meaning (see ad loc.) would sufficiently agree with the description of P. Clodius left us by Cicero in his letters and orations. See especially the fragments of the speech in Clodium et Curionem, pp. 947-950 vol. iv Orelli.

5. Clodia was *nobilis*, as well as *nota*. Lesbia was certainly *nota*, perhaps *nobilis*: Catullus says he fought great battles to obtain her, was in despair of succeeding (LXVIII. 53), and only succeeded at last by help of his friend Allius, who threw open to him a field otherwise closed, and provided a house where Lesbia could meet him secretly. All this might well apply to a woman whose position made an amour with her dangerous, and if Catullus calls Lesbia *candida diua* (70), and determines to content himself with being the most favored of her lovers (148), it seems at least possible that some superiority of rank made the former expression no mere hyperbole. No great weight as invalidating this theory can be given to the character of Lesbia as drawn in the earlier poems, especially those on the sparrow<sup>1</sup>. In these, it is true, she is shown in a playful mood little in accordance with all we know of Clodia; such as we may believe the Delia of Tibullus, or Ovid's Corinna to have been. But in the first of these very poems there is an undertone of passion hardly in accordance with the general softness of the music; the *gravis acquiescit ardor* belongs not to the light emotions of a Delia, but to the as yet undeveloped intensity of a nature potentially ungovernable, though still restrained; on the other hand the description of Clodia left us by Cicero, belongs to her later period and cannot be taken as an indication of what she had been; even if we believe all he tells us, which assuredly we need not. If again it is argued that the tone of some of the love-poems is suited to an ordinary passion for a *libertina* married or living in a quasi-connubial connexion with a *uir* (Riese), not to an amour with a woman of high rank, e.g. LXXXIII. 1 *Lesbia mi praesente uiro* compared with Am. i. 4 *Vir tuus est epulas nobis aditurus uisum*, Tib. i. 2. 21, 41. i. 6. 8, 15, 33, and even more VIII. especially 14 sqq. *At tu dolebis cum rogaberis nulla. Scelestia † ne te. Quae tibi manet uita? Quis nunc te adibit? cui uideberis bella? Quem nunc amabis? cuius uis diceris? Quem basiabis? cui labella mordebis?* words which seem

<sup>1</sup> See the arguments of Riese in Fleckeisen and Masius' *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie* for 1872, pp. 747-756.

to contain threats of destitution and actual poverty little suited to the wealthy supporter of a troop of lovers, the fashionable and admired Clodia; we may reply that if these poems belong, as seems clear, to an early period of the connexion, there would be a reason for writing in terms which would veil its real character; if Lesbia was already known as *Lesbia Catulli*, which may perhaps be inferred from the words *cuius esse diceris*? that is all which the public at large as yet knew, though the secret would doubtless soon be known to the intimate friends of the poet, and eventually to all or at least to most of those to whom his works were familiar. Or again, we might compare VIII with XXXVII *Salax taberna*, LVIII *Caeli*, *Lesbia nostra*, *Lesbia illa*, not to include as Riese has concluded, that Catullus' mistress went through the life of an ordinary meretrix, beginning perhaps as the *concubina* of a single man, and ending as a *prostibulum*, but to show that the vicious tendencies which in XXXVII betray themselves in the low haunts where Lesbia is found sitting with her paramours, and which in LVIII have reached the last degradation of the streets, had already so far revealed themselves before the quarrel which caused VIII as to justify what is perhaps only the language of amatory reproach in its most earnest and indignant form. At any rate the wording of VIII is sufficiently general not to be *inconsistent* with the hypothesis that it is addressed to a woman of rank; no single word hints that Lesbia was inferior in position to her lover. And if this is so, it seems only fair to judge this poem by the light of the others on the same subject. These, as we have seen, taken as a whole, exhibit a character closely resembling that of Clodia as drawn by Cicero, and with one particular agreement of the strongest kind—the allusion in the Epigram *Lesbius est pulcer*. How strong this is we can judge by comparing it with Riese's explanation. According to him the Clodia mentioned by Apuleius as the real Lesbia of Catullus was a libertina of the Claudia gens; she had contracted an amour with some Claudius, *perhaps* the well-known Publius Claudius<sup>1</sup> Pulcer. This would account for the double *Lesbius* and *Lesbia*, and *if* Lesbius is P. Clodius, for the allusions to him; but the real point, that which gives the epigram its sting, explains its form and makes the whole significant—the allusion to the incestuous intercourse of the brother Clodius and the sister Clodia—

<sup>1</sup> Riese considers the form of the name Clodia (not Claudia) to indicate that it did not belong to a person of high rank; but Dion C. expressly states that Clodius was the habitual, Claudius the less common, name of the famous Publius, xxxvii. 16 Πούπλιος τις Κλώδιος ὃν Κλαύδιον τινες ἐκάλεσαν, and Publius' sister is spelt Clodia in the MSS of the *pro Caelio* xxv. 61, and four times in xiii in contradistinction to *Quinta Claudia*, *Vestalis Claudia* xiv; so *Clodium et Clodium* of the brother and sister, Q. Fr. ii. 3. 2; on the other hand in *Fam.* v. 2. 6 the MSS give *Claudia*, and so Cicero perhaps wrote, as he is there addressing her husband.



lost, and with it the Roman definiteness of purpose which characterizes the best epigrams of Catullus. Nor is it possible to give much weight to another remark of Riese's, that the identification of Lesbia with Clodia, the wife of Metellus Celer, raises a literary difficulty which should be glad to avoid,—the consecration in poetry of an adulterous passion. It may be true that the Romans shrunk from the exhibition of such passions in an undisguised and declared form, and it is certain that no great work has preserved the actual names connected with such an amour. Yet who could venture to define with exactness the relations of Delia to Tibullus, or of Corinna to Ovid? Granting, what is not clear, that they were not formally married to the men who stand to them in the relation of *uir*, sometimes *coniunx*, it is certain that their connexion with an extraneous lover would not have been considered adulterous? In the case of Ovid at least such an inference would be very unsafe. In an elegy not less remarkable for the finish of its language than for the insolence of its profligacy (*Am.* iii. 4), Ovid advises Corinna's husband (*uir* 1, 44, *maritus* 27) not to keep his wife (*uxor* 45) under lock and key, with the view of securing her chastity (*casta* 3); even if her body remains untouched, her mind will play the adultress (*adultera mens est* 5), and when the door is barred against all comers, there will still be an adulterer within (*omnibus oclusis intus adulter erit* 8). Penelope was pure because Ulysses left her free: Corinna is in danger because her husband is faithless (29). Those who live at Rome must comply with the fashion of the town and put up with their wives' infidelities (*Rusticus est nimium, uisum laedit adultera coniunx* 37): let him make the best of his bargain and pay his court to the numerous friends his wife will find him (45). Ovid indeed tells us himself that one reason of his banishment was that he taught adultery (*doctor adulterii* *Trist.* ii. 212), a charge hardly justified by his *Ars* alone (*Trist.* ii. 240–256) and doubtless assignable to the confusion of that work with his *Amores*. And whatever the nature of the connexion of Tibullus and Delia, it is certainly reprobated in the *Tristia* as teaching married women (*nuptae*) to sin, *Trist.* ii. 17–464. Yet Augustus had taken public morals under his especial pervision, and if literature dealt with sentimental exhibitions of vicious love at least not legalized love, it was under the direct protest of government. This could not be said of the age of Catullus, an age of lawless and unchecked licence in every way; when a man as correct in life as Cicero could bandy indecent jokes with Clodius in the Senate, and saw highly coloured pictures of the worst vices of his time in one speech after another. If then Catullus idealized an adulterous passion, the utmost that could be expected from him would be to show some reserve in concealing the name of his mistress; and this he has done.

If we think of the freedom which he has shown in other cases, e.g. Ammiana, Aufilena, Juventius, we shall see that there must have been a motive for his silence in this; delicacy and the natural tenderness of a lover for his mistress would no doubt do something; literary consistency would retain the disguised name when it had once become known; but it seems no improbable guess that the name was in the first instance disguised because the amour was dangerous, as we know from the poet's own words; and if it was dangerous, it is more than probable that the object of it was a woman of high rank.

Lastly, the identification of Lesbia with Clodia would be in accordance with the rule laid down by Acron on Hor. S. i. 2. 64 *Eodem numero syllabarum commutationem nominum facit*, where he gives as instances *Licymnia Malchinus Villius* for *Terentia Maecenas Annius*.

## ERRATVM.

P. 428, for *Flagrantem* read *Fragrantem*.

## A COMMENTARY ON CATULLUS.

### I.

In this poem Catullus dedicates his work to Cornelius Nepos (Auson. Praef. ad Pacatum, 1-3), a countryman of his own (*Padi accola*, Plin. H. N. iii. 127, cf. Plin. Epist. iv. 28, *Municipum tuorum, Cornelii Nepotis et T. Cati*), and a man of some eminence in literature. Cornelius Nepos had fostered the young poet at the outset of his career, probably had praised his poems in a work of his own (vv. 3-8), seemingly the *Chronica* mentioned by Ausonius, Epist. xvi, *Apologos Titiani et Nepotis Chronica, quasi alios apologos, nam et ipsa instar sunt fabularum . . . misi* (Teuffel, History of Roman Literature, 185. 3). Perhaps, as Teuffel suggests, 185. 2, Catullus had been recommended to his compatriot on his first arrival in Rome.

It is uncertain whether the poem is intended as a dedication of all that Catullus wrote, or only of his shorter and lighter lyrics. The latter view has been maintained by Bruner (*Acta Societatis Fennicae*, vii. 601-656). (1) Catullus calls his work *libellus*, a word hardly applicable to so many poems in such various metres, and actually used of short single pieces, as by Statius of each of his *silvae*, Praef. to Bk. I. (2) This would be more likely to hold good at a time when papyrus was still the ordinary material for writing purposes, and parchment, which seems to have come into general use only towards the close of the first century A.D., or, as Birt thinks, not before the middle of the third, was rare. Ritschl has estimated the smallest number of lines in each column or page (Plin. xiii. 80) of a papyrus roll at about 25, the largest at about 50<sup>1</sup>. The number of lines in our MSS of Catullus is somewhat under 2300; estimating 30 lines for each page, the *liber* or *libellus* would have contained 76 or 77 pages in all<sup>2</sup>; yet of the Herculanean papyri only

<sup>1</sup> The papyrus of Philodemus *περὶ ἀρχῆς* as exhibited in Gomperz' transcript contains as a rule 40 lines in each column, sometimes 38 or 42, rarely less or more.

<sup>2</sup> There are 809 lines in the shorter poems,

811	„	in the Epithalamia, Attis, and Peleus and Thetis,
326	„	in the Elegies,
330	„	in the Epigrams.

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But this takes no account of the intervals between each poem, or of lost verses or poems. In the first section the intervals alone would add 60 lines at least, in the second 4, in the third 4, in the last 48. This would raise each section respectively to 869, 815, 330, 378; and in a moderate computation of the lines lost, the first section must have contained at least 900 lines, the second about 830, the third about 360, the last perhaps 390.

two have as many as 70 pages, and these are prose-treatises, for which, according to Isidorus, a larger size of roll was used than for poems or letters (Origg. vi. 12. 1). (3) The poems as we have them, fall naturally into three sections; the shorter lyrical poems I-LX, the longer poems LXI-LXVIII, the Epigrams; or, if we again divide the longer poems into Elegiac and non-Elegiac or Lyrico-Epic, into four. Each one of these would have made a *libellus* as large as one of the five *libelli* which originally formed Ovid's *Amores*, larger than any of Statius' *Silvae*, or than any except the first three of the eight *libri* ascribed to Vergil by Servius (Prolegom. Aeneid), the *Ciris*, *Aetna*, *Culex*, *Priapea*, *Catalepta*, *Epigrammata*, *Copa*, or *Dirae*. (4) c. I. is not the only poem in which Catullus commends his works to the favorable judgment of posterity. The fragment xiv<sup>b</sup>, *Si qui forte mearum ineptiarum Lectores eritis manusque uestras Non horrebitis admouere nobis* may belong, as Bruner suggests, to a lost epilogue: they may also have been part of another prologue; as Ovid ends the third book of the *Tristia* with the same words of apology with which he begins the fourth; iii. 14. 51, 2, *Qualemcunque igitur uenia dignare libellum, Sortis et excusa conditione meae*; iv. 1. 1, *Si qua meis fuerint, ut erunt, uitiosa libellis, Excusata suo tempore lector habe*. On either hypothesis it is improbable that the *libellus* extended to the longer poems, which could not have been called *nugae* or *ineptiae*. (5) The poem to Hortalus, c. LXV, may have been intended as a sort of dedication; and at least would form a very appropriate commencement to the volume of Elegies. It was a common practice of the time to dedicate different parts of the same work to different persons: Varro dedicated three books of his *De Lingua Latina* to Septimius, books v-xxv to Cicero (Teuffel, 155. 2). (6) This view is not at variance with the language of ancient authors when they speak of Catullus. Thus Velleius Paterculus, in his list of Roman authors in ii. 36, *auctoresque carminum Varronem ac Lucretium, neque ullo in suscepti operis sui carmine minorem Catullum*, seems to distinguish between different parts of Catullus' works. Seneca (Controu. vii. 19) and Charisius 97 K. quote two of the hendecasyllabic poems with the words *Catullus in hendecasyllabis*, perhaps = 'his volume of hendecasyllables'; Quintilian ix. 3. 16 cites LXII. 45 as in *Epithalamio*; Terentianus Maurus 2899, quoting the first line of the *Attis*, says, *Seruare quae Catullum probat ipse tibi liber Super alta—maria*, where *liber* seems to mean the poem itself, i. e. the *Attis*, not the total collection of Catullus' poems; and Martial's line, iv. 14. 14, *Magno mittere passerem Maroni*, if not xi. 6. 16, *Donabo tibi passerem Catulli*, are perhaps rightly explained by Bruner of a separate issue of the *Passer* poems either alone or with other lyrics. Indeed an early scholion on Iuven. vi. 8 (Harl. 2772) expressly calls these two poems on the sparrow a *libellus de Consolatione*. I quote the passage as I copied it from the MS. *Exinctus id est mortuus. Amicam catulli hic notat et carpit quae propter mortuum passerem suum & domitum (l. edomitum) flebat, quem ille nitebatur consolari. unde et libellum ei de consolatione catulli (l. Catullus) misit. hinc marcialis Passer deliciae meae catulli Passer id hec pulcherrima fuit*<sup>1</sup>. (7) Ausonius twice quotes the first line of Catullus' dedication, Praef. ad

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we should read *Catullus misit Passer deliciae meae puellae. hinc Marcialis Donabo tibi passerem Catulli*.

Pacatum (xxiii. 1-3 Schenkl), *Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum?* Verrensian ait poeta quondam, Inuentoque dedit statim Nepoti, and Praef. Griphi (xxvi Schenkl), *Latebat inter nugas meas libellus ignobilis*. . . *Hunc ego cum uelut gallinaceus Euclionis situ carlei pulueris eruissem, excussum relegi, atque ut audius faenerator improbum numum malui accipere quam condere. Dein cogilans mecum, non illud Catullianum, Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum sed ἀπογοῶρερον et uerius Cui dono illepidum rudem libellum non diu quaesiui*. . . *Igitur iste nugator libellus, iam diu secreta quidem sed uolgi lectione laceratus, perueniet tandem in manus tuas. . . Ac ne me nescias gloriosum, coeptos inter prandendum uersiculos ante meae tempus absolui.* Then follows the poem on the number three in 90 hexameters, i. e. the *libellus* itself. What the *libellus* was in the former passage is not clear, but if, as seems probable, it was the poem *Quod uisae sectabor iter?* which follows it in the *antiquus Lugdunensis codex* (Vinetus ad loc. cf. Schenkl, Ausonius pp. xxxii and 147), this *libellus* also was a composition of 50 lines. It seems unlikely that Ausonius should challenge comparison between his own *libelli* and Catullus' *libellus*, if the latter instead of containing less than 100 verses contained more than 2000.

On these grounds I consider it improbable that the poem to Cornelius was written by Catullus as a dedicatory preface to his whole works, although this is the received opinion and has the sanction of Bentley (Pref. to Horace). It may have been meant as a preface to the shorter poems collectively, or, as these would have made a large *liber*, to some of them. It may be objected that the last three lines, especially the solemn prayer *quod, o patrona Virgo, Plus uno maneat perenne sacro*, are less suitable to a few short lyrics than as a proem to the greater works of Catullus, the Epithalamia, Attis, and Nuptials of Peleus. But we must remember that it is the Lesbia-poems and the iambics upon Mamurra that gave Catullus his chief reputation; and if he looks for immortality from these alone, he only does what Horace did after him, when at the end of the second book of his Odes he prophesies the world-wide renown his winged songs will bring him, and again in the last ode of bk. iii declares that he will survive the waste of time, as the first who naturalized Aeolian lyrics in Italy. So too Ovid predicts his immortality as the poet of the Amores at the end of the first of our three books, and again in the last elegy of the third. Paukstadt (de Martiale Catulli imitatore, p. 11) shows how often this Dedication has been imitated by Martial; see also Munro, Elucid. and Critic. p. 4, Danyysz, de Script. Roman. studiis Catullianis, p. 58.

The doubts here expressed have, since their publication in ed. 1, been much strengthened by the parallel or modificatory views of Süss, K. P. Schulze, and Birt.

1. Süss (Catulliana, p. 24) thinks that the *liber Catulli* as we have it originally consisted of three separate *libelli*, (1) the Lyrics I-IX with the Preface to Corn. Nepos; (2) the two Epithalamia, Attis, and Nuptiae Pelei, which we may suppose dedicated to Manlius Torquatus; (3) LXV-CXVI, the Elegies and Epigrams. Here not only is LXV in effect a dedication to Hortensius, but speaks of translations from Callimachus, which again meet us in CXVI, i. e. in the first and last poem of the *libellus*.



2. K. P. Schulze (Catull-Forschungen, 1881) thinks that the first 14 of the lyrical poems (I–XIV) were edited separately by Catullus himself, and that the vv. XIV<sup>b</sup>, *Si qui forte mearum ineptiarum, &c.*, formed the Epilogue to the little volume. He observes that they contain some of the purest pearls of Catullus' poetry, and present a uniformity of tone and feeling in strong contrast with the mixed and varied cast of those which follow. Of the anger and bitterness which abound in the remaining lyrics only one trace is to be found here, in XI. The series well deserves the titles of *nugae ineptiae uersiculi libellus*, which are less applicable to the serious or angry words displayed in the poems against Caesar and the numerous rivals in love on whom the poet heaps his scorn. This view not only explains the occurrence in the later series of lyrics (XV–LX) of poems chronologically anterior to I–XIV, but throws into clear light the not infrequent references in that series to expressions in I–XIV, e.g. XVI. 12, *milia multa basiorum* to V, VII; again XVI. 3, 4, *Qui me ex uersiculis meis putastis Quod sunt molliculi parum pudicum* to VI. 10, XI. 17–20; especially the words XVI. 12, 13, *Vos qui milia multa basiorum Legistis*. Furius and Aurelius had not only heard Catullus' poems recited: they had read them in his own edition. Very similarly Sellar, *Rom. Poets of Republic* p. 431.

3. The whole question of books, their material, form, and size, has been elaborately treated by Birt in his *Antike Buchwesen* (Berlin 1882). He shows, p. 22, that *libellus*, the smaller size of papyrus roll, was specially used of poems; that the average length of such a *libellus* was from 1100–700 lines, rarely below 500. But poems like the *Aetna*, *Ibis*, *Priapea*, *Ciris*, *Culex*, *Panegyricus* in *Pisonem*, *Dirae*, *Nux*, *Moretum*, &c. might be insufficient to fill a complete roll, yet of course were habitually published alone; such a work was called *monobiblos*, and might extend from 700 to less than 100 lines. The first book of Propertius, which was published in this way by itself, was known to Martial as *Monobiblos Properti*, and the name survives in our MSS. It contains 678 lines. The *Ibis* contains 642 (644), the *Aetna* 644 (645), the *Ciris* 541, the *Culex* 414, the *Nux* 182, the *Moretum* 124, the *Copa* only 38. Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* was probably such a *monobiblos* of 76 verses.

Thus the *liber Catulli* as preserved in our MSS is of abnormal length, and must have been made up of several much shorter *libelli*. The first of these, as we may infer from Mart. iv. 14, in which Martial compares his own *libelli* with the *passer* poems he supposes Catullus to have sent to Vergil, did not include anything of a lengthy or serious character and therefore may have comprised I–LX. The vv. XIV<sup>b</sup> are out of their place, and probably formed originally a concluding Address to the Reader, just as Horace addresses the 1st Epistle of Book I to Maecenas, the last to the Public generally. The epyllion on the Marriage of Peleus (LXIV) must have formed another division by itself, like the *Hecale* of Callimachus, the *Zmyrna* of Cinna, the *Ciris*, the *Culex*, &c. LXIX–CXVI are equally self-complete: but as the length of LXXVI shows that short elegies might sometimes be mingled with poems of an epigrammatic character, and the subject of LXVII (*Ianua*), perhaps also of LXVIII A, ill accords with the elevation of the two Epithalamia, Attis, Coma Berenices or Laodamia (LXVIII B), these two perhaps formed part of the *Epigrammatum liber*, the five long poems just mentioned forming a

separate and fourth section. (1) I-LX. (2) LXI, LXII, LXIII, LXV, LXVI, LXVIII B. (3) LXIV. (4) LXVII, LXVIII A, LXIX-CXVI.

Benoist (Commentaire, p. 360), while acknowledging that the dedication to Corn. Nepos is more particularly suited to form the preface of the Lyrics, conceives that it was meant by its position to act as a general introduction to all the three parts in which the Catullan poems are grouped. He dismisses the supposed proemial or dedicatory character of LXI, LXV as chimerical.

1 sqq. The poet imagines a copy of his work just brought in fresh from the bookseller's, and considers to whom he shall dedicate it. So Martial iii. 2. 1, *Cuius vis fieri, libelle, munus?* . . . *Faustini fugis in sinum: sapisti.* Cf. Meleager's *Μοῦσα φῖλα, τίμιν τάνδε φέρεται πάγκαρπον σάβαν;*

1 Qui. So MSS, and this form of the dative is maintained by Munro (Camb. Journ. of Philology iv. 247) here, II. 3, XXIV. 5, Lucr. iv. 44 as a possibility. The statement of Quintilian i. 27, *illud nunc melius quod 'cui' tribus quas posui litteris enotamus, in quo pueris nobis ad pinguem sane sonum quod et oī utebantur, tantum ut ab illo 'qui' distingueretur*, proves indeed that *quōi* not *cui* was the prevailing form long after the time of Catullus, and we may therefore with confidence retain the *Qu* of *GO*. But the last words *tantum ut ab illo 'qui' distingueretur* make it more than possible that the dative and the nominative were in pronunciation so similar as to be often indistinguishable, and 'if so they may have been written also indistinguishably *Qui*. Our MSS give *qui* as dative not only here, II. 3, XXIV. 5, but also LXVII. 47. *Quōi* is not certain in any passage, but is probable in XVII. 14, LXXI. 1. *Cui* occurs 7 times: see Index to vol. I. *donō*, 'am I to give?' So Eun. iii. 1. 44, *Sed heus tu purgon' ego me de istac Thaidi?* Iuven. iii. 296, *in qua te quaero prosequa?* iv. 130, *Quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?* and the frequent *quid ago?* Aen. iv. 535, x. 675. *lepidum nouum libellum*, not *nouom*. Observe the triple -um, an assonance quite in the manner of Catullus: XLVI. 11, *Diuersae uariae uiæ*; XLVIII. 1, *Mellitos oculos tuos*.

2 Arido pumice. Mart. viii. 72. 1-3, *Nondum murice cultus asperoque Morsu pumicis aridi politus*. Pumice was proverbially dry. Cf. Aul. ii. 4. 18, *Pumex non aequat aridus atque hic est senex*, where see Wagner. *expolitus*, see on XXII. 8.

3 Corneli, tibi. Direct answer to a direct question, as in C. 5, *Cui fauam potius? Caeli, tibi*. Cat. dedicates his book to Corn. Nepos. The 'Lives' usually attributed to Corn. Nepos, and believed by Madvig to be his, contain many words and combinations also found in Catullus. Timoth. i, *hic a patre acceptam gloriam multis auxil uirtutibus*, Cat. LXIV. 323, *O decus eximium magnis uirtutibus augens*. Datam. v, *gazae custos regiae*, Cat. LXIV. 46, *Tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaze*. Timol. i, the words *hoc praeclarissimum eius factum* are applied to Timoleon's murder of his brother, the tyrant Timophanes, just as Catullus speaks of Berenice's complicity in the murder of her mother's paramour Demetrius as *bonum facinus*, LXVI. 27. The juxtaposition of *sacer*, *gener* Cat. XXIX. 24 occurs twice in Nepos, de Reg. iii. 2.

*custodia socer generi periit*, Hamile. iii, *quod moribus eorum non poterat interdici socero genero*. Hannib. vii, *munus eorum gratum acceptumque esse*, Cat. XCVI. 1, *Si quicquam mutis gratum acceptumue sepulcris*. Attic. xii, *praeoptaretque equitis Romani filiam generosarum nuptiis*, Cat. LXIV. 120, *Omnibus his Thesei dulcem praeoptarit amorem*.

4. **Meas** and **Qualecunque** in v. 9 show that Catullus did not avoid either iambs or trochees in the first foot of his best hendecasyllabic poems; see my Excursus in vol. I, on Plin. Praef. Hist. Nat. **aliquid**, 'something worth.' Att. iv. 2. 2, *si unquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid nugas*, particularly applied to short poems of an epigrammatic character. Mart. ix. 1. 5, *Ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus*; ii. 86. 9, 10, *Turpe est difficile habere nugas Et stultus labor est ineptiarum*; vii. 26. 7, 8, *Quanto mearum scis amore nugarum Flagret*.

5. **Iam tum**, a considerable time before this dedication was written; how long there is nothing to determine. **unus Italorum**, 'as no other Italian had done.' Both Varro, in his *Annalium libri tres* (Teuffel, 154. 4), and Atticus, in his *Annalis* (Brut. iii. 13, iv. 15, v. 19; Att. xii. 23. 2), seem to have written historical compendiums (Teuffel, 159. 1). Either Corn. Nepos' *Chronica* were published before these (Bährens shows from Brut. v. 19 that Atticus' *Annalis* was inspired by Cicero's *de Republica*, and was therefore after B.C. 54), or they were *resumés* of Roman, not universal history. **Italorum**. There were several epitomes of history in Greek, e.g. by Apollodorus.

6. **Omne aevum**, 'all time,' i.e. the history of all time. Cicero speaks very similarly of Atticus' *Annalis*, Brut. iii. 13, *libri quo iste omnem rerum memoriam breviter et . . . perdiligenter complexus est*; Orat. xxxiv. 120, *conseruat is notatisque temporibus . . . annorum septingentorum memoriam uno libro colligauit*. **explicare**, 'to set forth in order,' *ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia uiderem*, as Cicero says of Atticus' *Annalis*, Brut. iv. 15. **cartis** seems here = 'books:' so in Trist. iii. 1. 1, 4, *liber* and *carta* seem used indifferently.

7. **laboriosis**. Gellius notices this passive use of the word as peculiar. N. A. ix. 12, *C. Calvus in poematis laboriosus dicit non ut uolgo dicitur qui laborat sed in quo laboratur*. *Durum, inquit, rus fugis et laboriosum*. The more common expression would have been *operosis*. B. G. viii. Praef. 4. Corn. Nepos is called by Gellius *rerum memoriae non indiligens*, xv. 28. 1.

8. **habe tibi**, formulistic. Süß quotes Plaut. Pers. iv. 4. 111, *habe tibi centum minis*. **quicquid hoc libelli**, as in Aen. i. 78, *quodcunque hoc regni*. Of this clause **Qualecunque** is an epexegetic expansion.

9. **Qualecunque**, like *quicquid libelli*, self-depreciatory; 'this slight book such as it is.' After **Qualecunque** there is a rhythmical pause. Hence A. Palmer's punctuation *Qualecunque quod* is inadmissible. **patrona uirgo**, 'the Muse:' *quia scriptores ac poetae sub clientela sunt Musarum*, Suet. Gramm. 6. So in the satire ascribed to Sulpicia, *Musa . . . precibus descende clientis et audi*. Catullus can hardly mean Minerva, whose staid and laborious character, as Hand remarks, would be ill-suited to such *lepidae nugas* as these poems. Cf. Timocreon, i. 4, Bergk, *Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλους κλέος ἀν' Ἑλλαντας τίθει*. As Pleitner well observes, it is the Muse who transmits the works of poets to posterity, and to whom Catullus looks for the preservation of his own memory. Cf.

LXVIII. 45, 46, *Sed dicam uobis, uos porro dicite multis Milibus et facite haec certa loquatur anus.* The objection that the Muse is too inaccurately defined by *uirgo* is met (1) by the qualifying *patrona*, (2) by the Propertian (ii. 30. 33) use of *uirgines* = Musae (Süss and A. Palmer). Catullus can hardly mean Minerva; for he never speaks of this goddess in connexion with his poems, nor is such a function often associated with her, spite of Ovid's *Mille dea est operum, certe dea carminis haec est* (Fast. iii. 833) quoted by Schwabe; on the other hand, Scaliger's view, adopted by Pohl and Bährens, that Catullus thinks of Minerva as the presiding goddess of libraries (cf. Iuuen. iii. 219, *Hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Mineruam*) in which his volume would be preserved amongst those of other poets, is too particular, and would have been indicated, if we may judge by Catullus' ordinary style, in more precise terms, to say nothing of the fact that Minerva is more specially the patron goddess of the schoolmaster (*Minerual*), cf. Mayor on Iuuen. x. 116. [Munro retains *quidem* of the Datanus, and combining this with Bergk's *patronei ut ergo* makes the whole of the last two lines depend on *ut*:

Quaecunque quidem patronei ut ergo

Plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

But this is unlikely (1) from the awkward position of *quidem*, (2) from the harshness of the elision *patronei ut*, which is without parallel in this metrically and stylistically finished poem.]

10. **Plus uno saeclo**, a modest *in multa saecula*. So Callim. Dian. 33, οὐχ ἓνα πύργον, Iup. 89, τὰ δ' οὐχ ἐνί; Hom. H. Merc. 284, οὐχ ἓνα πύργον φέρε; Aesch. Sept. 104, πάταγος οὐχ ἐνὸς δορός (O. Schneider). **maneat**. Callim. fr. 121 Blomf., πολλὰ μένωνσιν ἔτος. Cinna ap. Sueton. Gramm. 11, *Saecula permaneat nostri Diana Catonis*.

## II.

Tus and III are concerned with a pet sparrow of Catullus' mistress Lesbia. They seem to have been very popular, if we may judge from the numerous allusions to them, Iuuen. vi. 8; Mart. i. 9. 3; 109. 1; iv. 14. 13; vii. 14. 3; xi. 6. 16; xiv. 77; Sen. Apocol. ii.

There seems to be no ground for De Quincey's doubt as to the identity of *passer* with our sparrow (Selections, vol. 8, p. 82, quoted by Mr. Clayton). In the time of Realinus it was the fashion with Italian ladies of rank to keep pet sparrows; and Mr. Browning informs me they are favorites with the Italians of the present day.

1. **meae puellae**, Lesbia, and so always.

2. **primum digitum**, 'the tip of the finger,' as *prima lingua*, 'the front of the tongue,' Plin. H. N. xi. 172; *digitulis primoribus*, Bacch. iv.

4. 24. **atpetenti**, a word peculiarly applied to seizing a person's hand for the purpose of kissing it, Plin. H. N. xi. 250, *Dextera oculis aversa adpetitur, in fide porrigitur*. This sense is here combined with that of *pecking*, *rostro adp.*, Liu. vii. 26.

4. **morsus**, de Sen. xv. 51, *auium minorum morsus*: LXVIII. 127.

5-8. 'When my bright love is in the humour for some charming

frolic, either I ween as a little solace of her pain, or when the fever of her passion is asleep,' i.e. she toys with the sparrow either to relieve her thoughts from the pain of love or for light-heartedness when she is not thinking of love at all. **Et . . . et**, 'either'—'or,' as in Suet. Aug. 78, *saepe indigens somni et dum per uicos deportaretur et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras condormiebat*.

5. **desiderio**, Fam. xiv. 2. 2, *Hem mea lux, meum desiderium . . . te nunc mea Terentia sic uexari!* **nitenti**, LXI. 186, *ore floridulo nitens*, of bright features; here the bright look of the eyes is probably included.

6. **Karum**, 'precious,' as proceeding from a loved object. **iocari**, of toying or trifling, not as usual of verbal jesting: so Horace, C. i. 10. 7, *iocoso furto*. Val. Max. ii. 10. 8, *populus ut mimae nudarentur postulare erubuit* . . . *populus priscum morem iocorum in scenam reuocauit*.

7. **Et solaciolum**, 'alike (= either) as a solace,' in apposition with the clause *libet nescio quid iocari*, and answered by *et cum g. acquiescit ardor*, v. 8. If, however, with MSS *ut* is retained in 8, *Credo, ut tum grauis acquiescat ardor* (so most edd. and Schwabe in his edition of 1886), we must either assume with Lachmann that *solaciolum* forms a substantival nominative to *libet* against the ordinary usage, which restricted *libere*, *licere*, *oportere*, &c. used as personal verbs to the neuters of pronouns, such as *id*, *ea*, *ista*, *quid*, *quod*, *quae*, *quidquid*, or particular adjectives, such as *omnia*, *quantum*, *multum*, *multa*, cf. Catull. LXI. 139–141, *Scimus haec tibi quae licent Sola cognita, sed marito Ista non eadem licent* (Munro, pp. 6, 7, after Neue, Formenl. ii. pp. 485, 6, cf. Dräger. i. p. 144); or explain *Karum nescio quid libet iocari Et solaciolum* as *libet iocari karum nescio quid et quod solaciolo sit*, in which case *solaciolum* as explanatory of *nescio quid* is allowed to depend loosely on *iocari*. **doloris**, the pain of loss, Prop. i. 13. 9, *Haec erit illarum contempti poena doloris*, and so often in Ovid's Amores and Ars.

8. If **Credo** is genuine (cf. LXXXIV. 5, Lydia 69 *Tum credo fuerat Mauros distentus in armis*), it would seem to qualify the boastfulness implied by *solac. sui doloris*, in which Catullus of course alludes to Lesbia's passion for himself: for its position, half-way between two alternative clauses, cf. Epid. ii. 2. 72, *Nam ille quidem aut iam hic aderit, credo hercle, aut iam adest* (Holtze, Syntaxis, ii. p. 227), but Tartara rightly says (Animaduvers. p. 8, Rome, 1882) that *Credo* has a suspicious look, and was perhaps some grammarian's marginal note<sup>1</sup>, taken into the text later by mistake. Accepting this as more than probable, I would not with Tartara condemn the whole verse, but remodel it, omitting *Credo*. The MSS give the rest of the verse *ut cum grauis acquiescet ardor*; possibly Catullus wrote *Vicumque est grauis, acquiescet ardor*, a parenthesis full of meaning for Lesbia, conveying as it does a promise of renewed intimacies with her lover<sup>2</sup>. **grauis acquiescit ardor**, all words of

<sup>1</sup> It is not uncommon to find in MSS *Credo* written in the margin as an expression of the scribe's opinion on some obscure or obscurely written and not wholly decipherable word. The opinion of course may be that not of the scribe who wrote the MS in question, but of an earlier critic from whom it has been transmitted.

<sup>2</sup> Munro inverts vv. 6, 7, reading

*Credo ut, cum grauis acquiescet ardor,  
Sit solaciolum sui doloris,*

which is not only weak, intensifying as it does the objections urged by Tartara against



physical suffering here transferred to an emotion. *gravis*, so *febris gravior*, Cels. iii. 4; *morbis gravior*, ib. *acquiescit*, Cels. ii. 8, *febris quiescit*, whence metaphorically, Plin. Epist. iv. 21. 92, *magno lamen fomento dolor meus acquiescet*. The preposition seems to give the idea of an end reached and relief ensuing. Orat. lix. 199, *cum aures extremum impet expectent in eoque acquiescant*. *ardor*, 'the fever of love,' Lucr. iv. 1086, 1098. It seems doubtful whether Catullus intended any strong opposition of *ardor*, 'outrageous passion,' to *dolor*, 'heart-ache,' as Munro imagines, pp. 7, 8, translating 'for a sweet solace of her heart-ache, I trow, whenever the fierce storm of passion shall be laid,' as if the subsidence of the one were a necessary prelude to the alleviation of the other. Rather he repeats and enforces the same idea in different words; heightening the tone of his language, and so to speak correcting himself to a more intense realization of Lesbia's feelings, as he had no doubt witnessed them.

11-13. Before 11 one or more lines are lost, probably to this effect, *Tecum dispaream nisi oliari*, or simply *Tecum ludere sic ut ipsa ludit*. The connexion seems to be, 'As dear as was the apple to Atalanta which first made her feel love for Hippomenes, so dear is it to me to be playing with Lesbia's sparrow, for then I am with her and know that I am in her good graces, and may soon count upon her full love.' As Tartara admirably puts it, '*uerbis exoptabat poeta uidere passerem, re autem Lesbiam*.' Theocritus identifies Atalanta's first sight of the apple with her first feeling of love for Hippomenes, Eid. iii. 40, 'Ἰππομένης ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἶδεν γάμος Μῆλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων δρόμον ἀνεν' ἃ δ' Ἀταλάντα ὧς ἶδεν, ὥς ἐμάνη, ἐκ ἐς βαθὺν ὠλατ' ἔρωτα. I cannot agree with Bonnet (*Révue Critique* for 1883. p. 347) and A. Palmer (*Hermathena*, vi. 302), that the simile has only a general resemblance to the thing compared with it, and that beyond the common point of the pleasure felt by Catullus and Atalanta we are not to look for agreement in the accessories; though this is sometimes true as in LXV. 17 sqq.

11. *Tam gratum*. Antigonus of Carystus, ap. Athen. 82, 'Ὀραίων γὰρ φιλότερος ἢ λασιμῆλων Πορφυρίων, Ἐφύρη τὰ τ' ἀέξεται ἡνεμοέσση. If our MSS are right in not admitting a lacuna between 10 and 11, we might perhaps defend *Tecum ludere possem* followed by *Tam gratum est* (= *Tam gratum esset*), by the use of *satius est, melius est, longum est, incilitia est* (Poen. iv. 2. 99), Mart. ii. 63. 3, *luxuria est, si tanti diues amares*, 'it would be luxury if you were a rich man and made love so expensively.' Cf. Holtze, Synt. ii. pp. 101, 108, 109. But then we should rather expect *possum*, as in Tib. i. 6. 37, *At mihi seruandam credas: non sacua recuso Virbena, detrecto non ego uincla pedum*. The hypothesis of a lacuna is, however, not only more probable in itself, but supported by the express testimony of Alex. Guarinus: 'Post hoc carmen (u. 10) in codice antiquissimo et manu scripto ingens sequitur fragmentum.'

12. *Pernici*. Atalanta, who had baffled many suitors (hence *zonam diu ligatam*) by refusing to marry any one who did not conquer her in running, was at last won by Hippomenes, who dropped a golden apple in her path,—Apollod. iii. 9. 2; Theocr. iii. 40; Ovid, M. x. 560.

*Credo*, but grammatically improbable from the meaningless, almost solecistic, use of *mi*. More plausible is Mr. Postgate's *Credito* for *Credo ut*; but then I should expect *not acquiescet, but acquiescit or acquirit*.

Hesiod, fr. xxvi, Markscheffel, calls her ποδωκῆς δι' Ἀταλάντη. aureolum, a favorite word, LXI. 160. In Verg. E. iii. 71, viii. 52, aurea mala refers to the bright colour of the apples: here the apples are of actual gold, taken, according to the Schol. on Theocr. iii. 40, from the garden of the Hesperides, according to the Schol. on Theocr. ii. 120, from the brows of Dionysos, and given to Hippomenes by Aphrodite. Ovid, Met. x. 644 sqq., makes Venus take three apples of gold from a tree in her consecrated precinct at Tamasus in Cyprus, and give them to Hippomenes, with directions how to use them.

13. See on LXI. 53. soluit = *effecit ut solueretur*.

### III.

On the death of the same sparrow. Similar poems on pet animals are found Anth. P. vii. 189, 190, 197, 204: cf. Ovid, Am. ii. 6; Stat. S. ii. 4, both on the death of a parrot: Martial, i. 7, says that Stella had written a poem on a pet dove which was superior to Catullus' passer; he himself wrote such epigrams, see i. 109, on a dog Issa, and contrasts the prevailing fondness for pet animals of all kinds with his own for a slave, vii. 87.

The famous words *Veneres Cupidinesque*, cf. XXXVI. 3, *Sanctae Veneri Cupidinique*; LXXXVI. 6, *Omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres* have a special meaning if Lesbia was Clodia. Cicero, Cael. xxi, says Clodia possessed a statue of Venus which she decked with the spoils of her lovers: it seems probable that she considered herself under the particular protection of that deity.

1. *Veneres Cupidinesque*. Cicero, de N. D. iii. 23, mentions four Venuses, three Cupids, and Catullus would thus be speaking with strict accuracy, cf. XIII. 12; Mart. ix. 11. 9, xi. 13. 6, to which Riese adds Plat. Symp. 180, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνεν Ἐρωτος Ἀφροδίτη. μᾶς μὲν οὖν οὖσης, εἰς ἃν ἦν Ἐρως ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ δύο ἑστὸν, δύο ἀνάγκη καὶ Ἐρωτε εἶναι. Callim. fr. 494, Blomf. τὰς Ἀφροδίτας ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία. But in XXXVI. 3, Lesbia makes a vow, *sanctae Veneri Cupidinique*, cf. Asin. iv. 1. 59, and probably Catullus, in calling on the *Veneres Cupidinesque* to mourn for the death of her sparrow, merely pluralizes this, without any special reference to the various forms of the goddess or her son. 'Mourn, goddess of love, and you her attendant Cupid, wherever ye may be,' i.e. not only with Lesbia, your constant worshipper, but wherever there is any one to feel the loss of what is beautiful. On the other hand, as the Ἐρωτες are often mentioned with Venus, e.g. Apoll. R. iii. 936, Callim. fr. 116 Blomf., Theocr. vii. 117; cf. Hor. C. i. 19. 1, iv. 1. 5; Ovid. F. iv. 1, the first outline of the expression may have been *Venus Cupidinesque*; the change to *Veneres* would make the expression symmetrical, and at the same time suggest the meaning of graces (LXXXVI. 6), thus combining in one Κύπρις and Χάριτες: cf. Anth. P. vii. 25. 3, Χαρίτων καὶ Ἐρώτων, and so K. P. Schultze Jahrb. for 1882, p. 205.

2. **quantum est hominum.** Pseud. i. 3. 117, *quantum in terra degit hominum.* Fronto, de Nepote Amissio, p. 234 Naber, *uiro suo omnium quantum est hominum optimo adquiescet.* The v. belongs to that class of 'indefinite' expressions which Catullus so much affects: IX. 20, *quantum ut hominum uenustiorum*; XXXVII. 4, *quicquid est puellarum*; XXX. 13, *quicquid est domi cachinnorum*, cf. VI. 15, XIII. 10, XXII. 13, XLII. 14, LXXXII. 2 (F. P. Simpson). **uenustiorum** in reference to *Veneres*. Quintil. vi. 3. 18, distinguishing various kinds of wit, says, *uenustum esse quod cum gratia quadam et uenere dicatur apparet.*

5. **plus oculis**, so XIV. 1, CIV. 2, 4. Adolph. iv. 5. 67, *di me, pater, Omnes oderint, ni magis te quam oculos nunc amo meos*; Plautus has *oculitis amare* (Non. 147), *oculissimus*, Curc. i. 2. 28, cf. *oculissimum carissimum*, Paulus Fest. p. 179, Müller. Mosch. iv. 9, τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ τίσσκον ἰσὺ φαίεσσω ἐμοῖσιν, Callim. H. Dian. 211, Ἀντίκλειαν ἰσὺν φαίεσσω φιλῆσαι.

6. **mellitus**, XLVIII. 1, XCIX. 1, both of the young Iuuentius, and so Cicero, Att. i. 18. 1, calls his young son *mellitus Cicero*, 'darling.' **suaque**, here a virtual substantive, 'his lady:' so Cic. Scaur. ii. 9, *cum audisset Arinam cum illa sua* (his mistress amatorie) *metus et fugae simulatione Romam se contulisse*; Tib. i. 4. 75, *Pareat ille suae* (his lady, i. e. wife, v. 74) *uos me celebrate magistrum*; ii. 5. 103, *ferus ille suae plorabit.* Catullus speaks of the sparrow in terms which might suit a lover, *in sinu knere, plus oculis suis amabat, nec sese a gremio illius mouebat, ad solam dominam.* So *tua* = your love, Prop. i. 9. 22.

7. **Ipsam with matrem**, 'her very mother.' Generally *Ipsam* is supposed to mean 'mistress' as *ipse* and *ipsa* often = master and mistress. Cas. iv. 2. 20, *Ego eo quo me ipsa misit.* Andr. ii. 2. 23, *ipsus tristis.* Verg. Ecl. iii. 3, *Ipse Nearam Dum fouet.* So *ipsima*, and see Bücheler on Petron. S. 63. But would Catullus have combined *sua Ipsam* = *sua Eram*? and even if he did, would he have allowed *Ipsam* to stand so barely by itself at the beginning of the line?

8. So Meleager of a pet hare, Anth. P. vii. 207. 3, Ἐν κόλποις στέργουσα δάτρεφον ἢ γλυκερόχρους Φανίον. **illius.** The second *i* of *illius*, as also of *ipsius*, *ultius*, *unius*, *loftus*, *utriusque*, *alterius*, is always short in Catullus, except in LXVII. 23 (Riese, quoting Ritschl, Opusc. 2. 678 sqq.).

9. So metaphorically Cic. Att. xiii. 25. 3, *O Academiam uolaticam et mi similem, modo huc, modo illuc!* Reid on Acad. Prior. xxxviii. 121, shows by a great number of instances that the combination *modo hoc, modo illud* is characteristic of the Academy.

11. **iter tenebricosum**, the path of darkness that leads to Hades. So Simmias of a partridge, Anth. P. vii. 203. 4, Ὀχεο γὰρ πυμάταν εἰς Ἀχέρουτος ὁδόν. *Tenebricosum*, a word used several times by Cicero, but otherwise rare.

12. Theocr. xvii. 120, Ἄιδε πάντα (so Meineke, Ἀίρι πα MSS) κέκρυπται, ὅν πάλω οἰκίει νόστος, xii. 19, ἀνέξοδον εἰς Ἀχέροντα. Philetas fr. 4 Schneidewin, Ἀτραπον εἰς αἰδεω Ἦνυσσά τήν οὐπω τις ἐναντίον ἦλθεν ὁδότης.

13. **At**, of imprecation, as in XXVIII. 14; Aen. ii. 535. **male sit, malae**, 'my curse upon you, ye accursed shades.' Cf. κακὸς κακῶς, αἰσῶσα. Danysz observes that this is the only passage in which Phaedrus (or rather, the writer of the Perottine collection first edited by Iannelli)

has imitated Cat., *At male tibi sit, inquit, ales pessime Qui festinantis male detinuisti pedes*, VI. 21. (22 Orelli) 11.

14. Bion i. 54, Λάμβανε Περσεφόνα τὸν ἐμὸν πόσιν· ἐσσι γὰρ αὐτὰ Πολλὸν ἐμεῦ κρέσσων, τὸ δὲ πᾶν καλὸν ἐς σὲ καταρρεῖ.

15. *Tam bellum*, as XXII. 17, *Tam gaudet in se, tamque se ipse miratur*; so *talis*, XVII. 21, *tantis*, LXV. 4. Similarly τοῖος τοιοῦτος, especially in Callimachus, H. Dian. 146, Del. 27, 140.

16. For the double *uas*, cf. Mart. iv. 28, 7, *Vae glabraria, uae tibi misella*, a passage which sufficiently supports my emendation of the corrupt *Bonum factum male bonus ille passer*, in spite of the counter arguments of Schwabe, Jahrb. 1876, p. 259. So Anth. P. xiii. 23. 5, *φεῦ τὸν τεκόντα, φεῦ δὲ καὶ σέ, Βότρυος φίλος παῖ*. Even if *O factum male* is retained, *uemiselle* for *bonus ille* seems to me palaeographically established. *factum male*, Att. xv. 1. 1, *O factum male de Alexione! incredible est quanta me molestia affecerit*: Alexio had just died.

17. *Tua opera*, 'it is your doing that.' So *mea opera*, Capt. iii. 5. 21, Hecyr. ii. 1. 31.

18. *turgiduli ocelli*, like *pallidulum pedem*, LXV. 6, *frigidulos singultus*, LXIV. 131. The diminutive seems to increase the notion of tenderness or pity. See also XXIX. 8.

#### IV.

In this poem, as Munro explains, p. 11, Catullus represents himself as pointing out and praising to some guests who were with him at his villa in Sirmio, the *phasellus* or yacht which had carried him from Bithynia to Italy. The journey is retrospective; it is traced backwards from the Adriatic to Amastris, the Paphlagonian town in which the yacht was built (6-13). That it started from Amastris with Catullus on board is, I think, indicated by 18, *Et inde tot per impotentia freta Herum tulisse*. Munro indeed thinks it unlikely that Catullus, whom he conceives to have been at this time at Nicaea (XLVI. 5-7), would make a long and difficult hill-journey from that town to Amastris, and concludes that he ordered the yacht to be brought round by sea to Cios or Myrlea: and he accordingly translates *Et inde*, 'and next,' the *ultima ex origine* of 15, *Et inde* of 18, and *cum nouissime* of 23, 24, thus answering to each other as *primum—deinde—nouissime*, Cic. Fam. x. 42. 2, Sen. de Ira, iii. 5. 2; and as *primum—post haec—nouissime, prius—tum—nouissime, maxime—tum—nouissime*, in Quintilian. I prefer to follow the ordinary, certainly the natural, view, which makes *inde* local. Starting from Amastris the yacht coasted along the Euxine and the Propontis into the Hellespont; thence it descended the east coast of Asia Minor to Rhodes, 'which would seem to be specially designated not only on account of its celebrity, but also because it was the farthest point in the voyage homewards.' Munro, p. 15. Thence it struck across the Aegean to the Cyclades, the midway point between Rhodes and the Isthmus of Corinth, 'over which Catullus no doubt had his yacht transported,' ib. The last part of the journey is only indicated by the words *minacis Adriatici litus*: Munro is no doubt right in believing that he sailed through the Corinthian

Gulf into the Adriatic, crossed this, and then ran along the Italian shore to the mouth of the Po. He also thinks that Catullus did not accompany his yacht up the Po into the Mincio, and so to the Lago di Garda, a tedious journey generally against a powerful stream (p. 18); but proceeded by land to Sirmio. On this point Catullus says nothing; but, if *Novissimo* in 24 is right, the poet might perhaps more plausibly be supposed to indicate that he had been with his yacht from first to last, from the starting-point at Amastris to the final resting-place at Sirmio. At any rate it seems unsafe, as Benoist well remarks, to lay much stress upon the fact that Ovid, in an elegy (Trist. i. 10) describing a similar yacht-journey from Cenchræe to Tomi—an elegy, it is true, which bears points of resemblance to Catullus' *Phasellus*—tells us that his yacht and he parted company at Samothrace (Trist. i. 10. 22), and to infer that Catullus similarly parted with his yacht at the mouth of the Po. The resemblances in Ovid's poem have more of reminiscence than of direct imitation: for even the introduction of Castor and Pollux (46–50), though perhaps suggested by Catullus' last three lines, is applied to a different purpose: in Catullus the yacht dedicates its *single* future to the two gods, in Ovid they are invoked to preserve the *two* ships (*duplici viae*), that in which the poet proceeds to Tempyra, and the yacht which is to convey his effects to Tomi. That there is nothing improbable in Catullus' sailing all the way from Amastris is shown by such passages as Prop. iii. 22. 11, *Tuque tuo Colchum propellas remige Phasin Peliacæque trabis totum iter ipse legas*: to trace the legendary course of the Argo, if only for a part of its voyage, would be almost a sufficient motive for this in itself unnecessary journey.

In my edition of 1867, p. 311 (p. vii, ed. 2), I cite a passage from the Bernese Scholia on Verg. G. iv. 289, which the MSS give thus, *phaselis, genus navium pictarum sicut (l. sicut) phasillus ille quem agiunt (l. aiunt) auctorem (f. acatiorum) esse navium cœlaetarum (caelatarum, C. G. Müller) quem habuit hospes Serenus*. The natural meaning of this is that Serenus was one of Catullus' *hospites* (v. 1), and was traditionally believed to have been the possessor at some time or other of the phasellus. Bährens thinks he was the master, the *herus* of 19; that he was a compatriot of the poet's, had made the journey described in the poem for mercantile purposes, and had on his return dedicated his ship to the Dioscuri, accompanying it with this poem, which Catullus had written at his request, as an inscription to be engraved in their temple. This is a reasonable and very possible theory; but the words of the scholion are too corrupt to prove it against the prevailing hypothesis, supported as that is by the undoubted journey of Catullus to Bithynia.

In the Catalepta is a poem of twenty-five lines, in pure iambi, viii in Ribbeck's Appendix Vergiliana, in which the *Phasellus* is parodied. Though no great weight can be laid upon this ingenious and certainly early composition (see Ribbeck, Proleg. p. 10), it is in favor of the ordinary interpretation of *Et inde*.

1. *Phasellus* (so the MSS), a long narrow craft, so called from its

<sup>1</sup> I have not quoted this passage in full, as the text of the best MSS differs materially from that given by Munro. See S. G. Owen's edition, Oxford, 1885.



resemblance to a kidney-bean, *φάσηλος*: see Rich's engraving. Nonius, 534, defines it as *naugium campanum*, and quotes from Varro's *Desultorius* a passage which shows that it corresponded nearly to our pleasure-yachts: like them it was sometimes small, sometimes of considerable size (*cohors una grandi faselo uecta*, Sallust, *Hist.* iii); cf. *Att.* i. 13. 1, xiv. 16. 1. Munro, p. 12, thinks Catullus' phasellus was of a burden somewhere between twenty and fifty tons.

2. *Ait fuisse celerrimus*, a not very common attraction. Hor. *Epist.* i. 7. 22, *Vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus*, C. iii. 27. 73. According to Ritter, on *Epist.* i. 7. 22, Catullus was the first who ventured on this construction. The Greek complexion of the words is traceable also in the gender of the superlative. Munro cites Cic. *de N. D.* ii. 32. 130, *Indus qui est omnium fluminum maximus*; Plin. xviii. 79, *hordeum frugum omnium mollissimum est*.

3. *natantis impetum*, Ennian. *Labitur uncta carina; uolat super impetus undas*, Ann. 379, Vahlen. *trabis*, as we say 'timber,' Enn. Ann. 598. Verg. *Aen.* iv. 566; so *δόρυ* and *ξύλον*.

4, 5. Apollon. R. iii. 345, *Ἴσον δ' ἐξ ἀνέμοιο θέει καὶ δρ' ἀνέρες αὐτοὶ Νωλεμῶς χεῖρισσιν ἐπισπέρχων ἐρετμοῖς*. So Ovid of his ship, *Trist.* i. 10. 3, *Sive opus est uelis, minimam bene currit ad auram, Sive opus est remo, remige carpit iter*.

5. *uolare*, after *natantis*, like *sibulum* after *loquente* in 12, is censured by Muretus as a confusion of metaphors: a fault of which Catullus is elsewhere guilty, e.g. LXIV. 97. But here *natantis trabis* convey a single impression to the mind, that of a ship; and ships, as well as the oars that move them, are called wings from Homer onwards, *Od.* vii. 36, xi. 125.

6. *negat Negare*, as *neque nequisse*. Each of the two negatives retains its force. *minacis*, rough *As* are the swelling *Adriatic seas*, Taming of the Shrew, i. 2. Hor. C. i. 33. 15, *fretis acrior Hadriae*; iii. 3. 5, *Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae*; iii. 9. 22, *improbo Iracundior Hadria*. The orator Lysias, ap. Athen. 612, makes a voyage to the *Adriatic* a type of danger.

8. *nobilem*, 'famous.' Hor. C. i. 7. 1, *claram Rhodon*, and so Mart. iv. 55, 6, quoted there by Bentley. *horridam* refers to the wild and bleak character of Thrace. Homer, *Il.* xiv. 227, speaks of *Θρηκῶν δρῶα υφόνερα*, and makes Thrace the home of the winds, *Il.* xxiii. 229. *Thraciam*, the substantive, not the adj., as the metre proves. So Varro twice in his *De Re Rustica*, stylistically a highly finished work, i. 57. 2, Keil, in *Cappadocia ac Thracia*; ii. 1. 5, *boues perferi sunt multi in Dardanica et Medica et Thracia, asini feri in Phrygia et Lycania, equi feri in Hispania citeriore*. Lachmann, in his first edition of Propertius, p. 253, proposed to read either *horridamue Thraciae Propontida*, or 'minus suauiter' *horridamue Thraciam Propontida*; a view which he afterwards enforced in his Lucretius (v. 30), denying that *Thracia* for *Thraca* or *Thrace* is found in any poet except Luc. ii. 162, perhaps on the analogy of Vergil's *Samothracia*, *Aen.* vii. 208. Munro, while allowing that *Thraciam* might have been used for *Thracam* or *Thracen*, as indeed *Thracia* is certain in Ovid, *M.* vi. 435, *Gralata est scilicet illis Thracia* (where Lachm. conj. *Thrace* against the metre), argues that it is adj. here (1) because the yacht must have kept close to the Asiatic shore

and quite avoided Thrace, (2) because *ue* introduces the main divisions into which the journey is grouped, so that *insulas ue Cycladas Rhodumque sibilum horridamque Thraciam Propontida* corresponds symmetrically with *tracem ue Ponticum sinum*. To both arguments the same objection seems valid: they attempt precision where Catullus does not define. Who can believe that the poet seriously mapped out his voyage by clauses introduced by *ue*? or that where *que* stands it marks a minor stage? And why should he hug the Asiatic shore? He might wish to see some city on the European side of the Hellespont, the Chersonesus Thracica, just as Ovid combines *Thracen et laeua Propontidos*, F. v. 257. Or again he might have made a *détour* to the coast of Thrace more properly so called, after sailing out of the Hellespont, and before starting on his homeward voyage through the Aegean. For *horridam* is more strictly applicable to Thrace proper, and is less true of the Propontis.

9. The unelided diiambus *Propontida* is better unconnected with the preceding line, like *Ducenties* in XXIX. 14, the only other instance in the two extant pure iambic poems. It is strange that either Lachmann or Munro should have introduced into Catullus a metrical fault so glaring as the continuation of the clause containing this diiambus into 9, in defiance of the natural metrical pause at the end of 8. To me this argument from metre alone is sufficient to outweigh all Munro's special pleading on the other side. The Propontis and the Pontus are united here as in Aesch. Pers. 887, *μυχία τε Προποντίς καὶ στόμωμα Πόντου*.

10. *post . . . antea*, as in Callim. Ep. v. 1, Blomf., *παλαιότερον . . . νῦν*.

11. From 16, *stetisse*, we may perhaps infer that the yacht was made of a single tree: if so, *silua* will be a 'forester': and so certainly Luc. i. 142, *Tot circum siluae firmo se robore tollant*. Munro, who translates 'a leafy wood,' seems to think of the *phasellus* as made of several trees.

12. Cornelius Severus, ap. Schol. Pers. i. 95, *Pinea frondosi coma murmurat Apennini*. Verg. E. viii. 22, *Maenalus argutumque nemus sinosque loquentes semper habet*. *Loquente* and *sibilum* are, as Muretus observed, not strictly consistent. 'The yacht gave a rustling with the voice of her tresses,' is a combination which would probably have been avoided by Vergil: it is on faults of this kind that the indifference of Horace for Catullus, Calvus, and their school (S. i. 10. 19) was probably grounded.

13. The sudden apostrophe to Amastris and Cytorus, like the emphatic *Tibi* at the beginning of 14, is more like Greek than Latin. It occurs several times in Callimachus and generally in the Alexandrian poets. Callim. H. Del. 27, *Δῆλε φίλη, τοῖός σε βοηθός ἀμφιβέβηκεν*; 106, *Ἥρη, σοὶ δ' ἐτι τῆμος ἀπηλές ἦτορ ἔκειτο*. H. Dian. 204, *Οὐπι ἄνασσ' εἰώπι φασσφέρει, καὶ σε δι κείνης Κρηταίης καλίουσιν ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ νύμφης*. *Amastris . . . Cytore buxifer*. Strabo, 544, *Μετὰ δὴ τὸν Παρθένιον ποταμὸν ἴστω Ἀμαστρίς ὀνόνημος τῆς συναρκυίας πόλεις ἱδρύται δ' ἐπὶ Χερρονήσου λιμένας ἱκνῶσα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἐκαστέρωθεν* ἦν δ' ἡ Ἀμαστρίς γυνὴ μὲν Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείας τράποντος, θυγατὴρ δὲ Ὀξυάδρου, τοῦ Δαρείου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκείνη

<sup>1</sup> Lachmann is however guilty of this same fault of introducing metrical enormities against MSS or necessity elsewhere, as Lucian Müller has shown: nowhere more conspicuously than in the fables of Avianus. See Prolegomena to my edition of Avianus, p. xxix. (Oxford, 1887.)

· μὲν οὖν ἐκ τεττάρων κατοικίων συνῴκισε τὴν πόλιν, ἕκ τε Σησάμου, καὶ Κυτῶρον Κρώμης (ὃν καὶ Ὅμηρος μέμνηται ἐν τῷ Παφλαγονικῷ διακόσμῳ) τετάρτης δὲ Τίου· ἄλλ' αὕτη μὲν ταχὺ ἀπέστη τῆς κοινωνίας, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συνίμευαν· ὃν Σήσαμος ἀκρόπολις τῆς Ἀμαστρεως λέγεται. Τὸ δὲ Κύτωρον ἐμπόριον ἦν τοῦ Σινωπέων· ὠνόμασται δ' ἀπὸ Κυτῶρον, τοῦ Φρίξου παιδός, ὡς Ἐφορός φησὶ. Πλείστη δὲ καὶ ἀρίστη πύξος φύεται κατὰ τὴν Ἀμαστριανήν, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ Κύτωρον. Sesamos is mentioned Il. ii. 853, οἳ ῥα Κυτῶρον ἔχον καὶ Σήσαν· ἀμφεγόμενον. Plin. H. N. xvi. 71, *Buxus Pyrenaeis ac Cyltoris montibus plurima*. Verg. G. ii. 437. Theophrastus says the box grows best in cold and rugged regions, such as Cytorus, the Macedonian Olympus, and Corsica (Hist. Plant. iii. 15. 5). Pontica. Lucian Toxar. 57, Ἀμαστριν τὴν Ποντικήν. *buxifer*, ἀπ. λεγ. (Benoist, quoting Teuffel, de Cat. uoc. sing. p. 27.)

14. *Tibi* with two vocatives, as in Rosc. Com. viii. 22, *Nam tibi M. Perpenna, C. Piso, certe tanti non fuissent, ut socium fraudaretis. fuisset et esse*. Cic. Pis. xxv. 59, *tibi enim et esse et fuisse uidebit iratus cognitissima*, a very rare superlative, perhaps ἀπ. λεγ. Ovid has *cognitior*, Trist. iv. 6. 28; Met. xiv. 15.

15. Klotz connects *ultima ex origine* with the preceding words, observing that it is the tree or trees of which the ship was built, not the ship itself, that stood on Cytorus *ultima ex origine*. This is to judge poetry by the standard of prose. His other argument, that *Tuo* as emphatic marks the beginning of the sentence, is inconclusive; it may be, and is, emphatic in virtue of its position at the beginning of the verse, but the sentence need not for that reason begin there; two emphases, a primary and a secondary, are possible together. *Ultima ex origine*, 'from her earliest birthtime' (Munro), a sense which seems to me short of what the words convey, viz. 'from the farthest point to which she can trace her origin,' i.e. not *descending* from the moment of birth, but *ascending* by gradations of memory from the present to the first germ of tree-existence. Corn. Nepos, Att. i, *Pomponius Atticus ab origine ultima stirpis Romanae generatus*. And so Benoist, 'Ces mots ne veulent pas dire que le bois du navire était dans la forêt depuis les temps les plus anciens, mais qu'il est issu de générations d'arbres qui ont fait partie de la forêt dès les temps les plus reculés.'

18. *inde*. Not 'next' nor vaguely 'from Euxine waters' (A. Palmer), but from the sea near Cytorus and Amastris. This is certainly the natural meaning. The *phasellus* was launched at the place where it was built, and its master started with it. *impotentia*, 'with no command over themselves,' 'violent,' 'raging.' XXXV. 12, *impotentia amore*.

19-21. 'As the breeze summoned her left or right, or a favoring gale fell on both her sheets at once.' The yacht bore her master in safety through all weathers, as well when the wind blew only on one side, requiring the sail to be shifted accordingly, as when it fell from behind evenly on both extremities of the sail, and was therefore strictly speaking *secundus*.

19. The first *siue* is omitted as in Hor. C. i. 3. 16; cf. Enn. Ann. 457, Vahlen, *tibi uita Seu mors in mundo est*.

20. *Vocaret*. If a wind springs up on the right of a ship's course, and is succeeded by one on the left, each is properly said to hail or

summon the ship. This is in effect the idea of *direction* which Vahlen assigns to *vocaret* here, as in Aen. iii. 269, *fugimus spumantibus undis Quae ventusque gubernatorque vocabat*, Hor. Epod. xvi. 21, *quocumque per undas Notus vocabil aut protervus Africus*, on which he writes 'directionis enim significatio adiecta ostendit intelligi quocumque ventorum flatibus deferimur' (Ind. Lect. 1882, p. 7).

**Iuppiter**, here the wind. Varro, L. L. v. 65, *Idem hi dei, Caelum et Terra, Iuppiter et Iuno, quod ut ait Ennius, Istic est is Iuppiter, quem dico, quem Graeci vocant Aerem, qui ventus est et nubes, imber postea, Atque ex imbre frigus, ventus post fit, aer deus*. Cf. Verg. G. ii. 419; Hor. C. iii. 10. 8.

**Iuppiter secundus** = Ζεύς οὐρανός, which was used generally, as in Alciph. v. 4. 9, ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνσι θεοῖς, ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, Διὶ οὐρανῷ, and specifically of the Chalcedonian Zeus Urian invoked by travellers sailing along the Bithynian coast, as in the following inscription found at Chalcedon (Böckh, C. I. G. 3797, Kaibel 779, from whom I quote): Οὐριον ἐκ πρύμνης τις ὁδηγητῆρα καλεῖται Ζῆνα, κατὰ πρῶτον ἰστίον ἐκπετάσας, εἴτ' ἐπὶ Κυνέας δίνας δρόμος, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν Καμπύλον αἰέσει κύμα παρὰ ψαμάθοις, εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαῖν πόντον πλάκα νόστον ἐρευνᾷ, Νείσθω τῆδε βαλὼν ψαυστὰ παρὰ ξοάνῃ. Ὡδε τὸν εὐάντητον αἰεὶ θεὸν Ἀντιπάρου παῖς διήκει Φίλων ἀγαθὸς σύμβολον εὐπλοΐης<sup>1</sup>.

**21. incidisset.** Apoll. R. i. 566, ἐν δὲ λιγὺς πέσειν οὖρος. **pedem**, **πέδα**; the *sheets* or ropes at each lower corner of the square sail habitually used in ancient ships. When a ship was sailing before the wind these would both be braced to the same length (*aequi*, Ovid, F. iii. 565), and this is what Catullus expresses by the gale falling on them both at once. The sail would thus be at right angles to the length of the vessel.

**22. litoralibus.** Catullus seems to have in view those gods who, as specially connected with the sea, had temples or images on the shore. Such were Phorcus, Panopea, Portunus, Glaucus, Melicerta (Aen. v. 240, G. i. 437), Proteus, Triton, Leucothea, Palaemon (Stat. S. iii. 2). Euripides, I. T. 271 sqq., seems to indicate not only Palaemon and Nereus, but the Dioscuri (εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀπαιὶς θάσσειτον Διοσκόρω, 272; cf. Servius on Aen. iii. 12), as shore-gods; to whom may be added Pan, (τὸν ἄκτιον, Theocr. v. 14) and Priapus, αἰγιαλῆς, Anth. P. vi. 33. 1.

**23. Sibi**, by the Phasellus, which from the beginning of the journey to the very end had escaped all danger. In oratio recta the words would be *Nique ulla vota litoralibus deis a me facta sunt, cum uenirem a mari nouissimo ad hunc usque limpidum lacum*.

**24. Nouissimo**, 'the remotest.' Ovid, Trist. iii. 13. 27, *Dum me terrarum pars paene nouissima Pontus Euxinus falso nomine dictus habet*, v. 2. 31. The MSS give *Nouissime*, which Munro keeps, 'and not a vow had been offered for her to the guardian gods of the shore, when last of all she came from the sea as far as this limpid lake,' and explains of the third and last stage of the journey, at which the pinnacle, now leaving the sea and entering the Padus, looks back on its sea-journey and remembers with pride that its sailing qualities were such as to keep off all danger till it was quite clear of the sea. But if this were

<sup>1</sup> First published by Wheler, Journey into Greece, p. 209, ed. 1682. This is the inscription of which Bentley's conjectural restorations were found to agree exactly with the original stone, now in the British Museum, as recorded by R. C. Jebb, Life of Bentley, p. 138. He considers the style of the inscription to be probably at least as old as the age of Alexander.

the meaning, would not Cat. have written, *fuisse facta*? could *sibi* = *pro se*? does not *usque* lose much of its force? whereas after *a mari Nouissimo*, this word well expresses the length of the journey and the uniform good fortune of the Phasellus throughout it. If, however, *Nouissime* is retained, and a pluperfect sense conceded to *esse facta*, I should prefer to translate, 'and not one vow had she offered to the shore-gods when last of all, i. e. as the last stage in her journey, she left the sea to end her journey in this transparent lake'; *usque* in any case expresses the final rest at Sirmio, not the length of the journey from the mouth of the Po to L. Garda. But *nouissime* was not thought a very classical word. Charisius 207, Keil, *nouissime Tiro in Pandecte non recte ait dici adicitque quod sua coeperit aetate id adverbium, ubi Fl. Caper de Latinitate 'miror' inquit 'id dixisse Tironem' cum Valerius Antias libro ii 'mater cum nouissime aegrotasset' inquit 'uouisse fertur,' idem xxii 'quod nouissime nobiscum foedus fecissent:'* and so Gellius, x. 21, states that Cicero did not use it. It occurs, however, in a fragm. of Varro's *Bimarcus*, 25 Bücheler<sup>1</sup>. *limpidum*. I can attest the exactness of this epithet; the transparent and exquisite blue of the Lago di Garda must have struck every one who has visited Sirmio on a bright day.

25. *recondita*, a favorite word, XXXIV. 11. *fuere*, perfect of the emphasized past. Turnebus compares Tib. iii. 5. 32, *Siue crimus, seu nos fata fuisse uolent*.

26. *Senet*, an archaic word found in the fragments of Pacuvius, 275, 304, Ribbeck; Attius, 612. Propertius has *haud ulla carina Consenuit*, iii. 7. 35; and our seamen talk of ships as so many years old.

27. *Gemelle* . . . *gemelle* expresses allusively the fact mentioned by Servius on G. iii. 89, *ambo licenter et Castores et Polluces uocantur*, i. e. Castor and Pollux were so inseparably associated as Twin-Brethren that each was called a double Castor or a double Pollux, as Stat. calls Pollux *alter Castor*, S. iv. 6. 15. Hence the temple of the two brothers was called the temple of Castor, Dion C. xxxvii. 8<sup>2</sup>. The Phasellus is dedicated to them as the protectors of travellers by sea: LXVIII. 63 sqq., Eur. Hel. 1664 sqq., Hor. C. iv. 8. 31: partly perhaps also from their connexion with the line of sea traversed by Catullus, Appian. B. Mithr. 101.

## V.

ONE of the earliest poems to Lesbia, perhaps the first: Iungclaussen assigns it to the years 62-60 B. C., Schwabe to 61-60. 'Catulle est à la première page de son roman d'amour,' Benoist. Martial alludes to this vi. 34-7, 8; xii. 59. 3.

1. *Viuiamus atque amemus* might = *dum uiuimus, amemus*: but the emphatic position of *Viuiamus* makes it more probable that *uiuere*

<sup>1</sup> In his small edition of Petronius.

<sup>2</sup> Munro strangely misapprehends me here. I of course mean that the double gemination *Gemelle* . . . *gemelle*, *Castor* . . . *Castoris* is a designed allusion to the indissoluble union of the Dioscuri under the same name, preferably Castor. My meaning is quite intelligible to Benoist, Riese, and Bährens.

here = 'to enjoy life,' as in a fragment of Varro's Deuicti, ap. Non. 156, *Properate uiuere pueras, quas sinit aetula ludere esse amare et Veneris laetare bigas*. Mart. i. 15. 11, 12, *Non est, crede mihi, sapientis dicere Vimam. Sera nimis uila est crastina, uiue hodie*. Petron. S. 44, *Illud erat uiuere*. C. I. Hisp. 391, *VIVITE · VICTVRI · MONEO · MORS · OMNIBVS · IN · STAT*: Non. 14, *qui nunc est in summa laetitia, uiuere cum dicimus*: so ζῆθι, Anth. P. x. 43. 2. Kaibel 560, 8, Ζῆθι κάλων τείνας ἑρπυίο εὐφροσύνην.

2. *Rumores*, 'scandal.' Liu. xxii. 39, *aduersus famam rumoresque hominum si satis firmus steteris*. *seueriorum*, 'censorious.'

3. The antithesis *Omnes unius* emphasizes the otherwise commonplace *assis aestimare*; cf. XLII. 13. *aestimemus*. Kaibel 1127, *Λέγουσιν ἀβίλουσιν* Λεγέτωσαν, οὐ μέλει μοι. Σὺ φίλει με, συμφέρει σοι.

4-6. Mosch. iii. 106 sqq., *Αἰαὶ ταὶ μαλάχαι μὲν ἐπὰν κατὰ κᾶπον δλωνται ἥδὲ τὰ χλωρὰ σέλινα τό τ' εὐθαλὲς οὐλον ἀνηθον* "Υστερον αὖ ζῶοντι καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἄλλο φύονται. Ἄρμες δ' οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ καρτεροί, οἱ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες, Ὅποτε πρῶτα θάναυτες, πᾶνκοι ἐν χθονὶ κοίλῃ Εὐδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νή-γηρτων ἵππων. Horace, C. iv. 7. 13, speaks of the changes of the moon in the same connexion: cf. *celeres lunae* there with Catullus' *soles*. Süß remarks that *soles* is a Grecism, Eur. El. 654, Hel. 658.

5. *breuis lux*, 'our short day of life:' *lux* is primarily opposed to *nox*, as in *Altera lux, crastina lux*, but would of course suggest the other sense of life, Ter. Hec. v. 4. 12; Lucr. iv. 35; Verg. G. iv. 472.

6. The rhythm of the line, and the continued *a* sound, well represents the eternity of the sleep that knows no breaking. *dormienda*. Callim. Ep. xvii. 3, 4, ἡ δ' ἀποβρίζει Ἐνθάδε τὸν πάσαις ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον. Anth. P. xii. 50. 7, 8, μετὰ τοῖ χρόνον οὐκέτι πουλὺν, Σχέλιε, τὴν μακρὰν νύκτ' ἀσπασόμεθα. Ben Jonson, The Fox, iii. 5, *Suns that set may rise again. But if once we lose this light, 'Tis with us perpetual night*.

7. Martial xii. 59. 1-3, *Tantum dat tibi Roma basiorum Post annos modo quindecim reuerso Quantum Lesbia non dedit Catullo* (cf. vi. 34. 7, a less distinct passage), clearly took *Da mi basia* as = *basia me* (cf. VIII. 18, *Quem basiabis?*), and this is the ordinary, perhaps the only, meaning of *dare oscula*, Tib. i. 1. 62, 8. 37; Prop. i. 16. 42; iv. 12. 77. '*Basiare basium basiatio* are words unused by Vergil, Propertius, Horace, Ovid, or Tibullus. They belonged to Cisalpine Gaul more especially, although the root has now extended through all Italy, and has quite supplanted *osculum* and its descendants,' W. S. Landor.

8. *mille altera*, 'a second set of a thousand.' Tusc. Disp. v. 41. 121, quoted by Key, L. G. 1148, *Ad Brutum nostrum hos libros alteros quinque millemus*; Verg. E. iii. 71, *Aurea mala decem misi: cras altera millam*. Hor. Epp. i. 6. 34, *Mille talenta rotundentur totidem altera*, where see A. S. Wilkins.

9. *usque altera*, 'go on to give a second thousand after that:' in reference to the first *altera*.

10. *millia multa*, LXI. 203, LXVI. 78. Mr. Clayton observes that Ovid has the same expression, Am. i. 8. 58, *amatoris millia multa leges. fecerimus*, 'made up the number.' Iuuen. xiv. 326, *fac tertia quadringula*. Nipperdei, Opusc. 69, compares Nep. Epam. iii. 6, *eam summam cum fecerat*.



11. *Conturbabimus*, 'we will throw the account into confusion:' in full *c. rationes*, which is found in Ter. Eun. v. 2. 29, *ψηφούς φυρᾶν*, Att. vi. 4. 3. Cicero uses *conturbare* alone of 'becoming bankrupt,' Planc. xxviii. 68, Att. iv. 7. 1; cf. Iuven. vii. 129, where Mayor has collected instances from Petronius, Martial, and Quintilian.

12, 13. It was thought dangerous to count things too accurately, the evil eye having less power so long as the number was unascertained. Sir Theodore Martin quotes a French proverb, *Brebis compides le loup les mange*, and Muretus says the Italian rustics in his time had superstitious scruples about counting the fruit on their young trees.

13. Bücheler would read *sciet* here as in Priap. lii. 12, *Quare qui sapiet malum cauebit, Cum tantum sciet esse mentularum*. But there the two futures *sapiet, cauebit* are naturally followed by a third: here the subj. predominates; *conturbabimus*, but *ne sciamus, ne quis inuidere possit, cum sciat*.

## VI.

Of the Flavius here mentioned nothing is known: nor is the poem interesting except as suggesting to Ovid some expressions in the 14th Elegy of the third book of his Amores; see on 9-11.

Munro indeed, emending *Nam in* or *Nam ni* of MSS in 12 to *Mani*, supposes that the full name was Manius Flavius: a theory as undemonstrable as that of Bährens, who, combining this poem with XIII, imagines the Flavius of VI to be identical with the Fabullus of XIII.

The precept which Catullus here and in LV enforces, that love should be undisguised, is, as Scaliger noticed, Platonic. Symp. 182, *λέγεται κάλλιον τὸ φανερώς ἐρᾶν τοῦ λάθρᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν γενναιοτάτων καὶ ἀρίστων κἂν αἰσχύους ἄλλων ὦσι*.

1. *delicias* might be explained like XXXII. 2 of Flavius' mistress, 'your darling,' a sense common in Plautus, and found in Cicero, e. g. Diuin. i. 36. 79, *amores ac deliciae tuae Roscius*. But then it may be doubted whether Catullus would have continued the plural *nei sint illepidae atque inel.*; at least in the other places where he uses *deliciae* of a loved object, II. 1, III. 4, XXXII. 2, it is simply in apposition with another substantive. Hence it seems better to explain it as = *amores*, as we might say 'your pleasures;' cf. Cael. xix. 44, *amores et hae deliciae quae uocantur*, which Price on Apul. de Magia ix, wrongly explains of a person.

2. *Nei sint*, 'if they were not as gross and unrefined as they certainly are.' So Munro explains on Lucr. v. 276, *Qui nisi retribuatur recreetque Omnia iam resoluta forent*, the only instance in Lucr. of this combination of pres. and imperf. He adds G. iv. 116, Tib. i. 4. 63, 8. 22, in all which cases the conditional clause has a negative, and the certainty of the affirmative is implied. *illepidae* does not prove *delicias* to be a person. Cat. uses the word of a vow, XXXVI. 16, 17.

4. *febriculosi*, 'inclining to the feverish,' 'unhealthy.' Lucr. iv. 1155 sqq., *Multimodis igitur prauas turpisque uidemus Esse in deliciis summoque in honore uigere . . . Ischnon eromenion tum fit, cum uiuere non quit Prae macie; rhadine uerost iam mortua tussi*.

6. *uiduas*, 'alone.'

7. *Nequicquam tacitum*, 'in spite of its natural silence:' it would fain be silent, but the garlands upon it betray the secret. Martial expresses the exactly opposite idea, xiv. 39, *Dulcis conscia lectuli lucerna, Quicquid vis faciat licet, lacebo*: perhaps suggested by Philodemus, Anth. P. v. 4. 1, τὸν σιγῶντα συνίστορα τῶν ἀλαλήτων Λύχνον. In Lucian's *Cataplus* xxvii, the bed and the lamp are called up to witness the lusts of the tyrant. The bed refuses to speak (ἐγὼ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν αἰσχύνομαι), but the lamp exclaims against what it saw, and declares it had often wished to be extinguished, *not* to see. This is also the view of A. Palmer (*Hermathen*. l. c. p. 306) and seems better than that recently revived by Postgate, which refers *tacitum* (masc.) to *te*, 'you do not lie alone, Flavius, and do no good by your silence, as the bed and its belongings loudly declare,' or that of Walter Savage Landor<sup>1</sup> and Munro, who consider *tacitum* to be here the passive participle in apposition with the preceding v. 'that you do not pass solitary nights—a fact vainly concealed by you—the bed proclaims' (*Crit. and Elucid.* p. 26). This view is against the natural suggestion of the v., which endowing the *cubile* with personality assigns to it *both* the correlative ideas of attempted silence, actual speaking out: cf. the frequent oxymoron, first noticed by Muretus, *dum tacent, clamant*. In Cat. i. 8. 21, *etiamsi laceant, satis dicunt*; In Caec. Diuin. vi. 21, *etiamsi laceant, satis dicunt*; Mart. vi. 5. 3, *tacitum te dicere credo. clamat*. Prop. i. 18. 18, *clamat in ore fides*. Sen. Ep. 59. 12, *Omnes iurant esse me Iouis filium, sed uolnus hoc* (Alexander was wounded in India) *hominem esse me clamat*. Jo. Fr. Gronovius thought (*De Pec. Vet.* iii. 17) Pliny took his *domus ipsius* (Mamurrae) *clarius quam Catullus dicit* H. N. xxxvi. 48 from this passage of Cat.

8. *Sertisque ao.* Pers. S. v. 112, *Esto Liberque et sapiens*. So I read from *Sertisque assyrioque* of the Datanus and *a.* Most edd. give *Sertis ac Syrio*, following *GO*, which have *Sertis asirio*. The asyndeton *Sertis, Assyrio* is impossible; the passages cited by K. P. Schulze (*De Catullo Graecorum imitatore* p. 41) are quite different. **Syrio.** Bion i. 77, *φαῖνε δὲ νῦν Συρίουσι ἀλείφασσι, φαῖνε μύροισι*. Theocr. xv. 114, *Συρίω δὲ μύρω χρύσει' ἀλύβαστρα*. Pliny mentions *styrax*, xii. 124; *galbanum*, 126; *malobathrum*, 129; *cinnamum comacum*, 135; Philodemus, Anth. P. xi. 34. 2, contrasts *σμύρνα Συρίη* as precious with the cheaper *στροκίννα*. Antiphanes, ap. Athen. 257 (fr. 202 Kock), *ἡλείφετο 'Εκ τῆς Συρίας ἡκοῦσι τοιοῦτ' ὄνυξ*. Vitruv. viii. 13. 3, *non tantum in Syria et Arabia in harundinibus et iuncis herbisque omnibus essent odores neque arbores turiferae*. 'If ointments and perfumes in the Greek and Latin poets are called sometimes Syrian, sometimes Assyrian, either expression is right, since such perfumes were derived from Syria, especially from Palestine (cf. Opp. Cyneg. i. 340), and Assyria indifferently,' Nöldeke, *Hermes*, v. p. 466. *oliuo*, acc. to Forcell. s. v. = *oleo*; cf. Pliny of the Syrian *malobathrum*, xii. 129, *ex quo premitur oleum ad unguenta*. Forc. compares Prop. iii. 17. 31, *Lewis odorato ceruix manabit oliuo*. But both there and in Catullus *oliuo* seems to have its proper sense of *olive oil*, which was mixed with the Syrian shrubs, as Vergil speaks of spoiling (*corrumpitur*) olive oil by the admixture of casia, G. ii. 466.

<sup>1</sup> In the Foreign Quarterly Review for 1842, p. 343.

9. *et hic et ille*, on either side of the sleeping-couch. So Ovid, Am. iii. 14. 32, *Cur pressus prior est interiorque torus*.

10. *tremulique*. Ovid, Am. iii. 14. 26. *quassa* nearly = *facta qualiendo*. The transference of the participle from the *lectus* to the substantive which expresses its condition *dum quatitur* is intelligible, and is only a step beyond *incutere tremorem* of Lucr. vi. 593. So in Dir. 19, *deuotum carmen* = *c. cum deuotione dictum* or *cum execratione coniunctum*, a song uttered with cursing or by way of a curse, *inclusum supplicium* punishment of incarceration, Verr. v. 9. 23. Munro, however, comparing Quintil. xii. 10. 29, thinks that *quassa* nearly = *fracta*, and explains here of the broken unequal creaking of the bed, which had become *rickety* (*tremuli*) by the use to which it had been put. The Datanus has *cassa*, which Postgate prefers 'causeless,' i. e. of which no account can be given: or perhaps 'ineffectual,' i. e. *sine termino*.

11. *Argutatio* seems ἀν. λει. *inambulatio*, orig. of walking up and down, e. g. in one's house, Att. vi. 2. 5, or on the rostra as an oratorical artifice, Brut. xliii. 153: hence of restless motion.

12. The disyllabic *nihil* intensifies the emphasis of the first *nil*. 'Nothing, I say nothing whatever can keep your amours quiet.' So xvii. 21, *nil uidet, nihil audit*. Verg. E. viii. 104, *nihil ille deos, nil carmina curat*. Stat. S. iv. 3. 111, *Nil obstat cupidis, nihil moratur*. *Nam nil stupra ualet* is Haupt's emendation of the MS corruption *Nam in* (ni other MSS) *ista preualet*. [My own conj. *Nam nil<sup>1</sup> stare ualet, nihil tacere* I explain in the sense 'nulla pars lecti stare, nulla tacere ualet.' Tartara conj. *Nam nil ista ualent, nihil tacere, ista referri debere* (uidetur) ad tria illa, cubile puluinum lectum, quasi dicatur: haec enim facultatem silendi, quam tu habes, non habent:' with which he compares Tib. ii. 4. 20, *Ite procul Musae si nihil ista ualent*.]

13. *Cur?* as in Ennius' Epitaph on himself, 3, 4, *Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu Faxit. Cur? uolito uiuos per ora uirum?* So XXIV. 7, *Qui? non est homo bellus inquires? est*. Cic. Phil. xi. 2. 4 *Alter in Asiam irrupit? Cur? latera*. Hor. Epist. i. 7. 26; Iuuen. vi. 37. *ecfututa*, 'exhausted with debauchery,' Priap. xxvi. 7. *pandas* refers to the loose and unstrung appearance of the body of a man *dissoluti deliciis* (Sen. de Ira, ii. 25. 1). διὰ τί οἱ ἀφροδισιάζοντες ἐκλύονται καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι γίνονται ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ; Arist. Prob. iv. 21. Petron. S. 140 *lumborum solutorum*. Cels. i. 1 *concubitus corpus frequens soluit*. Cf. λάγνος, *laxus*.

14. 'If it were not certain that you were enacting some folly.' *tu* is not pleonastic, but brings the accusation home to Flavius, nearly = *tu idem*. Somewhat similar is the emphasized use of *tu* in the second clause, Hor. C. i. 9. 16, and of *ille* in Adelp. iii. 2. 8. *ineptiarum*, 'of amours,' cf. *ineptire*, VIII. 1.

15. *boni malique*, 'pleasant or unpleasant,' 'agreeable or disagreeable.' *habes*, 'have to speak of,' like *ἔχεις*. Cic. Att. xii. 12. 2, *Quare siue habes quid, siue nihil habes, scribe tamen aliquid*. This is nothing so definite as Bährens supposes 'amiculae qualiscumque nomen ede,' 'siue pulcrum siue foedam feminam diligis;' Munro rightly paraphrases 'say out all you have to disclose.'

<sup>1</sup> Claudian. Epigr. x (lxxix) 4, Jeep, *Atque nihil prorsus stare putat podager*. The gouty critic fancies every verse halts on its feet.

16. **Dic nobis.** Catullus makes the same request to Camerius, LV. 25, *Dic nobis ubi sis futurus, ede Audacter, committe, crede lucei.* **tuos amores**, probably 'your mistress,' like *suos amores*, X. 1, XLV. 1, LXIV. 27.

17. **Ad caelum uocare**, 'to raise you to the height of honour.' Cic. fr. Hortens. 37, *eloquentiam quam tu in caelum, Hortensi, credo ut ipse cum ea simul ascenderes, sustulisses.* Att. vi. 2. 9, *Salaminii nos in caelum decrebis suis sustulerunt.* Petron. S. 37, *Nunc in caelum abiit et Trimalchionis topanta* (the factotum) *est.* This seems preferable to the other sense of raising to the height of happiness. Att. ii. 9. 1, *Si uero quae de me facta sunt, ea non seruantur, in caelo sum.* Petron. S. 132, *Hoc de te merui ut me in caelo positum ad inferos traheres?* which seems to be the meaning of Theocr. v. 144, ἐς οὐρανὸν ὑμῖν ἀλείψαι.

## VII.

A LOVE-POEM of the same kind as V, and probably belonging to the same period. The difference lies in the fact that in V the *basia* are given by Lesbia, in VII to her: a subjective and objective statement of the same circumstance, which has not been observed: though a similar tendency may be traced in other poems, e.g. XIII, XIV, in which Catullus makes and receives a present.

1. **basiationes Tuas**, 'kissings of you,' not 'from you.' Cf. 9. Servius on Aen. i. 260, *Sciendum osculum religionis esse, sauium uoluptatis: quamvis quidam osculum filiis dari, uxori basium, scorto sauium dicant.*

2. **satis superque**, 'enough and more than enough to content me.' A common expression. Lael. xiii. 45, *satis superque esse sibi suarum cuique rerum.* Sallust. Jug. 75; Hor. Epod. i. 39.

3-8. Sand and stars are among the commonest illustrations of great number. Hom. Il. ix. 385, ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε. ii. 800, φύλλοισιν ἰσούσιν ἢ ψάμαθοισιν. Pind. Ol. ii. fin., ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφηνεν. P. ix. 84, ὅπως ψάμαθοι κλονέονται ἐν θαλάσῃ. Callim. H. Dian. 253, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατὸν ἱσσηρολγῶν Ἥγαγε Κυμμερίων ψαμάθων ἴσον. H. Del. 175, ἢ ἰσάριθμοι Τείρεσιν, ἥρκα πλείστα κατ' ἡέρα βουκολέονται. Plato combines both, Euthyd. 294, and so Catullus again, LXI. 199, 200.

3. **numerus harenae**, like *numerus uini* (Phil. ii. 27. 66), *frumenti olei fici*, &c., in which cases, however, the genitives are natural products, and *numerus* expresses the stock to which in each case they amount (Mayor on Phil. ii. 27. 66). *Harena*, however, is not only a noun of multitude (A. Gell. xix. 8. 12, *cum harena singulari in numero dicta multitudinem tamen et copiam significet minimarum ex quibus constat partium*), but could not properly be used in the plural, as expressly laid down by J. Caesar in his De Analogia (A. Gell. xix. 8. 3), cf. Hor. C. i. 28. 1, *numeroque carentis harenae*. Catullus seems rather to have gone beyond the ordinary licence in this use, cf. LXI. 203, *Multa milia ludei*, and note. Cicero, N. D. ii. 47. 121, uses even *pluma* and *squama* as nouns of multitude: Plautus, *membri*, Asin. iv. 1. 41. **Libyssae.** Callim. H. Apoll. 85. The form is like *Scythissa*, Corn. Nep. Datam. i.

4. **Lasarpiiferis.** (The *a* as in Pseud. iii. 2. 27, according to BCD.

But *A* has *LASSERPICI*, and *BCD* have the *e* form in *Rud.* iii. 2. 16.) *Vitruv.* viii. 3, 13, *nec Cyrenis in ferulis laser nasceretur*. *Pliny.* H. N. xix. 38, *Laserpicium quod Graeci silphion uocant, in Cyrenaisa provincia reperitur, cuius succum laser uocant magnificum in usu medicamentisq.* *Pliny* goes on to say that it had in his time long ceased to grow in Cyrene: yet in the consulship of C. Valerius Flaccus and M. Herennius, B.C. 93, thirty pounds weight of laserpicium had been shipped from Cyrene to Rome, and at the beginning of the civil war Caesar is said to have brought out of the *aerarium* 1500 pounds of it, *ib.* 40. In *Laserpiciferis* Catullus seems to translate σιλφιοφόρος. *Strabo* 133 speaks of ἡ διαμρος καὶ σιλφιοφόρος καὶ ξηρά, words which show that Catullus is strictly right in describing the laserpicium as growing in sandy tracts. The plant was so much connected with Cyrene as to be found on its coins; see *Dict. Geog.* s. v. Cyrene; cf. a passage from an inedited lexicon quoted by *Osann* on *Apuleius de Orthographia*, p. 69, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι τὸ σιλφίον μέγα τι καὶ ἐξαιρετον ἔχοντες ἰδίδουσιν βάττω· καὶ οὐκ ἐξήν ἄλλω κεκτήσθαι. Ἐχάραττον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἐνὸς μέρη τοῦ νομίσματος τὸν Ἀμμωνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸ σιλφίον ὡς μέγα: cf. *Leutsch's Paroemiographi Graeci*, ii. p. 326. A vase, circ. 458 B.C., is still extant in which *Arcesilaus*, one of the kings of Cyrene, is figured presiding over the weighing of silphium. In front of him are scales; one attendant adjusts the balance, another carries on his shoulder a bag of silphium, another watches the weighing, a fourth raises a bag of the same drug, exhibiting it to the king. *Della Cella* identified silphium with *Thapsia Silphium*, but this was poisonous. More probably it is an *asafetida*; perhaps the *Narthex asafetida*, which corresponds closely with the figures of the plant on ancient coins, in its erect thick stem with longitudinal furrowings, its arrangement of leaves, and the form and size of its flower-stalks. (*Oersted* in *Journal of Botany* for 1873, pp. 176-179.) *Cyrenis*, as in *Verg. Catal.* xi. 61, and often in *Callimachus*, *H. Apoll.* 72, 93, *Epig.* xxi. 5, *Blomf.* More generally the first syllable is long. Catullus here speaks of the district, which, like the city, is in Latin generally plural. *Plaut. Rud. Prol.* 33, 41, *Sall. fr. Hist.* ii. 47 *Kritz*, *Cic. Planc.* xxvi. 63, *Mel.* i. 22, *Nepos Ages.* 8, *Verg. Catal.* xi. 61, *Vitruv.* viii. 3, 13, *Luc.* ix. 297. The use of the singular form *Cyrene* is, in poetry, quite exceptional. *Sil.* viii. 57, *Battus Cyrenen molli tum forte regebat Imperio*, where it seems to mean the region: both in *Catal.* xi. 61, *humilis Cyrenas*, and *Luc.* ix. 297, *muros et moenia Cyrenarum*, the plural is used of the city.

5. Between the Oasis called Ammonium from the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and the tomb of Battus in Cyrene. According to *Strabo* 837, the district which grew the silphium was not in the immediate vicinity of the city Cyrene, but *adjoined* the Cyrenaean territory, ὁμορεῖ τῇ Κυρηναίᾳ ἢ τὸ σιλφίον φέρουσα καὶ τὸν ὅπὸν τὸν Κυρηναίων, ὃν ἐκφέρει τὸ σιλφίον ὀπισθεν. Probably both his *Kyrenaia* and the silphium-bearing region would be included in the Roman Cyrenae. *Oraculum.* *Strabo* 50 speaks of the oracle as famous in his own time. *aestuosi*, 'sultry,' as on the verge of the Libyan desert.

6. *Batti*, the founder of Cyrene, *Herod.* iv. 150-155. *Bάττω σιλφίον* was a proverb. *ueteris*, 'the mythical.' *Mr. Clayton* quotes *Am.* ii. 4. 33, *ueteres Heroidas aequas*. *sacrum.* Battus was worshipped after his death as a hero. *sepulchrum.* The tomb stood by itself at the

point where the paved road (σκυρωτὰ ὁδός), which Battus made leading to the temple of Apollo, joined the agora. Pind. P. v. 125, σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν, ἔσθ' ἀγορῆς ἀγορῆς ἐπὶ δίχα κείται θανάων Μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα | Ἐκαίεν, ἦρος δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβῆς.

7. *cum tacet nox*, a rare rhythm, like *occidit brevis lux*, V. 5.

8. *vident*. So Macrobius, i. 19. 12, identifies Argus Panoptes with the many-eyed heaven, and the Aryan Indra, the sky, is the thousand-eyed (*sahasrāksha*).

9. *te*, objective accusative: as *Vesano Catullo* proves, cf. XLVIII.

2. *basiare* will then be constructed with two accusatives like φιλεῖν in Mosch. iii. 69, 70, τὸ φίλημα τὸ πρῶτον τὸν Ἀδωνιν ἀποθνήσκοντα φίλησεν. *Basia basiare* is like *Odissem odio*, XIV. 3; *gaudia gaudeat*, LXI. 113; *sectam seculae*, LXIII. 15; *iuncta iuga*, LXIII. 76; *facinus facias*, LXXXI. 6; *facis facinus*, CX. 4 (Riese).

10. *Vesano*, C. 7. Hor. C. i. 13. 11, *Sive puer furens*.

11. *curiosi*, 'prying,' 'inquisitive,' a not very common sense in the writers of the best age. Plaut. Stich. i. 3. 44, *Sed curiosi sunt hic complures mali Alienae res qui curant studio maximo*; ib. 54, *Nam curiosus nemo est quin sit malivolus*. Flac. xxix. 70, *Primum patere me esse curiosum*. Att. iv. 11. 2, οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον ἢ πάντ' εἶδέναι. *Quare ut homini curioso ita perscribere ad me*. Petron. S. 127, *Sume ergo amplexum si placet neque est quod curiosum aliquem extimescas*.

12. *mala lingua*. Verg. E. vii. 28, *ne uati noceat mala lingua futuro*. *fascinare*. A. Gell. xvi. 12. 3, *Item fascinum appellat* (Cloatius Verus), *quasi bascanum, et fascinare esse quasi bascinare*. This connexion of *fascinare* with βασκανίω (accepted by Corssen, ii. p. 257) would seem to show that the notion of witchcraft was originally that of the evil tongue (*mala lingua*) rather than the evil eye. Cf. βάζειν, φάσκειν.

## VIII.

THIS poem must have been written after a quarrel. It is in the form of a soliloquy, like LXXVI, which is on the same subject. Self-address is much affected by Catullus, cf. XLVI. 4, *Linguntur Phrygii, Catulle, campi*; LI. 13, *Otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est*; LII. 1, 4, *Quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori?* LXXIX. 2, *Quam te cum tota gente, Catulle, tua*; and the soliloquising reflexions of Attis, LXIII. 58-72. It is perhaps the same egoistic tendency which leads him to speak of himself so often in the third person, and by name: VI. 1, *Catullo Velles dicere*; VII. 10, *Vesano satis et super Catullo est*; VIII. 12, *iam Catullus obdurat*; XI. 1, *Comites Catulli*; XIII. 7, *nam tui Catulli Plenus sacculus est araneorum*; XIV. 13, *Quem tu scilicet ad tuum Catullum Misti*; XXXVIII. 1, *Malest Cornifici tuo Catullo*; XLIV. 2, 3, *Nam te esse Tiburtem autumant quibus non est Cordi Catullum laedere*; XLIX. 4, 5, *Gratias tibi maximas Catullas Agit*; LVI. 3, *Ride quicquid amas, Cato, Catullum*; LVIII. 2, *Illa Lesbia quam Catullus unam*; LXVIII. 27, 28, *Quare quod scribis Veronae turpe Catullo Esse*; ib. 134, *Quae tamen etsi uno non est contenta Catullo*; LXXII. 1, *Dicebas quondam solum te nosse Catullum*; LXXIX. 3,



*Sed tamen hic pulcer uendat cum gente Catullum; LXXXII. 1, Quinti, si tibi uis oculos debere Catullum.*

1. **desinas . . . ducas.** Hortatory, rather than strictly imperative. 'You are to cease.' So in LXXVI. 14, *Difficile est, uerum hoc qua lubet efficias; 16, Hoc facias, siue id non pole, siue pole*, where, as here, Catullus is addressing himself. He seems to be laying down a rule by which his conduct is to be guided. The instances quoted by Dräger (Hist. Synt. i. 285) and Holtze (Synt. ii. p. 145) show that this imperative use of the subjunctive is particularly used in general rules, and when the person is indefinite; but it is also not unfrequent in special injunctions addressed to definite persons, e.g. Most. v. 2. 8, *cenes*, where see Sonnenschein; And. iii. 4. 19, *Quiescas*; Eun. ii. 3. 97, *Si certumst facere, facias*. Att. x. 15. 4, *litteras des*, and more frequently in later authors, e.g. Liu. vi. 12, *Tu T. Quinti equitem . . . teneas, tum terrorem . . . infer*; xxii. 53, *afficias*; xxvi. 50, *sis . . . scias*; Hor. C. ii. 11. 3, *remittas quaerere*.

2. **perisse perditum ducas** is modelled, as Passerat saw, on Plaut. Trin. iv. 3. 19, *quin tu quod periit perisse ducis?* But the two words are constantly contrasted as active and passive. Asin. iii. 3. 47, *Ille qui illos perdit saluos est, ego qui non perdo, pereō*. Ad. i. 2. 54, *Profundat perdat pereat*. Liu. Praef., *libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia*. Shakespere, Ant. and Cleop. iii. 9: *Take the hint Which my despair proclaims: but that be left Which leaves itself*.

3. **candidi soles.** Aesch. Pers. 301, *λευκὸν ἡμαρ*, 'a cloudless day,' as again literally in Ag. 668. Sophocles used *λευκὴν ἡμέραν* = *ἀγαθήν* in his Athamas, fr. 5, Nauck. Horace expresses the opposite, S. i. 9. 72, *Huncine solum Tam nigrum surrexe mihi*.

4. **uentitabas.** 'Ex frequenti profectione ad amicam felicitatem suam arguet poeta.'—Alex. Guarinus. **ducebat**, 'led the way,' not implying any deceit in Lesbia, but the entire submission of Catullus to her will.

5. Repeated XXXVII. 12, with *tantum* for *nobis*. The form of the expression is Homeric. Od. vii. 67, *Καὶ μὲν ἔτις ὥς οὐ τις ἐπὶ χθονὶ τίεται ἄλλη*. **nobis**, change from *tibi*, as Merc. iv. 3. 1-5; Aen. iv. 540, 1, *nescis . . . necdum . . . sentis . . . comitabor*. Compare the rhetorical alternation of 2nd and 3rd person in Cicero, Phil. ii. 17, 41, 56. The unemphatic *nobis* is simply a variation on *mihi*. There is no reason to suppose with Schöll that it has taken the place of an original *tantum*.

6. **Ibi tum**, in And. i. 1. 79, 104; i. 3. 18; Caecin. x. 27, means 'thereupon;' in And. iv. 1. 10 it seems to be an emphatic 'then,' *τότε δὲ*, a sense in which it is probably used here. *illa* recalls the memory of the scene. **iocosa**, II. 6: so Ibis 163, Met. iii. 332. The word is euphemistic for *res uenerae*.

7. Stat. compares Am. iii. 7. 5, *cupiens pariter cupiente puella*.

8. **Nunc iam**, 'now at last,' generally implying a number of preliminaries. And. i. 1. 144, *sat est. Curabo. eamus nunciam intro*. Fam. xii. 4. 12, *Νυνε iam sum expeditus*. **non uolt**. Anth. P. xii. 29. 1, 2, *Πρώταρχος καλὸς ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ θέλει ἄλλὰ θελήσει ὕστερον*. **inpotens** 'headstrong as you are,' a violent lover, unaccustomed to control your feelings or submit to any check in your passion. Similarly Terence, Heaut. ii. 3. 130, *Ego te autem novi quam esse soleas inpotens*. *Inuersa uerba, euersas ceruicis tuas, Gemitus, screatus, tussis, risus abstine*. And. v. 3. 8, *Adco inpotenti*

*esse animo, ut praefer civium Morem atque legem et sui voluntatem patris Tamen hanc habere studeat cum summo probro.*

10. Sappho, i. 21 Bergk, καὶ γὰρ αἱ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει. Theocr. xi. 75, τὶ τὸν φεύγοντα διώκει; Callim. Epig. xxxii. 5 Blomf., χοῦμός ἔρως ταῦτα τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα διώκειν Οἶδε, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσσοις κείμενα παρπύεταιαι, and Horace's imitation, S. i. 2. 105-108.

11. *perfer*, 'be patient,' Am. iii. 11. 7, *Perfer et obdura*. Hor. S. ii. 5. 39, *Persta atque obdura*. This intransitive use of *perferre* is rare except in the imperative. The form of these words is like Theogn. 1031, 2, Μηδὶ σύ γ' ἀπρήκτους ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ἄλγος ἀέξων, "Οχθεῖ, μὴδ' ἄχθου, μηδὲ φίλους ἀνία.

12. *Vale, puella*. Riese calls attention to the cold and formal cast of the words. Lesbia is nowhere else addressed as *puella* by Cat.

13. *rogabit*, 'solicit.' Am. i. 8. 43, *casta est quam nemo rogavit*.

14. *cum rogaberis nulla*. The use of *nullus*, 'not at all,' as in *nullus dixeris, nullus moneas, nullus uenit* (Att. xi. 24. 4, Asin. ii. 4. 2; Rud. i. 2. 55) is defended by Haupt (Obs. Crit. p. 4) as belonging to common life, and therefore harmonizing with the simple style of Catullus. Cf. Cir. 176, *Nulla colum nouit, carum non respicit aurum*, and the similar, though not identical, *Vique tibi excidimus, nullam puto Phyllida nosti*, Heroid. ii. 105. To which Munro adds a *passive* instance (Holtze, Synt. i. p. 409 does not quote any) from Att. xi. 17. 1, *consilium quod caput nullum potest*. Yet it must remain a question whether the conjecture of Stat. in 15, *nocte*, universally adopted by all subsequent editors till Lachmann's edition of 1829, is not after all right. Lately it has been revived as certain by A. Palmer (Hermath. vi. 309): and at any rate *uae te* (Balthazar Venator) seems impossible, in spite of Haupt's defence, Obs. Crit. pp. 6, 7.

15. It is hard to determine whether *Scelestus* is (1) 'vile,' mainly in reference to Lesbia's desertion of Catullus, see LXXVI, and Eun. i. 1. 26, and degrading profligacy, cf. Sen. de Ben. vi. 32, *Iuliam ultra impudicitiae maledictum impudicam*; or (2) 'unfortunate,' as often in Plautus. Ramsay, on Most. i. 3. 14, proves this meaning from Most. iii. 1. 36, *mae ego sum miser, Scelestus, natus dis inimicis omnibus*; Capt. iii. 5. 104; Asin. v. 2. 6, 7, *At scelestus ego praeter alios meum uirum fui rata Siccam frugi continentem amantem uxoris maxime*; Rud. iii. 5. 22; Men. iii. 1. 2; Cas. iii. 5. 34; Cist. iv. 2. 17, *infelicem et scelestam*. See also Sonnenschein on Most. ii. 2. 73; iii. 1. 1. The general drift of the passage is in favour of the second view; possibly *scelestus* united both, as both are to some extent combined in our 'miserable,' 'a wretch.' *tibi manet*, 'is reserved for you.' Phil. ii. 5. 11, *Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet*.

17. *cuius esse diceris?* She would no longer be called *Lesbia Catulli*. Am. iii. 12. 5, 6, *Quae modo dicta mea est, quam coepi solus amare, Cum multis uereor ne sit habenda mihi*. Prop. ii. 8. 6, *Nec mea dicitur, quae modo dicta mea est*.

18. *mordebis*. Hor. C. i. 13. 12; Tib. i. 6. 14; Am. iii. 14. 34.

19. *destinatus*, here, 'fixed to a purpose,' 'resolved:' Livy, xlii. 48, *has consilia destinata ad bellum*: cf. *obstinatus* 11. Corssen supposes a participial stem *-stano* connected with *stare* (ii. 416). There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the line, as Turnebus, Aduers. xx. 21,

did, though *destinatus* in this sense is rare. [Caesar, B. G. i. 25, uses *destinare* of fastening ships by anchor, Vitruvius, v. 12, of fixing wooden caissons (*arcae*) tightly down in water. It is not impossible that some notion of this kind may have been in the mind of Catullus, as Prof. Nettleship has suggested to me: 'chained to thy resolve,' or 'anchored to thy purpose,' and not to be moved away from it. Two glosses in Prof. M. Warren's edition of the Glossarium Sangallense (Cambridge, America, 1885), *deuotio*, *distenatio* (l. *destinatio*), *deuota distanata* (l. *destinata*) offer another possibility. Catullus binds himself to renounce Lesbia by a *deuotio*, i. e. a curse whose violation would be attended by religious penalties.]

## IX.

VERANIUS is mentioned again XII. 15, as the companion of Fabullus in Spain: in XXVIII. 1, *Pisonis comites cohors inanis*, XLVII. 1, *Porci et Socration duae sinistrae Pisonis*, they are again combined as members of the *cohors* of Piso. It is a natural inference that they were in Spain with Piso; for, if they were not, they must have accompanied each other twice, and probably in two different parts of the world. Such indeed is the hypothesis of Schwabe (Quaestt. pp. 244-246). He thinks IX, XII, XIII, refer to a journey in Spain distinct from the subsequent journey which the two friends made with Piso; and he identifies this Piso with L. Calpurnius Piso, Proconsul of Macedonia from the end of 696 | 58 till some time after the beginning of 699 | 55.

This is not impossible, and there are many points of agreement between XXVIII, XLVII, and the description Cicero gives of Piso's government of Macedonia. (See Introduction to XXVIII.) But these are equally explicable on the hypothesis of a single journey; and this was the view of the older commentators<sup>1</sup>.

The only Piso known to have held a provincial government in Spain within the time to which the poems of Catullus belong is Cn. Piso, a member of the first Catilinarian conspiracy, who was sent into Hispania Citerior as Quaestor pro Praetore 689 | 65. Sallust, Cat. 18, calls him *adulescens nobilis summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant*, and says that he was sent out through the influence of M. Crassus, as an enemy of Pompeius, but that the senate was glad to give him a provincial command, *quippe foedum hominem a re publica procul esse uolebat*. Cn. Piso was killed whilst travelling in his province by some Spanish horsemen who accompanied his army, whether urged by friendship to Pompeius, or to revenge the cruelties and oppressions of his government, Sallust leaves uncertain. Cicero, in the fragment of his Oratio in Toga Candida, delivered when canvassing for the Consulship, 690 | 64, calls him contemptuously a Spanish stiletto (*illo conati erant Hispaniensi pugiunculo nervos incidere ciuium Romanorum*, Ascon. p. 94 Orelli); if Asconius may be trusted he

<sup>1</sup> And recently of F. Hermes (Progr. Frankfurt on Oder, 1888), who, however, believing Catullus' life to extend from 76 to 46, assigns the Spanish journey of Veranius and Fabullus to the outbreak of the Civil War, when Cn. Pompeius was sent as *legatus pro quaestore* to Hispania Citerior. Veranius and Fabullus may have attended him as *scribae quaestorii*.

was then dead. See Detlevius Wilsdorf *Fasti Hispaniarum provinciarum* (Leipziger Studien, i. p. 123)<sup>1</sup>.

It must have been then in 65-64 that Veranius and Fabullus were in Spain, if they were there with Cn. Piso. This is not inconsistent with the fact which seems to follow from XXVIII, XLVII, that they were with Piso during some part of the time when Catullus was with Memmius in Bithynia (see Introduction to X). Nor is it inconsistent with the age of Catullus, who in 65-64 would have been twenty-two or twenty-three years old, an age well suited to the youthful warmth of vv. 8-12.

2. **Antistana**, 'surpassing,' i.e. valued above; a word used by Cicero, Rep. iii. 18. 28, and Lucretius, v. 22. **milibus trecentis**, i.e. any number of other friends. Att. ii. 5. 1, *Cato ille noster qui mihi unus est pro centum milibus*, xvi. 11. 1, *Εἰς ἐμοὶ μύριοι*. Anth. P. vii. 128. 3, *Εἰς ἐμοὶ ἄθρ' ἄνθρωποι τρισμύριοι*, a dictum ascribed to Heraclitus (fr. cxiii. ed. Brwater, where a number of parallels are cited). Plin. Epist. iv. 27. 4, *Vnus Plinius est mihi priores*. So in XLVIII. 3, *Vsque ad milia basiem trecenta*, where *basiorum* is supplied as *amicorum* here. Horace similarly uses *tercentum milibus* as an expression of indefinite number, S. ii. 3. 116.

4. **unanimos**, 'loving,' XXX. 1; LXVI. 80; Aen. vii. 335, *unanimos armare in proelia fratres*. **anum matrem**, as in Gell. iii. 15. 4: *anus* conveys an affectionate, not a disparaging, idea. Tib. i. 6. 57, *tua mater Me mouet atque iras aurea vincit anus*, ib. 63, *dulcis anus*.

5. **nuntii**, plural, not genitive sing. as held by Ramshorn Gramm. p. 339, Public School Grammar, § 136. Pro Flacc. xi. 102, *O nox illa . . . o nonae illae Decembres quae me consule fuistis*. *O nox illa quam iste est dies consecutus*. Ter. Phorm. ii. 2. 20, *O uir fortis atque amicus (amicus's most edd., but MSS including the Bembinde omit *es*, as Umpfenbach points out). mihi with beati, 'O tidings happy for me.'*

6. **Visam**, LXIII. 48. **incolumem**, after all the perils of your journey, Iuuen. xii. 15. 16.

7. **Narrantem**. One of my earliest MSS *La*<sup>1</sup> which Schwabe assigns to the end of cent. xiv, has *Narrantem*, and this was the spelling of Varro, Wilmanns de M. Ter. Varronis libris grammaticis, p. 179. **loca**, 'the sites,' i.e. the country considered topographically. **facta**, 'the exploits or feats,' the *pugnas*, rather than the *mores*, of Cic. Q. Fr. ii. 16. 4. **nationes**, 'the tribes' of which the Hiberian race was composed. So Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus, then with Caesar in Britain, ii. 16. 4, *Quos tu situs rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem uero ipsum imperatorem habes*.

8. **applicans**, not, I think, 'bringing my neck close to yours,' like *app. oscula*, Ovid, F. iv. 851; but like *in osculum applicare*, Petron. S. 24 = 'to draw a person near to kiss him,' Eleg. de Morte Drusi 34, *Colloque et os oculosque illius ore premam*. Fronto p. 50, Naber, *ille fructus in tuo collo atque osculo situs est*. Alciphron, i. 28. 1, *ἦεν ἀραμένη τὰ πρὸς τὴν τέχνην σὺ δὲ ἐξενήτης ἐπιστὰς ἐπειρὼ τὴν δέμιν ἀνακλάσας κύσαι*. Aristacn. i. 16, *ἐμβαλεῖν*.

<sup>1</sup> A still extant inscription, C. I. L. i. 598, is believed by Mommsen to refer to this Piso (Marquardt, i. p. 391), *Cn. Calpurnius Cn. f. Piso Quaestor pro pr. ex S. C. provinciam Hispaniam citeriorem optinuit*. In the 16th century Sigonius. Emendation. ii. 6 (fol. 56<sup>v</sup>, ed. 1557), saw this inscription and explained it of the same Piso. 'Quod ostendit epigramma, quod de eo extat Romae in horto Cardinalis Carpens in alta semita,' the inscription follows, as given above, except that for *citeriorem* Sigonius gives *cliteriorem*.

θείσα τῇ ἔρωτι ἀνέκλασε πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὸν αὐχένα καὶ κατεφίλησε. Lucian, Dial. Meretr. iii. 2, τοῦ ὧτὸς ἄκρου ἐφαπόμενος ἀνακλάσας τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Θαίδος ἐφίλησεν. In all these passages it is the person kissed whose neck is grasped. Servius on Aen. i. 616, says *applicare* was the more ancient, *adplicare* the more modern spelling: our MSS may thus represent here what Catullus wrote.

9. *os oculosque*: 'the sound has evidently brought the two words thus together,' Munro, quoting Cic. Phil. viii. 7. 20, *ante os oculosque legatorum*, Aen. viii. 152, *ille os oculosque loquentis*; Ibis 155, *Ante os oculosque uolabo*; add Quintil. ii. 4. 18, *os oculosque hostis Galli*. *sauuiabor*, so Q. Cicero to Tiro, Fam. xvi. 27. 2, *Ego uos a d. iiii. Cal. uidebo tuosque oculos etiam si te ueniens in medio foro uidero dissauuiabor*. Turnebus thinks Catullus was here imitating Homer, Od. xvi. 15, *Κύσσε δέ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάσα καλά*.

10. *O quantum est hominum beatiorum* has been explained as an appeal to happy men to declare whether they know any one happier than Catullus; cf. Eun. v. 8. 1, *O populares, equis me hodie uiuit fortunator?* Supra III. 2. But the repetition *beatiorum beatius* is cumulative, the first containing the second, 'O, among all men that are happy, what is happier than I,' just as in Capt. iv. 2. 56, *Quantumst hominum optumorum optume*. Phorm. v. 6. 13, *O omnium quantum est qui uiuont hominum homo ornatissime*, and Heaut. iv. 8. 1, *Multo omnium nunc me fortunatissimum Factum puto esse*. Symmach. Epist. i. 37, *O quantum hominum in terris est spectatissime*.

## X.

THIS poem must have been written after the return of Catullus from Bithynia, which he visited as one of the *cohors* or staff of the Praetor Memmius (X. 10-12, XXVIII. 9, 10).

G. Memmius<sup>1</sup> was tribune of the plebs, 688 | 66, and had made himself prominent by using his influence to prevent the triumph of L. Lucullus, who had just returned from the Mithridatic war (Plut. Lucullus, 37). Lucullus obtained his triumph in 691 | 63, mainly through the exertions of Cato (Plut. Cato 29, Cic. Acad. Pr. ii. 1. 3). Memmius was probably then at Rome, and must have been there in 694 | 60, when he seduced the wife of M. Lucullus (Att. i. 18. 3). In 696 | 58 he was praetor (Ad Q. Fr. i. 2. 16), and Iungclaussen, Schwabe, Bruner, Westphal, Wehrmann (Fasti Praetorii, p. 62), Munro, pp. 44-46, Riese, Bährens and B. Schmidt agree in concluding that he was propraetor of Bithynia in the following year. As he probably remained a year in Bithynia, the date of the present poem would on this hypothesis fall in the year 698 | 56.

A different view is perhaps also tenable. We saw (Intro. to IX) that when XXVIII was written, Veranius and Fabullus were with Piso, and that if they were with Piso in Spain, it was probably in 65-64 B.C. From XXVIII. 8, 9 Catullus seems to have been then in attendance on Memmius. If then Veranius and Fabullus made only one journey together, this must have nearly coincided with the time when Catullus and

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, Münzwesen p. 597, shows that Gemellus was not a cognomen of the Memmii, and is not found on their coins. In Fam. xiii. 19. 2, C. Memmii Gemellus is doubtful. *M* has Maenius.

Memmius were in Bithynia. Could Memmius have been in Bithynia in 65-64 B.C.? He was in Rome in 66 (Plut. Lucullus, 37); but I know of nothing to prove that he was there during the whole of the three years which elapsed before Lucullus obtained his triumph in 63<sup>1</sup>. Suppose that Pompeius, with whom Memmius seems to have been connected by ties of marriage<sup>2</sup> and personal friendship<sup>3</sup>, and who was at this time conducting the Mithridatic war, got the senate to appoint Memmius extraordinary *quaestor pro praetore* in Bithynia, or sent for him with a private intimation of his intention to appoint him on his arrival, possibly as adjutant to himself while he was pursuing Mithridates into the recesses of the Bosphorus, and subjugating the Iberians and Albanians, events which fall within the year 65 B.C., Catullus might have been with Memmius in Bithynia nearly at the same time that Veranius and Fabullus were with Cn. Piso in Spain. And for our purposes it is enough if the *beginning* of Memmius' tenure of office coincided with the later part of Piso's: for Catullus in XXVIII, which looks like a short epistle in verse, speaks to his two friends generally in the perfect, *tulistis* 5, *pari fuistis Casu* 11, *nihilò minore uerpa Fartis estis* 12. At any rate the mere absence of any historical notice of such an appointment proves nothing: for except from Catullus himself we should not have known that Memmius had been in Bithynia at all. See Prolegomena.

Supposing then that Catullus went with Memmius into Bithynia some time in 65 and remained there till 64, we may explain all the five poems without resorting to the hypothesis of a journey twice undertaken by Veranius and Fabullus together. XXVIII, XLVII, will then be prior in date to IX, XII, XIII. Catullus probably wrote XXVIII first, cf. 4, *Quid rerum geritis?* which looks like a first greeting: XLVII was sent somewhat later, when news had reached the poet that his friends were vilipended by Piso. Then comes XII, written after the return of Catullus to Italy, where he seems to have been when the Saetaban napkins sent by Veranius and Fabullus reached him; next is IX, written on Veranius' return to his home; XIII was probably composed later, as it contains an allusion to Lesbia, 11.

The above hypothesis receives some confirmation (1) from the vague way in which the governor of Bithynia is spoken of, *praetoribus* (10), as if there were at the time more than one, (2) from the comparatively rugged cast of the metre. In no other of his hendecasyllabic poems is Catullus so free as in this. It is not merely that the diction is more than ordinarily the language of common life: the loose rhythm and absurd assonances are palpably drawn from comedy. Catullus was trying an

<sup>1</sup> Certainly this does not follow from Cic. Acad. Pr. ii. 1. 3. *inimicorum calumnia triennio tardius quam debuerat triumphauit*, nor from Plut. Cat. 29, Lucull. 37.

<sup>2</sup> The C. Memmius, who married Pompeius' sister (Plut. Pomp. 11), fought under Pompeius in Sicily, and later against Sertorius in Spain, where he was killed under the walls of Saguntum (Plut. Sertor. 21) in 75 B.C. (Reid on pro Balb. ii. 5, after Drumann), was probably a relation of Catullus' Memmius.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, Gram. xiv, says, *Curtius Nicia haesit Cn. Pompeio et C. Memmio, sed cum codicillos Memmii ad Pompeii uxorem de stupro pertulisset, proditus ab ea, Pompeium offendit, domoque ei interdictum est*. This passage proves that Memmius and Pompeius were on intimate terms, and that Memmius must have had opportunities of illicit intercourse with Pompeius' wife, Mucia, before she was divorced by her husband on his return from the Mithridatic war in 61 B.C.



experiment with the hendecasyllable which he has nowhere repeated, at least in the same degree; and this experiment belongs, I conceive, to an early stage in his poetical development. It would not be possible to find in any other hendecasyllabic poem of the collection so pure a piece of prose as *quod illic Natum dicitur esse comparasti Ad lecticam hominis*, or a jingle so tame as *In collo sibi collocare posset*. To the same head belong such prosaisms as *Sermones uarii, in quibus*, or *Respondi, id quod erat*, or *quo modo se haberet*.

The last king of Bithynia, Nicomedes III, died in 74 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, leaving his dominions by his will to the Romans (Appian, Civ. i. 111). The kingdom was then reduced into the form of a province (Liu. Epit. 93), hence Cicero, Leg. Manil. ii. 5, a speech delivered B.C. 66, says *Bithyniae quae nunc uestra provincia est*, and in the second speech on the agrarian law of Rullus, 63 B.C., speaks of *agros Bithyniae regios quibus nunc publicani fruuntur*, xix. 50; cf. xv. 40, *quoniam hereditatem* (the kingdom left by Nicomedes' will) *iam creuimus, regnum Bithyniae, quod certe publicum est populi Romani factum*.

Catullus says Bithynia was a bad province for making money. This was probably attributable to the exhaustion of its resources by the Mithridatic war (Mommson, iv. p. 50), partly also to the long continuance of piratical depredations (ib. p. 41). But it is remarkable that M. Aurelius Cotta and C. Papirius Carbo, successively governors of Bithynia, both amassed large sums, and were both tried and condemned for spoliation (Dion C. xxxvi. 23). Memmius was a careless, but perhaps not an unscrupulous, man.

Varus is probably the person to whom XXII is written. Schwabe, following a suggestion of Muretus, identifies him with Quintilius Varus, whose death is commemorated by Horace, C. i. 24, and who is probably the critic of A. P. 438 sqq. If the statement of Hieronymus in the Eusebian chronicle Ol. 189. 2, B.C. 23, *Quintilius Cremonensis Vergilii et Horatii amicus moritur*, is correct, there would at least be nothing in the age of Quintilius to make this theory impossible; but it does not appear to me likely that any friend of Catullus would have been intimate with the foremost flatterer of the Augustan court.

2. *Visere ad* is commonly 'to visit some one who is ill.' Hec. i. 2. 114, ii. 1. 40, iii. 2. 5, 7; Lucret. vi. 1236. This is probably the sense here; the visit to Serapis' temple would be to implore a cure. **otiosum**, 'with nothing to do,' Ad. ii. 4. 15.

3. **Scortillum** seems to be ἀπ. λεγ. **repente**, 'on the instant,' like *exemplo*, Stat. Ach. ii. 89.

4. **sane**, concessively, 'I grant,' XLIII. 4. **non illepidum neque inuenustum** recur XXXVI. 17 of Lesbia's vow. Varus' mistress seemed a lady of some wit and liveliness. The opposite is *insulsa ac molesta*, 33.

5. **incidere**. Liu. i. 57, *Potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium incidit de uxoris mentio*. So ἐπιτίθειν, Soph. O. C. 1150, Protog. 314 C. More usually *incidere in* is said of the person who chances on some topic, e. g. Lael. i. 2.

<sup>1</sup> So Marquardt, Römische Alterthümer, iv. p. 192 ed. <sup>2</sup>, following Waddington against the view of Mommsen, Henzen, Zumpt, and Borghesi, which places the reduction of Bithynia to a province in 75 B.C.

6. *in quibus*. Liu. i. 56, *is cum primores ciuitatis in quibus fratrem suum ab auunculo interfectum audisset. quid esset iam Bithynia*, not 'what sort of place Bithynia had become,' as *Scis Lebedus quid sit*, Hor. Epist. i. 11. 7, but either (1) 'What of Bithynia, what news of Bithynia?' a conversational expression, as Att. xiv. 5. 3, *Sed uelim scire quid aduentus Octauii, numqui concursus ad eum, numquae νεωτερισμοῦ suspicio*; iv. 11. 2, *perscribe ad me quid primus dies, quid secundus, quid censores, quid Appius, quid illa populi Appuleia*. Cf. *τί τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑμῶν ἐστὶ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνι*; Lysist. 994, or (2) 'What had become of Bithynia,' probably in reference to its recent reduction into the form of a province; ('how Bithynia was now off,' Munro).

7. *se haberet*, 'what was its condition.' Fam. iii. 1. 1, *Si ipsa respublica tibi narrare posset, quomodo sese haberet*. iv. 5 fin., *quemadmodumque se prouincia habeat*.

8. *Ecquonam* the emendation here of Stat. is so often in MSS written *Et quonam*, that it may well be right; cf. XXVIII. 6. But *Et quonam* is equally defensible, and avoids an asyndeton not much in Catullus' style. *quonam* = *quanto*. *profuisset aere*, ablative of value or measure, 'by what amount of money it had stood me in profit.' On the gains made in the provinces by praetors, quaestors, and their subordinates, cf. the words of C. Gracchus in Gell. xv. 12, *Ita uersatus sum prouincia, uti nemo posset uere dicere, assem aut eo plus in muneribus me accepisse, aut mea opera quemquam sumptum fecisse . . . Itaque, Quirites, cum Romam profectus sum, zonas quas plenas argenti extuli, eas ex prouincia inanes retuli*.

9-13. 'I replied, as was in fact the case, that neither natives, praetors, nor staff, possessed anything to make a man return with his locks in better trim; the more so, that they had a praetor who was a profligate, and cared for his followers not an atom.' The Bithynians were too poor to relieve the necessities of an impecunious praetor and his attendant *cohors*; and if the *cohors* attempted to wring money out of the Bithynians, they were not seconded by Memmius, a man too worthless to care for the interests of his followers.

9. *id quod erat*, 'as was the fact.' B. G. iv. 32, *Caesar id quod erat suspicatus, aliquid noui a barbaris initum consilii*. Liu. xxxix. 13, *Mulier haud dubie, id quod erat, Aebutium indicem arcani rata esse. nihil neque ipsis Nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti, Cur quisquam caput unotius referret*. This, the reading which the MSS seem to point to, is best explained by Jo. Fr. Gronouius de Pecun. Veteri, iii. 17, 'Simplicissimus est sensus, ita uexatam spoliata exhaustamque a tot sanguisugis prioribus esse Bithyniam, ut nec ipsis prouincialibus quidquam supersit, nec praetoribus, qui uoluentibus annis post alium alius in eam mittantur, cohortiue illorum obuেনiat, quo contacto calidiores ut cum Quinctio apud Macrobium (S. vii. 3. 15) amicus iocabatur, e prouincia manus domum referant.' *ipsis*, 'the natives,' i. e. the Bithynians, as in Liu. vi. 30, *eodem anno Setiam, ipsis querentibus penuriam hominum, noui coloni adscripti* (Gronouius).

10. *praetoribus* might be explained either as a *general* plural with a *particular* reference (Dräger, Hist. Synt. p. 8, quotes *regum*, Hor. C. iv. 12. 8, of Tereus, *duces* iii. 16. 15, of Sextus Pompeius, *soceri* of *Latinus* Aen. x. 79, *generi* of Turnus xii. 658), or indefinitely, the praetor for the time: *τοῖς δὲ ἀντιστρατηγούσι*. Or, as suggested in the

Introduction, Bithynia may have been, at the time Catullus was there, under the administration of more than one official acting *pro praetore cohorti*, regularly for the staff or suite in attendance on a provincial governor. Hor. Epist. i. 3. 6.

11. *unotius*, to have the hair well oiled, as for a banquet or a holiday, was an expression of prosperity or good fortune: and so Plautus allusively, Pseud. i. 2. 84, *Numqui quopiamst tuorum tua opera hodie conseruorum Nilidiusculum caput?* Verr. ii. 22. 54, *ita palaestritas defendebat ut ab illis unctior abiret.* *referret*, 'carry home,' as in the words of C. Gracchus quoted above.

12. *quibus* might be the provincials (Gronovius); but the logic of the sentence points rather to *cohorti*, the young men who made up the praetor's suite. *irrumator*, XXVIII. 10: not more literally perhaps than XVI. i. 14, and Lucilius' *Praetor noster adhuc quam spurcatus ore quod omnis Extra castra ut sterco foras eiecit ad unum.* Non. 394.

13. *Praetor*, C. Memmius. *non faceret*, i. e. *praesertim quibus praetor esset irrumator (et) non faceret pili cohortem.* A conversational asyndeton. There is, however, much to recommend *non faceret* (so the Datanus and *a*), the nominative being supplied from *quibus*, which would then mean the provincials, as in Rud. ii. 1. 2, *praesertim quibus nec quaesius est nec artem didicere ullam.* Sallust, Jug. 101, *peditibus quos Volux filius eius adduxerat neque in priore pugna in itinere morati adfuerant.* (Holtze, i. p. 389.) The Bithynians might naturally be indifferent to the members of the praetorian staff, if the praetor himself was a person whom they despised. *pili*, XVII. 17.

14. *iniquiunt.* Varus and the woman, who alone are supposed to be present (Munro). *illio.* Voss quotes Verr. v. 11. 27, *nam ut mos fuit Bithynorum regibus lectica octophoro ferebatur:* a passage which, though it does not prove that the lectica was a Bithynian invention, is sufficient to show that it was specially connected with that country. In the speech of C. Gracchus (A. Gell. x. 3), where the travelling lectica is first mentioned, the young legatus who occupies it is on his way back *ex Asia*, i. e. Asia Minor.

15. *Natum.* Haupt (Hermes, vii. 180) cites Valla's Scholiast on Iuven. i. 121, *lecticarum usum, inquit Probus, primi dicuntur inuenisse Bithyni;* vi. 351, *διφφορ significat, inquit Probus: apud Bithynos autem usus lecticae inuentus est* as indicating that Bithynia was believed, perhaps from this very passage of Catullus, to have been the country where the *lectica* was invented. In themselves the words need mean no more than that palanquin-bearers were a natural product of the country, as we might say, grew there, from the abundant supply of tall strong men for the purpose. Cic. de Rep. i. 3. 5, *exempla leuitatis quae nata et frequentata apud illos etiam in grauissimam ciuitatem dicunt redundasse.* Plin. Paneg. xxix, *diuersas gentes ita commercio miscuit ut quod genitum esset unquam id apud omnes natum esse uideretur.* This view is rather confirmed by the position of *esse*, which almost makes *Natum* an adjective.

16. *Ad lecticam hominis* = *lecticarios*, like *seruos ad manum*, *cyathos hominis*, like our 'men' for 'servants.' Pro Quint. xix. 61, *hominem P. Quintii deprehendis in publico.* (Muretus). The use of the *lectica* was at this time beginning to be excessive. A few years later J. Caesar in his dictatorship restricted the *lectica*, as well as *murex*, dyed robes, and

pearls to persons of specified status and age, and on particular days. Suet. Iul. 43. *hominis*. A very rare case of an accus. plur. in *-is* from a consonantic stem. Cf. however *libidinisque* XIV. 24. Bücheler, Grundriss der Lateinischen Declination, p. 29, cites *tris hominis* from the MSS of Mil. Glor. 660, but such accusatives as *sermonis piscatoris* can only be admitted as exceptional.

17. *Vnum beatiorem*, 'a particularly lucky fellow:' *unus* in this sense is common with superlatives, less frequent with comparatives; Hor. Epod. xii. 4, *namque sagacius unus odoror . . . Quam canis acer ubi lateat sus*. Cf. XXXVII. 17; LVIII. 2. Hardly, as Munro, 'the one man rich or fortunate above the rest.' *facerem*, 'might make out,' 'represent.' Adelph. iv. 1. 19, *facio te apud illum deum*. *Virtutes narro*. Sen. Epist. xlv. 1, *tu mihi te pusillum facis et dicis malignius tecum egisse naturam prius, deinde fortunam*.

18. *tam fuit maligne*, 'I was not so desperately poor.' Liu. viii. 12, *ager maligne plebi diuisus*: hence *maligne praebere* Iust. v. 2, 'to stint,' opposed to *benigne praebere*, Hec. v. 2. 2.

19. *mala*, 'unremunerative.' Bithynia, like Cappadocia, Hor. Epist. i. 6. 39. wanted money, but had plenty of slaves. *incidisset*, 'had, as I said, fallen to my lot.' *incidisset* here for the more ordinary *obtigisset*.

20. *octo*, for the *octophoros* or *octaphoros*, which was now a fashionable conveyance, Q. Fr. ii. 10. 2. *rectos*, 'straight and tall,' LXXXVI. 2. *seruilia rectora*, Suet. Iul. 47. Catullus' words might recall Plautus' *homines octo ualidi*, Amph. i. 1. 7; *octo uiros, ualentes uirgatores*, Asin. iii. 2. 18; and in so doing would add to the depreciatory effect of the reply.

21-23. 'But the fact was, that neither here (at Rome) nor in Bithynia had I a single man to shoulder my well-worn pallet with its battered feet.' A parenthetical remark by the poet (Heyse, Hertzberg, and G. A. Simcox in Academy, ii. p. 169), rather than a continuation of Catullus' speech; though this latter view is adopted in my metrical translation.

21. *At*, 'but you must know,' as in Hor. S. i. 5. 60, *at illi foeda cicatrix Scotosam laeui frontem turpauerat oris*. *neque hic neque illic*, 'neither at Rome nor in Bithynia,' Att. ix. 7. 2, *Ero in Formiano ne aut ad urbem anarctus mea animaduertatur aut si nec hic nec illic* (neither at Formiae nor at Rome) *eum uidero, deuitatum se a me putet*. Ovid, Pont. i. 7. 58, *Hic illic uestro sub lare semper eram*, 'in your house or your brother's.' That *neque hic neque illic*, 'neither here nor there,' is a conversational 'nowhere,' cf. Most. iii. 1. 76, *faenus illic, faenus hic*, 'everywhere'; *hos illos*, 'all sorts,' Mart. ix. 29. 10, is less probable.

22. *grabati*, a small low couch of the commonest description, such as was used by poor people. Rich, s. v. Lucilius, ap. Non. 181; vi. 9, ed. L. Müller, *Tres a Deucalione grabati restibu tenti*; Cic. de Diuin. ii. 62. 129, *non modo lectos, uerum etiam grabatos*; Moretum 5, *Membra leuat nili sensim demissa grabato*. Petron. S. 97; Mart. vi. 39. 4. According to Suetonius de Regibus, p. 319 ed. Reifferscheid, *Numa Pompilius prior adiuuenit grabatos mensas sellas candelabra*.

23. *collo . . . collocare*, Plautine. Asin. iii. 3. 67, *hic istam colloca cruminam in collo plane*; Rud. iii. 6. 50, *Nam in columbari collum haud multo post erit*. The technical word for adjusting a *lectica* by a pole to the shoulders was *succollare*, Suet. Claud. x. *collocare posset, no*

much more than *collocaret*; by *posset* Catullus seems to mean, 'might serve on occasion,' 'might if required.'

**24. cinaediorum.** In ed. 1 I explained this of the delicacy (*mollitia*) of the *scortillum*, who wished to ride in a *lectica* to Serapis' temple: cf. XXV. 1, *Cinaede Thalle, mollior cuniculi capillo*; Plin. Epist. ix. 17. 2, *si quid molle a cinaedo, petulans a scurra, stultum a morione profertur*; Athen. xiii. 565, *κωαίδους καλοῦσι τοὺς ἢ μύρον προσβάλλοντας ἢ μικρῇ μαλακωτέραν ἡμφιεσμένους ἐσθῆτα*. But the more prevailing connotation of the word, at least in Roman writers, seems to be 'impudent,' whence its frequent combination with *improbis*, LVII. 1, Iuven. iv. 106. So Munro, who remarks, 'Catullus surely points to the impudence of the request.' The point is perhaps hardly settled, for in Mart. vi. 39. 12, *Quartus cinaeda fronte, candido uultu*, where as here *cinaedus* is an adj., the meaning is rather 'effeminate,' or 'wanton' than 'impudent.'

**26. Istos, unless commoda** is imperative, must depend on a verb understood, *da* or something similar: see on XXXVIII. 6. **commoda**, (1) if imperative of *commodare*, is the single instance of a trisyllabic imperative of the first conjugation shortening its final syllable: Plautus seems to shorten it similarly in <sup>1</sup> Cist. iv. 2. 76, see Lambinus there, and cf. *amā*, Curc. i. 1. 30, *rogā*, Curc. v. 3. 30, Poen. v. 2. 48, Men. v. 9. 47, Pseud. i. 1. 112, Most. iii. 1. 150, Hec. iv. 1. 43 (Wagner, Aulul. p. xxvi); *putā* seems to be beyond question in Priap. xxxvii. 6, if not Pers. iv. 9 (Corssen, ii. p. 461), though it has ceased to retain its imperatival force. But these are disyllables, and though in the verse immediately following the MSS give *mane me*, the alteration *mane* is so simple as to make this argument of little value. A. Palmer thinks the commonness of borrowing and lending made *commoda* a colloquialism, and thus emancipated it from ordinary rules. But (2) it may perhaps be neut. plur., 'as loans,' like a very similar neut. plur. in Strab. 748, *Φραάτης τέτταρας παῖδας γνησίους ἐνεχείρισεν ὄμηρα*; Phorm. iv. 4. 24, *Quot res postilla monstra euenerunt mihi*. Not improbably the words are corrupt, but no convincing emendation has been proposed<sup>2</sup>. **ad Sarapim**, 'to the temple of Serapis,' as Am. ii. 2. 25, *Nec tu linigeram fieri quid possit ad Isin Quaesieris*; Iuven. xiv. 260. The accus. in *-m* is found also in Cic. de N. D. iii. 19. 47; Varro ap. Non. 480; Macrobi. i. 7. 14; a genitive *Serapi* in an inscript. professedly of 649 | 105, CIL. I. no. 577, but believed by Mommsen to be restored under the Empire; perhaps also in Varro ap. Non. 480, *medicina Serapi*. Serapis was resorted to for cures, which were believed to be prescribed in dreams. Cic. de Divin. ii. 59. 123. Varro, Eum. fr. xxvi, xxviii, xxix, Riese. Cf. Artemidor. Oneirocr. ii. 44 (quoted by Röper de Varronis Eumenidibus, ii. p. 23), *συμπράγας καὶ θεραπείας ἀπὸ Σαραπίδος δοθείσας*. Hence Serapis was sometimes identified with Aesculapius, *quod medeatur aegris corporibus*, Tac. Hist. iv. 84. Wherever the temple alluded to was, it was probably outside the pomerium: at least this was the restriction after the cult had been publicly recognized, Dion C. liii. 2; liv. 6; as well as at Alexandria, Macrobi. i. 7. 15.

<sup>1</sup> *Commoda loquellam tuam tibi nunc proderit. Confitemur.*

<sup>2</sup> *Commodum enim*, Hand; *da modo nam*, Doering; or my own *commoneam*. Once I thought W. S. Lander's *commoda eram* might be right, interpreting *eram* to mean the proprietress of the *scortillum*, 'lend me your men: I wish to have my mistress carried by them to Serapis' temple.'

**27. Deferri.** Later Domitian forbade women of bad character to use the *lectica*, Suet. Domit. 8. 'Mane' inquit, hiatus of the long final of a dactylic foot, as in LVII. 7. The MSS have *mane me*, which Lachm. retains. The short *ē* of *mane*, to say nothing of the Plautine *lenē, tacē, docē, uidē, iubē* (Wagner, Aulul. p. xxvii), is not without support in Augustan and later poets; Ovid has *ualē* before *dicere* once, Trist. i. 8. 21; Phaedrus *uidē*, iii. 6. 3; Persius *uidēsis*, i. 108; Martial *saluē*, x. 108, 4 (*solue*<sup>1</sup> Friedländer, with some MSS). Like these *mane* is a disyllable, and a word in common use. Catullus has *cauē* twice L. 18, 19. but this is probably from a verb of the 3rd conj. *cauēre*. The sense would be, ironically, 'You may as well wait till I come,' i. e. there's plenty of time for that. Philodemus, Anth. P. v. 308. 1, Ἡ κομψή, μείνόν με· τί σοι καλὸν οὖνομα; ποῦ σε ἔστιν ἰδεῖν; ὃ θέλεις δώσωμεν. Οὐδὲ λαλεῖς; suggests that Catullus may here be addressing the *scortillum* in language familiar to her class: 'Wait till I come up with you; stay for me to join you; not so fast.' Bergk's conj. *mi anime*, 'my dear,' cf. Bacch. i. 1. 47, would scarcely be address to a woman Catullus had never seen till then.

**28. Istud**, accus. as in Epid. iii. 4. 14, *sed istum quem quaeris Periphanem Plothenium, Ego sum, si quid uis*. Curc. iii. 1. 49. Pseud. i. 5. 114, *Tibicinam illam tuam quam gnatus deperit, Ea circumducam lepide lenonem*. **quod** is explained by *me habere*, 'as for what I happened to say just now, I mean that I had the men.' Dacic wax-tablet of 2nd cent. A.D. in C. I. L. iii. p. 948, *Adiutor Macari scripsi rogatus . . . quia s(e) litteras scire negauit, il quod dixit se locasse et locauit Socrati Soc(r)atis (op)ras suas ex (ha)c die in il(dus) sequentes*. **dixeram**, as in Capt. i. 2. 85, *Ad fratrem quo ire dixeram mox iuro*: cf. Caesar's use of *dixeramus*, 'I said above,' referring to a former part of his commentaries, B. G. ii. 1. Munro on Lucr. iv. 885, comparing LXVIII. 33, *Nam quod scriptorum non magna est copia apud me, Hoc fit quod Romae uiuimus*, and a number of similar instances, explains *quod* here as the conjunction; the full expression, he thinks, would be *Istud quod modo dixeram me habere*, [*hoc factum est quod*] *me ratio fugit*, and he translates (Elucid. p. 35), 'When I said just now that I had them, I forgot myself for the moment.' But in all the passages he cites, *quod* either begins the sentence or leaves no doubt of its meaning<sup>2</sup>: whereas in the verse of Catullus *quod* is immediately preceded by *istud*, the very pronoun which in so many passages of Comedy is followed by an undoubted relative.

**29. Fugit me ratio**, 'I made a mistake about it.' Amphi. i. 1. 227, ed. Fleckeisen, Mer. *Amphitruonis te esse aiebas Sosiam*. So. *Peccaueram. Nam illut 'Amphitruonis socium' me esse uolui dicere*. Mer. *Scibam equidem nullum esse nobis nisi me seruom Sosiam. Fugit ratio te*. Cic. ad Herenn. ii. 16. 24, cited by Scaliger, *Qui se propter uinum aut amorem aut iracundiam fugisse rationem dicet, is animi uitio uidebitur nescisse, non imprudentia*. Lambinus on Amphi. i. 1. 277, explains it either as taken from accounts, 'the reckoning escaped me, I was out in my calculation,' the opposite of *rationem tenere*; or, more probably, like *fugit me memoria*, 'my senses forsook me, I forgot what I was saying.' In Cic. de Rep. ii. 34. 59, *aliqua ratio medendi quae neque Solonem . . . fugerat neque post*

<sup>1</sup> Bentley seems to have thought *saluē* right.

<sup>2</sup> In one of them Lucr. iv. 886 *Id quod prouidet, illius rei constat imago* the construction is rather *quam rem prouidet, illius rei c. imago*.

*aliquanto nostrum senatum*, the words have a different sense, but point to the first explanation.

30. G. Helvius Cinna is meant, the author of *Zmyrna*. See on XCV. **Cinna Gaius**, like Cornelius Publius, Trebellius Lucius in Lucilius, Cascellius Aulus in Horace. See L. Müller on Lucil. xi. 31.

31. **illius an mei** (nom. plur.), Ovid, A. A. iii. 334, *Sive aliquid Galli, siue Tibulle tuum. quid ad me?* 'What does it matter to me?' Att. xii. 17, *Appelles procuratores, si tibi uidetur. Quamquam quid ad me? Verumtamen.* So *quid ad te?* in an Inscript. in Mommsen's I. L. R. N. 1910.

32. **quam pararim** = *quam si pararim*. (Sciopp. Suspect. Lect. iv. 9.) Pseud. ii. 2. 46, *magis erit solutum quam ipsi dederis*, where however the Ambrosianus gives *magis erit solutum quam si*. But cf. the omission of *si* after *uelut*, *tamquam*, &c., and the Greek idiom, Theocr. xi. 81, *πάντων δὲ διὰ τῆς ἡ χροσθὸν ἔδωκεν*. So in English, Romaunt of the Rose, p. 147, Bell, *The which alle oule the more is deere, For the solace that I have lorn, Thanne I hadde it never afor*. Munro doubts whether the above cases can prove **tam bene quam** to = *tam bene quam si*, and also questions the tense *pararim*, which ought to be *parassem*. He therefore accepts *paratis*, the conj. of Stat. It would be better perhaps to translate, 'I enjoy them as perfectly as I could buy them for myself.' This does no violence to the tense *pararim*: yet we might perhaps expect rather *Vlor tam bene quam ipse mi pararim*.

33. **insulsa**, ἀπειρόκαλος, 'tasteless,' in especial reference to her taking in earnest what was said lightly. **male**, 'very,' as in Hor. S. i. 3. 45, *pullum male paruos Si cui filius est*. **molesta**, 'disagreeable,' something like LXVIII. 136. Afranius ap. Non. 306, *multa atque molesta es*. **uiuis**, an expression of common life. Mil. Glor. iv. 8. 10, *Si non mecum aetatem egisset hodie stulta uiueret*; Men. i. 3. 19, *una uiuis meis morigera moribus*, Trin. ii. 2. 109, *lepidus uiuis*. Bacch. iv. 3. 3, *inamabilis illepidus uiuo*. Att. iii. 5, *Ego uiuo miserrimus et maximo dolore conficior*. 'You're as downright ill-bred and disagreeable a woman as lives.'

34. **negligentem**, here of ungarded expressions: XII. 3 in reference to thefts. Munro compares Att. xvii. 6, *Quo in genere mihi negligenti esse non licet*. Martial similarly, addressing a friend who had taken him too literally at his word, i. 28. 7, *μὴ μνάμονα συμπτῶν, Procille*. The converse in De Orat. ii. 67. 272, *Non amo nimium diligentes*.

It is doubtful when the worship of Serapis was introduced at Rome. Marquardt, on the authority of Val. Max. i. 3. 3, *L. Aemilius Paulus consul, cum senatus Isidis et Serapis fana diruenda censuisset, eaque nemo opificum attingere auderet, posita praelexta securim arripuit, templique eius foribus infixit*, which he explains of the consulships 182 and 168 B.C. of L. Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, supposes it to have been widely known in Rome soon after the end of the second Punic war. But this passage has with equal probability been explained of L. Aemilius Paulus, consul B.C. 50 (Reichel de Isidis apud Romanos cultu, p. 27, Ian on Macrob. i. 7. 16), and this agrees better with the statements of Macrobius, i. 7. 16, *nullum itaque Aegypti oppidum intra muros suos aut Saturni aut Sarapis fanum recepit. Horum alterum uix aegreque a uobis admissum audio*; and Servius on Aen. viii. 698, *sub Augusto necdum Romani Aegyptiaca sacra susceperunt*, as well as the resentment of Varro at what would seem to have been still new in his time (Serv. on



698, *Varro designatur Alexandrinos deos Romae coli*). Besides Serapis was not known in Alexandria till the Ptolemies (Tac. Hist. iv. 83, 84), and was brought there from Sinope in Pontus, as a new deity. Yet if we may trust an inscription in Mommsen's CIL. L no. 577, dated 649 | 105, a temple of Serapis then existed at Puteoli, and if the cult was recognised in a Roman colony it was likely to be known at Rome. It seems probable that individuals were allowed to erect shrines or chapels to Serapis at Rome long before anything like a public or state recognition was attempted; and that it was this latter attempt which Varro resented, and which called forth the various prohibitory enactments mentioned by Dion Cassius and other writers. Thus an attempt was made to introduce Serapis, Isis, Harpocrates, and Anubis into the Capitol 696 | 58, which was violently stopped by the consuls Gabinius and Piso. Tertullian, Apol. 6, *Sarapidem et Isidem et Harpocratem cum suo Cynocephalo Capitolio prohibitos inferri, id est curia deorum pulsos, Piso et Gabinius consules eversis etiam aris abdicauerunt. Ad Nation. i. 10, Ceterum Serapem et Isidem et Harpocratem et Anubem prohibitos Capitolio Varro commemorat eorumque [aras] a senatu deiectas non nisi per vim popularium restructas. Sed tamen et Gabinius consul Calendis Ianuariis cum uix hostias probaret prae popularium coetu, quia nihil de Serape et Iside constituisset, potioem habuit senatus censuram quam impetum vulgi et aras institui prohibuit.* Arnob. Adu. Nat. ii. 73, *Quid uos? Aegyptiaca numina, quibus Serapis et Isis est nomen, non post Pisonem et Gabinium consules in numerum uestrorum retulistis deorum?* (Röper, de Varron. Eumenidibus, ii. p. 19.) Again in 702 | 52 a decree of the senate enacted the demolition of private chapels of Serapis and Isis. Dion C. xl. 47, *δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε καὶ ἐκείνο τὸ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ περὶ τε τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἴσιν ψηφισθὲν τέρας οὐδένοσ ἦπτον γινέσθαι. τοὺς γὰρ ναοὺς αὐτῶν, οὓς ἰδίᾳ τινες ἐπεποιήητο καθελεῖν τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξε· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τοιούτους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτε γε καὶ ἐξενήσαντο ὥστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς σίβεσθαι, ἔξω τοῦ πωμψηρίου σφᾶς ἰδρύσαντο.* Again in 706 | 48, *ἄλλα τε συνέβη καὶ μέλισσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἑρακλῆα ἰδρύθησαν· καὶ ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἱερὰ Ἴσιδι τότε γιγνόμενα, ἔδοξε γὰρ τῶν μάντεων πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ τε ἐκείνης καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος τεμενίσματα κατασπῆσαι.* Dion C. xlii. 26 quoted by Ian. u. s. It was not till the year 711 | 43 that the triumphs *πρὸς τῷ τε Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ Ἴσιδι ἐψηφίσαντο*, Dion C. xlii. 15, which may be regarded as the date of the formal introduction of the cult (Marquardt, iii<sup>2</sup>. p. 78).

## EXCURSUS ON X. 9-13.

*Respondi, id quod erat, nihil neque ipsis  
Nec praetoribus esse nec cohorti,  
Cur quisquam caput unctius referret,  
Praesertim quibus esset irrumator  
Praetor, non faceret pili cohortem.*

In ed. 1. I suggested that *ipsis* might refer to *praetoribus*, the second *nec* merely giving more prominence to the opposition of *praetoribus* and *cohorti*. There are not wanting instances of negatives or other particles thus repeated for emphasis or to give a semblance of every-day language, notably in Varro. Thus R. R. iii. 2. 16, *Spero non tibi decoquet non*

*ornithon*, 'you will not have bankruptcy—no, not in your aviary.' So *ut* R. R. ii. 1. 2, *et non solum ut ipse quoad uiuam, quid fieri oporteat ut te moneam, sed etiam post mortem*, where Keil brackets the first *ut*; and *ante* R. R. ii. 8. 1, *Ego uos ante ire non patiar, antequam mihi reddideritis tertium actum*. To this early simplicity belong such instances as Propertius' *Absenti nemo ne nocuisse uelit*, if Hertzberg is right in preferring *ne* to *non* of the Neapolitanus and other good MSS. Even in more formal poetry an approach to such emphatic repetition is occasionally to be met with, e.g. Val. Fl. v. 594, *Cui nulla minanti Non superum, non praesentis reuerentia belli*. I have observed in the Introduction to X that the language of the poem is throughout looser, as the rhythm is more negligent, than in most of Catullus' hendecasyllabic compositions.

Munro places a full stop at *referret*, and makes *Cur quisquam*, &c. a question. 'I told them in reply, there was nothing at all for people or for praetors or for praetors' staff. Why should any of us bring home our persons in gayer trim, especially when our praetor was a dirty fellow, and cared not for his staff one straw?' He quotes several parallels for this interrogative *Cur*, B. G. i. 40, iv. 16. 2, B. C. i. 72. In this last a triple interrogative *Cur* is followed by *praesertim cum* as in our passage. A. Palmer accepts this solution, and it is certainly plausible. But in the passages quoted from Caesar there is no word which like *nihil* in Cat. X. 9 could suggest that *Cur* depends upon it. Here *nihil esse*, followed as it is by *Cur*, can only with violence be separated in construction from it. This argument becomes stronger from the general style of the poem, Terentian and comic rather than rhetorical.

Of the proposed emendations the slightest is to change *Nec praetoribus* into *Nunc praetoribus*. This would contrast the present time of which Catullus is speaking with its normal condition, when it was less pillaged.

There is much ingenuity in Traube's suggestion (*Libamenta Critica*, 1883) *nihil neque ipsi Hoc praetore fuisse nec cohorti*. Palaeographically *Hoc praetore fuisse* might easily be corrupted into *Nec praetoribus esse*, whilst *Hoc praetore* gives a definiteness and a Roman tone to the sentence quite worthy of Catullus. Nor is there much difficulty in *ipsi* (= *mihi ipsi*), following as it does so closely on *Respondi*. This is, I think, much the cleverest of the emendations yet proposed, and may very possibly be what Catullus wrote. The loose rhythm is quite in its favor.

## XI.

THIS is one of Catullus' latest poems, as from vv. 10–12 it must have been written after Caesar's invasion of Britain (Dion C. xxxix. 50, *ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὸν τε Πῆγον πρῶτος τότε Ῥωμαίων διέβη, καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑπατευόντων, ἐπεραιώθη*), certainly therefore after the autumn of B.C. 55 (Ribbeck, *Dichtung der Republik*, i. 322), possibly, indeed, after the second invasion in B.C. 54, when the Thames was crossed, the Trinobantes submitted, and Cassivellaunus engaged to pay tribute and furnish hostages (Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.* iv. p. 259, E. T

The exact meaning of the poem is doubtful, partly owing to the dubious relations of Catullus to his two friends, Furius and Aurelius. They are mentioned together again in XVI, as remonstrating with the poet on the looseness of his verses, and separately in XV, XXI, XXIII, XXVI, to which we may add XXIV, which certainly alludes to Furius. Catullus seems to have taken offence at their intimacy with Juventius, but XV, XXI, which refer to Aurelius, are only half serious; on the other hand XXIII, XXIV, which taunt Furius on his poverty, express a real anger, in strange contrast with XXVI, where, if *nostra* is right in v. 1, Furius is treated confidentially and as a friend.

Näke, arguing from the hostile or at least contemptuous tone of these poems, concluded that the disproportionately long preface of XI. 1-14, was meant to express the grandiloquence of Furius' and Aurelius' protestations of friendship and Catullus' conviction of their insincerity. The contemptuous message which they are to convey to Lesbia is a proof of the contempt in which they were held themselves. This view has been accepted by Haupt, Schwabe, and B. Schmidt, and certainly gives a point to *Pauca nuntiale*.—'You profess your readiness to follow me to the world's end; I ask for nothing so extravagant: be good enough, my kind friends, to content yourselves and me by conveying a simple message to Lesbia. Catullus wishes her and her paramours good-bye.'

But this opposition may be intended and yet not imply anything like the contempt or hostility which Näke's view supposes. At least we cannot feel sure that XI was written after the quarrel with Furius and Aurelius; nor ought we to exaggerate the quarrel itself. It is Catullus' manner to attack his greatest friends in the most direct manner: and of the four poems against Furius and Aurelius only one, XXIII, is pronouncedly hostile. And would Horace have imitated these very lines as he has done, C. ii. 6. 1 sqq., if he had believed them to be contemptuous or ironical?

On the whole, therefore, I follow most of the commentators in considering the exordium not as jocose, but serious, and expressing a real feeling of friendship: but still as intended to convey by its antithesis to the brevity of the message conveyed, a slight suspicion of insincerity. From this point of view it was probably written before XXIII, XXIV, perhaps before XV; in XVI there is nothing to imply a real quarrel.

1. *comites*, i.e. *futuri*, 'ready to share my travels.' For this expression of devoted friendship, cf. Terence, Phorm. iii. 18, *Quoquo hinc asportabitur terrarum, certum est persequi Aut perire*. Hor. C. ii. 6. 1 sqq. expresses in four lines what Catullus says in three stanzas. Cf. Prop. i. 6. 1.

3. *ut*, here certainly 'where,' as perhaps in XVII. 10. See Lachmann, on Prop. iii. 2. 31 (ed. 1816, p. 238). *longe* with *resonante*, 'echoing afar.'

4. *unda*. Vergil describes India similarly, G. ii. 122, as *Oceano propior, Extremi sinus orbis*.

5. *Arabesque*, the reading of most MSS, might be defended by Petron. S. 102, where Bücheler retains *ut imitemur Arabes*; yet as *O* gives *Arabas*, *G Arabas*, it must remain doubtful whether Catullus did not write *Arabas molles*, so Manil. iv. 754, *Et molles Arabas*; iv. 655, *molles Arabas « ferentem Delicias*.

6. **Sacas**, the Scythians on the Persian border, whence the Persians called all Scythians Sacae. Dict. Geog. ii. p. 939. Choerilus fr. iii. Nāke, *Μηλονόμοι τε Σάκαι, γενεῇ Σκύθαι· αὐτὰρ ἔναιον Ἀσίδα πυροφόρον*. Bährens shows from Mela iii. 3. 59, Plin. H. N. vi. 50, Curtius v. 9. 5, vi. 3. 9, vii. 4. 6, 9. 17 and 19, Claudian de Laud. Stil. i. 157, that the form Sagae is of constant occurrence in MSS, and so our MSS here. Cf. Delrio on Sen. Oed. 472.

7. **septemgeminus**, 'seven-fold.' Verg. Aen. vi. 800, where see Conington. **colorat**. So Herodotus, ii. 12, *τὴν Αἴγυπτον . . . μελόγγαυόν τε καὶ καταρρηγνυμένην ὥστε ἰοῦσαν ἰλὸν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας κατενηνεγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. The Nile itself was originally called Melas, according to Plut. de Fluv. xvi.

8. **Aequora**, 'the plains,' not the sea. Verg. G. iv. 292, *Et uiridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena*. Propertius speaks similarly of the Pactolus dyeing the plough-lands of Lydia (*arata*), i. 6. 32. Cic. de N. D. ii. 130, *Aegyptum Nilus irrigat, et cum tota aestate obrutam oppletamque tenuit, tum recedit, mollitosque et oblimatos agros ad serendum relinquit*. It is to this inundation of Egypt by the Nile, and the consequent blackening and fertilising of the soil, that the poet obviously alludes. Manilius iv. 726, 7, *Iam propior tellusque natans Aegyptia Nilo Lenius inriguis infuscat corpora campis* might suggest *Corpora* for *Aequora*. The Oxford MS has *Epra*.

9. **altas Alpes**. According to Servius on Aen. x. 13, and the Bern Scholia on Lucan i. 183, *Alpes* is Gaulish for *high mountains*. Catullus may thus be using an epithet which translates the word, cf. *regali gasa*, LXIV. 46. **gradietur**, 'make his way on foot.'

10. **monimenta**, 'the records of Caesar's triumphs.' Prop. iv. 6. 17, *Actia Iuleae pelagus monimenta carinae*. Iustin. xiv. 2, *solos qui militiam Liberi patris qui Herculis monimenta superarint*. Symmachus, Laudes in Gratianum, p. 35 Mai, addressing the newly-bridged Rhine, says, *caue aequalem te arbilrere Tiberino quod ambo principum monimenta geseletis; ille redimitus est, tu subactus*. Demosthenes uses *ὑπομνήματα* of the erection of a single statue, Epist. Philippi 4 Dindorf, *ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἀδικίας ἔστησαν ἀνδριάντα πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν*.

11. **Rhenum**. Caesar was the first Roman who crossed the Rhine into Germany, Suet. Iul. 25, Dion C. xxxix. 50. Appian de rebus Gallicis, i. 5, *ἐπέρασε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥήνον πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρετταννίδα νῆσον ἤπειρον τε μείζονα οὖσαν μεγίστης καὶ τοῖς τῆδε ἀνθρώποις ἀγνωστον ἔτι*. 'Could *Gallicum* be emphatic, the Rhine preserved to Gaul by Caesar's victories?' Cf. Verg. G. i. 499, *Tuscum Tiberim*, F. Richards. **insulam**, Britain, as defined by **Britannos**. So Caesar, B. G. iv. 20, *in Britanniam proficisci contendit*, followed by *si modo insulam adisset*, ib. 26, *insulam capere non potuerant*. Catullus might call it **horribilem** from the barbarous (Cic. de N. D. ii. 34. 88, *in illa barbaria*) and semi-savage character of the natives as shown in their cruelty to strangers (Hor. C. iii. 4. 33), human sacrifices (Tac. Ann. xiv. 30), and barbaric tattooing (Caesar, B. G. v. 14). Haupt's conjecture *horribile aequor*, though accepted by all German editors, can hardly be right after *aequora* in 8, and *aequor* is not strong enough for *horribile*. **ultimosque**. Verg. E. i. 66; Hor. C. i. 35. 29, *ultimos Orbis Britannos*; infr. XXIX. 4; Plut. Caes. 23, *νῆσον ἀπιστουμένην ὑπὸ μεγέθους κατασχεῖν ἐπιθέμενος προήγαγεν ἕξω οἰκουμένης τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν*.

13. *Omnia haec*, if *quaecunque* is right, gathers up all the dangers implied in the previous twelve vv. 'All things whatever the gods shall bring.' Catullus perhaps hints in *quaecunque feret uoluntas Caelitum* that the unkindness of the gods had already done its worst in the degradation of Lesbia, and that no imaginary danger from savage or barbarous tribes could henceforward have much to frighten him. Cf. LXXXVI. 12. But *Omnia haec* would more naturally mean 'all these lands,' and with this *temptare* would well agree, as in Hor. C. iii. 4. 30, *Insanientem nauita Bosporum Templabo et urentes arenas Liloris Assyrii uiator*. We might then read *quocunque*, cf. Hor. C. i. 7. 25, *Quo nos cunque feret melior fortuna parente*; Manil. v. 495, *qua fert cunque uoluntas*.

16. *Non bona dicta*, 'of no happy greeting,' κακὸν ἔπος ἀγγελέοντα, Il. xvii. 701 (Vulp.), seems in its form to convey the further notion of *male dicta*, words not of compliment, but reproach. Cael. xiii. 30, *Maledicta iurgii petulantis, adulter, impudicus*; vii. 15, *maledictis pudicitiae*. The opposite *bona dicta*, 'mild words,' is found in Plaut. Amph. Prol. 25.

17. *uis* adds to the bitterness, 'her dear.' *uiuat ualeatque*, a formula of renunciation, not necessarily ironical. Ter. And. v. 3. 17, *An ut pro huius peccatis ego supplicium sufferam? Immo habeat, ualeat, uiuat cum illa*. Ad. iv. 4. 14, *ualeas, habeas illam quae placet*. Stich. i. 1. 31, *Quom ipsi interea uiuant ualeant*. Lucretius, v. 961, *Sponte sua sibi quisque ualere et uiuere doctus*, takes the expression and makes a new use of it.

18. *trecentos*, of any indefinitely large number. Hor. S. i. 5. 12, *trecentos inseris. Ohe iam satis est!*

20. *Ilia rumpens*, 'rupturing.' So *rumpere latus*, Priap. lxxxii. 45. Mart. xii. 97. 4.

21. *respectet*, not = *expectet* (Vulp., Munro and B. Schmidt), as in Lucr. v. 975, vi. 1234, but 'care for,' with the notion of looking back to it with fondness. Sest. v. 13, *haec ita praetereamus, ut tamen intuentes et respectantes relinquamus*. Riese ingeniously suggests that Lesbia had conveyed to Catullus the message, '*respecto tuum amorem*.'

22. *Vitimi*, 'the edge of the meadow.' *praetereunte*. The rhythm seems to show that the preposition was not considered an inseparable part of the verb with which it is compounded; an inference supported by such cases as *quanto molimine circum Spectemus*, Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 93. The preposition was metrically separable from the verb, as it is metrically separable from its case. See LXXXVI. 18. The simile is perhaps suggested by Sappho, fr. 94, Bergk, Οἶαν τὰν ἰάκινθον ἐν οὐρεσι τοιαύτης ἀνδρὸς Πόσσι καταστειβοῖσι, χάμαι δὲ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος. But *tam perit quam extrema faba in proverbio est, quod ea plerumque aut proteritur aut decerpitur a praetereuntibus*, Fest. p. 363, M. is quoted by Schwabe, and the rustic proverb was probably familiar to Catullus.

## EXCURSUS ON XI. 11.

Possibly Catullus wrote, *Caesaris nitens* (*uidens* the Datanus and some other good MSS) *monimenta magni Gallicum Rhenum horribilem sequi ultimosque Britannos*. *Gallicum* will then be used predicatively as suggested by Mr. Richards, 'pressing on to reach the records of Caesar's triumphs, the barbaric Rhine saved for Gaul and the remote Britons.' Cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 54, *sacra Samothracum uisere nitentem*; and

for the general meaning Cic. Pis. xxxiii. 81, *Cuius (Caesaris) ego imperio non Alpium uallum contra ascensum transgressionemque Gallorum, non Rheni fossam, gurgitibus illis redundantem, Germanorum inmanissimis gentibus obicio et oppono; perfecit ille, ut si montes residissent, amnes exaruiscent, non naturae praesidio, sed uictoria sua rebusque gestis Italiam munilam haberemus.*

## XII.

CATULLUS here reproaches Asinius, perhaps a brother of C. Asinius Pollio, the friend of Horace and Vergil, for stealing a handkerchief which he valued as one of a set which his friends Veranius and Fabullus had sent him from Spain, 'uniting (it seems) their fiscal forces in this investment'.<sup>1</sup> Asinius, we are told, was in the habit of committing such thefts, and prided himself on his dexterity in doing so. The offence was probably a common one: Catullus has another poem on the same subject, XXV, and it is often mentioned by other writers, e. g. Eupolis, fr. 168 (cited by Ribbeck, Kolax, p. 15), Alciphron iii. 66, Mart. viii. 59, xii. 29.

The Asinii came from Teate, the chief town of the Marrucini, a territory on the river Aternus, between the Vestini on the North, and the Frentani on the South (Dict. Geog.). Livy (Epit. 73) mentions a Herius Asinius as *Praetor Marrucinorum*, and as slain in the Marsic war, B.C. 90. Cicero (Cluent. lxix. 197) commends them, *Adsunt Frentani homines nobilissimi, Marrucini item pari dignitate*; and Silius similarly compares them with the Frentani, viii. 520, xv. 566, 7: whence Voss thought, perhaps rightly, that it is in reference to the high character which they bore that Catullus introduces *Marrucine* in 1, as if to remind Asinius how little his pilfering habits accorded with the reputation of his countrymen.

If the Pollio of 6 is C. Asinius Pollio, subsequently so famous as the friend of Horace and Vergil, the father of the two brothers was named Gnaeus. On this hypothesis Munro supposes that the Asinius of 1 was, as the elder of the two, himself named Gnaeus, as it was the custom for fathers to give their own praenomen to their eldest sons. He also concludes from 6, *Crede Polioni Fratri*, that the elder brother was *not* called Pollio, this name being used by Catullus to distinguish the *younger* brother. Similarly he believes<sup>2</sup> Marrucinus to be the actual cognomen of Asinius (v. 1). 'His father called him Gn. Asinius Marrucinus in order to perpetuate the memory of their native country, as the son may have been born before the father had migrated from Teate to Rome. The very common cognomina, Marsus, Sabinus, Latinus, Gallus, Afer, Hispanus, and so many others, doubtless had a similar origin.' We might then compare *Hirpine Quinti*, Hor. C. ii. 11. 2.

C. Asinius Pollio was born in 76 B.C. He might well be called *puer* up to the age of 16, possibly a year or two later. The date of the poem would thus fall not later than 60-58 B.C., assuming that Pollio of 6 is C. Asinius Pollio.

There is nothing to *prove* such identity. But if Haupt was right in explaining Charis. i. p. 97, Keil, *Hos pugillares et masculino genere et*

<sup>1</sup> W. S. Landor.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Theodore Martin had held the same view. See his *Transla*\*

*semper pluraliter dicas, sicut Asinius in Valer(ium), quia pugillus est qui plures tabellas continet in seriem sutas, at tamen haec pugillaria saepius neutraliter dicit idem Catullus in hendecasyllabis* of a work in which C. Asinius Pollio criticised Valerius Catullus (and Keil seems to accept this view), the introduction of his family and himself by name in the present poem (XII) may have determined Pollio, as not only a poet and historian, but a friend, to combat the depreciation of Catullus prevailing in the reign of Augustus by the publication of a work in which his diction was examined minutely.

1. *sinistra*. The left hand is often alluded to as the hand for thieving. Plaut. Pers. ii. 2. 44, *illa furtifica laeua*; Ovid, Met. xiii. 111, *natæque ad furta sinistrae*; Plin. xxxiii. 13, *quisquis primus instituit* (to wear gold rings) *cunctanter id fecit, laevis manibus latentibusque induit*; xxiv. 103, *legitur (selago) sine ferro dextra manu per tunicam qua sinistra exiit (?) exseritur uelut a furante*. Mr. Clayton (and Caspar Barth before him) observe that the movements of the left hand would be more easily concealed at meals than those of the right, as the Romans usually reclined on the left side. Similarly Martial, xii. 29. 3, speaks of merely watching the right hand, whereas the left was to be actually held.

2. *Non belle*, 'you've an ugly way of using.' Pomp. Inscript. 1951, *Sarra non belle facis | Solum me relinquis | Debilis* (Wordsworth, p. 24). It was an ungentlemanly trick. in *ioco atque uino*, 'while the wine and jest are going round.' Thuc. vi. 28, *μετὰ πινούσας καὶ οἰνωσ.* Senec. Epig. 5. 15, *Sed tu perque iocum dicis uinumque*.

3. *lintea*. Napkins were taken to entertainments by the guests (Mart. xii. 29. 11, 21), and could thus be stolen with little fear of detection.

4. *salsum*. Mart. ii. 4. 6, *Lusum creditis hoc iocumque? non est. fugit te*, 'you don't understand.' Att. xii. 42. 2, *Illud allerum quam sit difficile, te non fugit*.

5. *Quamuis* = *quantumuis*, 'as mean and vulgar a practice as can be.' Varro, R. R. ii. 5. 1, *homo quamuis humanus ac iocosus*.

6. *Non credis mihi?* Mart. Lib. Spect. 24. 5, *Non credis? specta. Polioni*. According to Lachmann on Lucr. i. 313, words which contain a double *l* preceded by a long vowel drop one *l* before the letter *i*, except where *i* is a mere case sign. Thus he writes *mille*, *milli*, *milleni*, *uilla*, *uillaticus*, *uillis*, *stilla*, *stillis*, *Paullus*, *Polla*; but *miliens*, *milia*, *uilicus*, *stiliacidium*, *Polio*, *Paulina*, *paulisper*. But Ritschl on the Vita Terentii ascribed to Suetonius (Reifferscheid, p. 512) shows that the double *l* is found in Inscriptions; and in the CIL. I *Pollio* occurs six times, *Polio* only once. I retain therefore the double *l* with most MSS.

7. *uel*, 'quite,' 'as much as.' Truc. ii. 4. 22, Ph. *Da sauium*. Di. *Immo uel decem*. Trin. iv. 2. 121, Ch. *Heus, Pax, te tribus uerbis uolo*. Su. *Vel trecentis*.

8. *Mutari*, 'would be glad to have your pilferings commuted for not less than a talent,' would give that sum in exchange for them and think he had bought you off cheaply. Truc. ii. 6. 62, *uiginti minis Venire illac posse credo dona quae ei dono dedi*. Riese observes that a talent is

" Plant. Rud. v. 2. 43, as a typically large sum.





has very little actual evidence to support it, for in the *Liber de Accentibus* ascribed to Priscian, p. 528, Keil, the MSS give *mulier*, and the last letters of *Hiberis* (Lachm.) may easily have fallen out at the end of a line, or *e* have been used as an abbreviation for *is*, as in XIV. 5, XLIV. 4. But if *ex Hiberis* is genuine, Catullus must use the river as a designation of the territory in which Saetabis was included. The territory thus designated may be either Celtiberia, which abutted at the S.E. on Saetabis and the Sucro (Strab. 163, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κελτίβηρας πρὸς νότον εἰσιν οἱ τὸ ὄρος αἰκίστες τῆς Ὀροσπίδας καὶ τὴν περὶ Σούκρωνα χώραν Σιδηταὶ μεχρὶ Καρχηδόνος), or more generally Hispania Citerior, ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰβήρος, the two terms being used synonymously and each extending at this time beyond its original boundary the Ebro, as far south as the Baetis and Nova Carthago, thus including Saetabis (Artemidorus ap. Steph. B. Ἰβηρίας).

15. *Miserunt muneri*. Val. Max. iv. 8. 1 Extern. *Hiero trecenta milia modium tritici urbi nostrae muneri misit.*

16. *haec . . . Et Veraniolum*, 'I must needs love *them* and their donors with them,' i.e. both equally, if the gifts, then the givers, not one without the other. So Catal. xiv. 5, *te Raptum et Romanam flebimus historiam*, 'we shall lament in losing you that we lose Roman history:' and this I think is the explanation of the difficult words in Phorm. ii. 3. 21, *Ideas te atque illum, ut narras*, 'when you see him you see yourself,' i.e. you're facsimiles of each other. Cf. Aesch. Suppl. 754, εἰ σοὶ τε καὶ θεοῖσιν ἰσθμιοῖσιν 'dis pariter ac tibi' (Schäfer on Demosth. Meid. 549), 'should they be as hateful to the gods as to you.' But *Vt* is an easy and perhaps necessary emendation, and has been adopted by nearly all editors.

17. *Veraniolum*, the greater favorite of the two: so XLVII. 3, and IX. For the sentiment of 16, 17, which is of course a common one, cf. Symmachus, Epist. ix. 107, *Paruum quidem munusculum est si aestimetur pretio sui; religiosum si amore pendatur.*

### XIII.

THE poet invites his friend Fabullus to dine with him, warning him however that he must bring his own repast, and not expect much from so poor a host as himself. All he can promise of his own is a very choice unguent supplied by Lesbia. So far the poem presents no difficulty; but a doubt is raised by the words *uenuste noster* in 6, as to the exact tone which Catullus means to assume to his friend. Huschke, *Analecta Literaria*, p. 311, supposes that Fabullus had invited the poet to a dinner at which he gave him nothing to eat, and contented himself with providing unguents, like the Fabullus of Mart. iii. 12:

*Vnguentum fateor bonum dedisti  
Conuiuiis here, sed nihil scidisti.  
Res salsa est bene olere et esurire.  
Qui non cenat et ungitur, Fabulle,  
Hic uere mihi mortuus uidetur.*

In retaliation Catullus wrote this poem, which, as Huschke says, is only half serious; cf. the vague *paucis diebus*, the half-ironical *si tibi di fauent*, the conditions of the dinner, 3-5. This view certainly explains *uenuste*

*noster*, as Catullus would thus seem to allude to the practical joke which Fabullus had played him, and would appeal to his character for humour as an excuse for inviting him to a similar entertainment in return. Yet if 1-7 are half-ironical, the end of the poem is meant seriously, and the invitation was, I think, *bona fide*, as indeed such *iparus* were common in antiquity, see Hor. C. iii. 19. 5-8, iv. 12. 14-16. It seems more probable that Fabullus had expressed a wish to dine with the poet, and that Catullus here sends him the only invitation his circumstances allowed, intimating at the same time that he is quite aware the offer is a shabby one, and that his friend must take it for what it is worth. The general scope of the poem might be paraphrased thus: You shall dine with me, Fabullus, before many days are over, on one condition, which a man of your fine discernment will easily assent to: you must bring besides your witty self and a fair female friend, the dinner and the wine. Then I will treat you to something exquisite in return; an unguent of Lesbians, choice enough to be a present from the Graces themselves and fragrant enough to make you wish yourself all nose to enjoy it. Bruner and B. Schmidt think that *meae puellae* in 11 is not Lesbia, but a fictitious personality as unreal as the unguent she provides. This is against the usage of Catullus elsewhere. With Schwabe and Westphal I accept the words as proving the poem to have been written while Catullus was still on good terms with Lesbia.

1. *Cenabis apud me*, as in Mart. xi. 52. 1, *Cenabis belle, Iuli Cerealis, apud me*. The future is often used in invitations; but here, as in Hor. C. iv. 12. 14-16, *Ducere Liberum Si gestis, iuvenum nobilium cliens, Nardo uina merere*, it introduces the apodosis of a sentence which begins with *Si*.

2. *Paucis diebus*, 'within a few days,' so often in Caesar, B. G. iii. 23; so *hoc biennio*, Somn. Scip. ii. 11, 'within two years from this time.' See Dräger, Histor. Synt. p. 492, who shows that this abl. is common in reference to the future, more rare of the past. *si tibi di fauent*, 'with heaven's kind favor,' a slight variation on the more usual *sei di adiuvent* Poen. iv. 2. 88, *si di placet* Capt. ii. 3. 94, and probably with a tinge of irony, implying that the entertainment was somewhat problematical.

3. *bonam atque magnam*. Terentian. Eun. i. 2. 43, *bonam magnamque partem ad te attulit*.

4. *non sine*, emphatic meiosis, as in Hor. C. iii. 4. 20, *Non sine dis animis infans*. *candida*, 'fair,' XXXV. 8, LXVIII. 70, Hor. Epod. xi. 27, *ardet aut pulchra candida*.

5. *salo*, 'wit,' XVI. 7, Eun. iii. 1. 10. *omnibus cachinnis*, 'every kind of laughter,' 'everything that can rouse our free laughter,' *quicquid est domi cachinnorum*, XXXI. 14. So Hor. S. i. 2. 9, *omnis cachinnis*. *cachinnis*. Lucr. v. 1307, *Tum ridet, tum sermo, tum dulces esse cachinni*; 1403, *risus dulcesque cachinni*. Aristoph. Nub. 1073, *ἔφω σῆμα καὶ γέλωτα*.

6. *inquam*, resumptive, 'I repeat.' Catal. xi. 55, *Non mecum est tandem non repemem accipere laudes*. *noster*, like *si tibi di fauent*, is slightly ironical. Pis. viii. 17, *O mea mirabilia facis, facis*; xvii. 39, *ne dum puerum, Pueri meae, salutis iam iocunda meae audieris*.

8. *sacculus*, 'a purse.' Iuven. xi. 27, xiv. 138, where see Mayor. Hence *saccularii*, a nickname given to the equites who had supported Cinna against Sulla, from their rapacity. Ascon. in Orat. in Tog. Cand. p. 90, Orelli. *araneorum*. Od. xvi. 35, of Odysseus' couch, *Χήρη ἐννοαίων εἰς ἀράχνην κεῖται ἔχουσα*. Cratin. ap. Meineke Com. Fragm. ii. 129, Kock fr. 190 *ἀραχνίων μυστήν ἔχεις τὴν γαστέρα*. Aul. i. 2. 156 *Nam hic apud nos nihil est aliud quaesti furibus. Ita inaniis sunt oppletæ atque araneis*. Afran. 412 Ribb. *lanne arcula Tua plena est araneorum?*

9. *contra*, 'in return.' Eun. ii. 3. 64 *quod donum huic dono contra comparet*. *meros amores*, the pure spirit or quintessence of love. Avancius quotes Mart. xiv. 206. 1 *Collo nocte puer meros amores Ceston de Veneris sinu calentem*; and so Plautus calls a highly-furbished house *clarorem merum*, Most. iii. 1. 108. The *unguentum* is of course meant: cf. Prop. ii. 29. 15. *Meos amores*, the reading of some good MSS, 'my fond delight,' 'a thing I love dearly,' i.e. the same unguent, hardly agrees so well with *seu quid suavius elegantiusue est*, which implies a strong, if not exaggerated, expression of admiration. Hand's view that *meos amores* refers to a favorite slave of the poet's, which, with anything choicer, viz. the unguent of Lesbia, Fabullus is to have in return for what he brings, is far-fetched, and against the ordinary usage of *seu quid*. See on 9.

10. *Seu quid*, i.e. *vel si quid suavius est meris amoribus*. This is the proper use of *seu* or *sive quid*, cf. LXXXII. 2. 4, and note. There the eyes are the highest expression of dearness, as here *meri amores* of delightfulness.

11. *unguentum*. See Xenophon's Symposium, ii. 3. Callias the host asks Socrates, after the tables have been cleared and the musicians and dancers introduced, *τί οὖν; εἰ καὶ μῦρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκας, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδία ἐστιώμεθα*; as making the entertainment perfect.

12. See on III. 1. Martial, xi. 13. 6, applies the words to the consummate actor Paris, ix. 11. 9, to Domitian's *delicatus* Earinus. Voss thinks Catullus had in his mind Od. xviii. 192 *Κάλλει μὲν οἱ πρῶτα προσώπατα καλά κίθηρον Ἀμβροσίῳ, οἷον περ εὐστέρφανος Κυθήρεια Χρίεται, εὖτ' ἂν ἦ Χαρίτων χορὸν ἱερρότατα*, perhaps also the interpretation which seems to have been early put upon the passage, that the ointment was itself called κάλλος. Hesych. *κάλλος τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μύρον*, with the quotation from Od. xviii. 192, and again a. v. *Βριθιδά· οἱ δὲ φύκος παρεμφερὲς κάλλει Ἀφροδίτης*.

14. As Plautus, Aul. i. 38, speaks of a gibbeted body making one long letter I, and as Caligula wished that the Romans might become one single neck for greater convenience of strangling. Ben Jonson has imitated Catullus here. Cynthia's Revels, v. 2 *Taste, smell; I assure you, sir, pure benjamin, the only spirited scent that ever waked a Neapolitan nostril. You would wish yourself all nose for the love on't*. Schwabe compares Lessing, *Der Wunsch Wenn ich . . . ein schönes Mädchen sehe, Möcht ich lauter Auge seyn*. *Totum* with *to*, as in Plin. H. N. ii. 14, a passage which Mr. Bywater has indicated to me, *Quisquis est deus—totus est sensus, totus visus, totus auditus, totus animae, totus animi, totus sui*. Capt. v. 2. 4 *in ruborem te totum dabo*. So Aelian's *πᾶς μέντοι εἰμι* V. H. vii. 6, a passage cited by Marcilius. On the other hand, in Mart. xii. 85. 3, 4, quoted by Munro, *Talis eras, modo tonse Pelops, positisque nitebas Crinibus, ut totum sponsa uideret ebur*, it is impossible, with Bährens, to separa

*totum* from *ebur*; cf. Sen. Thy. 673 *quin tota solet Micare flamma silua* (but some MSS *silua flamma*), and so *δλαι φλόγες*, 'all flame,' Anth. P. v. 111. 5; *δλον ἔλκος*, 'all sore,' Plat. Axioch. 368. On this view *totum* would be constructed with *nasum*, 'a totality of nose.'

## XIV.

C. LICINIUS CALVUS, the orator and poet, had sent Catullus, as a present on the Saturnalia, a collection of bad verses, written, as Catullus declares, by all the worst poets of the time. In return Catullus sent him this poem, which expresses with humorous exaggeration the dreadful effects of his gift, and threatens him with a retaliation in kind. He takes the opportunity of complimenting Calvus on his skill as an advocate, to which he jocosely ascribes the peculiar character of the present; the grammarian Sulla (perhaps Cornelius Epicadus, the freedman of the dictator, for, as B. Schmidt observes, Proleg. liv 'fieri potuit ut etiam cognomine etsi manu missis non concesso tamen a populo per indiligentiam adficeretur') had been defended by Calvus and had rewarded his services by this mass of bad poetry, the only fee perhaps he was rich enough to pay.

When did Calvus' present reach Catullus? This depends on the interpretation of vv. 14, 15, especially of *continuo die*. If these words mean the day immediately following, the present must have been sent either the night before the Saturnalia, Dec. 19; Macrob. i. 10. 2 *Apud maiores nostros Saturnalia die uno finiebantur, qui erat a. d. xiv Cal. Ian.* (Dec. 19): *sed postquam C. Caesar huic mensi duos addixit dies, sexto decimo coepla celebrari* (Dec. 17); or at least before day-break of that day. Then *si luxerit* might mean that Catullus, having already ascertained the character of the gift, resolved to lose no time in retaliating, and proposed to send a similar present of his own to reach Calvus before the day was over. From Mart. x. 17, Stat. S. iv. 9, it is clear that poets used to send their books to friends at the Saturnalia, as on birth-days and other festivals (Anth. P. ix. 239, Stat. S. ii. 3. 62). Catullus would be acting like Statius who (S. iv. 9) having sent a book to his friend Griphus on the Saturnalia had received a book from him in return, and disgusted at the paltriness of the gift, then wrote him a hendecasyllabic poem of fifty-five lines, over which the two friends laughed heartily while the festival was still going on (Praef. lib. iv). If, on the other hand, *continuo* means 'thereupon,' the gift must have reached Catullus on Dec. 19, and *si luxerit* will refer to the morning of the following day. The poem itself, however, might still have been written and sent to Calvus on the 19th; although, if not written or sent then, it might yet have come in time to be a Saturnalian gift; for Cicero speaks of the second and third days of the festival (Att. xiii. 52. 1, v. 20. 5, and cf. Liu. xxx. 36 *Saturnalibus primis*), and we need not infer from Catullus' words *die Saturnalibus optimo dierum* more than that a particular day, no doubt xiv ante Kal. Ian. was called *par excellence* the Saturnalia.

If we may suppose Lucian to represent an actual tradition of Saturnalia, the receiver of a book at that time was bound to rea

herein, as Mr. Clayton observes, would lie the point of Calvus' joke and Catullus' threatened revenge. In the *Cronosolon* Saturn lays down laws for the observance of the Saturnalia; amongst others what gifts poor men are to send, and how rich men are to receive them,—xvi ἁντιπερεσέτω δὲ ὁ πέντης τῷ πλουσίῳ, ὁ μὲν πεπαιδευμένος βιβλίον τῶν παλαιῶν, εἰ τι εὐφημον καὶ συμποτικόν, ἢ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα ὅποιον ἂν δύνηται· καὶ τοῦτο λαμβανέτω ὁ πλούσιος πάνυ φαιδρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ λαβὼν ἀναγιγνωσκέτω εἰδὼς, ἢν δὲ ἀπωθῆται ἢ ἀπορρίψῃ, ἴστω τῇ τῆς ἀρπης ἀπειλῇ ἔνοχος ὢν, κἀν τέμψῃ ὅσα ἐχρῆν.

1. Imitated by Maecenas in the lines quoted in the life of Horace attributed to Suetonius (Reifferscheid, p. 45), *Ni te uisceribus meis Horati Plus iam diligo, tu tuum solalem Ninnio uideas strigosiores.*

2. *Iocundissime*, 'my merry friend,' cf. *iocunde* also of Calvus L. 16. *munere isto*. Dobree, *Aduersar.* i. p. 621, compares the use of the datives in Aristoph. *Eq.* 97 τί ποθ' ἡμᾶς ἐργάσει τῷ σὺ πρόπῳ; Dem. *Meid.* 549 νομίζω αὐτόχειρά μου γεγενησθαι τοῦτοις τοῖς ἐργοῖς; *munere isto*, being thus very nearly *cum m. isto*. Cic. *Lael.* xv. 54 *miror illa superbia et importunitate si quenuquam amicū habere potuit*. See Zumpt, *Lat. Gr.* 472. The abl. *hoc munere* occurs in Eun. ii. 2. 38 *hisce hoc munere arbitrantur Suam Thaidem esse*, where W. Wagner translates, 'by virtue of this present,' the usual and perhaps more probable explanation here. *isto* is slightly contemptuous; it is not till later, especially in Martial, that it has the sense merely of 'this.'

3. *odio Vatiniano*, 'a hatred that might suit Vatinus,' i.e. either such as Vatinus deserves, or such as Vatinus feels against you. Vulp. and Hertzberg, *Trans.* p. 110, prefer the latter, cf. Liu. ii. 58 of Appius Claudius, *odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio*, 'with a hatred beyond his father's:' and so B. Schmidt, *Proleg.* p. lv; to me the former seems preferable, partly as not altering the subject of the sentence (*odissem*), partly as forming a more exact balance to *Nei te plus oculis meis amarem*; lastly, as agreeing better with the historical fact of Vatinus' unpopularity. Macrob. ii. 6. 1 *lapidatus a populo*; Cic. in *Vatin.* i. 1 *odio tui ab omnibus paene uincor*; xvi. 39 *si te uicini, si adfines, si tribules ita oderunt ut repulsam tuam triumphum suum duxerint, si nemo adspicit quin ingemiscat, nemo mentionem facit quin exsecretur; si uilant fugiunt audire de te nolunt, cum uiderunt, tamquam auspicium malum delectantur; si cognati respuunt, tribules exsecrantur, uicini metuunt, adfines erubescunt, strumae denique ab ore improbo demigrarunt et aliis iam se locis collocarunt, si es odium publicum populi, senatus, uniuersorum hominum rusticorum*. Seneca, de *Constant.* Sap. xvii, says Vatinus had more enemies than diseases, alluding to his scrofulous neck and swollen feet. Meyer, *Fragm. Oratorum*, p. 480, finds in the words *odio Vatiniano* an allusion to the violence with which Calvus attacked Vatinus in his successive speeches.

4. *Plaut. Men.* iii. 2. 25 *Quid de te merui, qua me causa perderes?*

5. *male perderes*, 'do me to death,' like κακῶς ἐλίσσαι, *male muliere, &c.*

6. *male multa dent*, a common formula of execration. *Phorm.* v. 8. 83 *malum quod isti di deaque omnes duint*. *Most.* iii. 1. 122. *Infr.* XXVIII. 14. 16. *Prop.* ii. 18. 27 *Illi sub terris fiant mala multa puellae.* *olienti*.

here = *consultori*, as in Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 104 *clienti promere iura*. Calvus had a great reputation as an advocate: amongst those defended by him were P. Sestius, C. Cato, Messius. See Meyer, *Fragm. Orator. Roman.* pp. 478, 9.

7. *tantum impiorum*, 'such a mass of scoundrelism:' *impiorum* (masc.), 'miscreants,' in a general sense, perhaps with an allusion to the distinction between *pui poetae, uates* (XVI. 5; Aen. vi. 662; Am. iii. 9. 66; ib. 17, 18 *sacri uates et diuom cura*) and *impui*, poets religiously following a divine inspiration, and poetasters who profaned their sacred mission. Hertzberg on Prop. iii. 1. 1, shows that poets are in this sense spoken of as *priests* (Prop. iii. 1. 3; cf. Hor. C. iii. 1. 3) who perform sacred rites (Prop. iii. 1. 1; ii. 10. 24; iv. 6. 1; Trist. iv. 10. 19; Pont. ii. 10. 17) and pour in libation the water of song. Prop. iv. 6. 4.

8. *reperitum*, discovered for the occasion, 'recherché:' so *quaesitus*, 'studied,' 'elaborate.'

9. *Sulla*, perhaps, as Muretus thought, Cornelius Epicadus, of whom Suetonius, *Gramm.* 12, writes, *L. Cornelii Sullae dictatoris libertus calatorque in sacerdotio augurali, filio quoque eius Fausto gratissimus fuit, quare numquam non utriusque se libertum edidit. Librum autem, quem Sulla nouissimum de rebus suis imperfectum reliquerat, ipse suppleuit*. He would take the name of his patron Sulla as Saevius Nicanor (Suet. *Gramm.* 5); Scribonius Aphrodisius (19); C. Julius Hyginus and his freedman Julius Modestus, himself a teacher of grammar (20). Meyer, *Fragm. Orat. Rom.* p. 480, follows Vulp. in concluding from this verse that Sulla was actually defended by Calvus; but the words of Catullus need not imply so much. *litterator*, like its less disparaging synonym *litteratus*, was the earlier word for *grammaticus*, which had supplanted it in the time of Suetonius, (*Gramm.* 4). That *litterator* was used contemptuously is proved (1) by the words there quoted from Messala Corvinus, *non esse sibi rem cum Furio Bibaculo nec cum Tici da quidem aut litteratore Catone*, (2) by the distinction of *litterator* as *grammatista* and *mediocriter doctus*, from *litteratus* as *grammaticus* and *absolute doctus*, (3) by the words quoted *ibid.* from Orbilius, *apud maiores cum familia alicuius uenalis produceretur, non temere quem litteratum in titulo, sed litteratorem inscribi solitum esse, quasi non perfectum litteris sed imbutum*. They were the school-masters of Rome, gave lessons in grammar and lectured on celebrated authors<sup>1</sup>. Teuffel, *Hist. Rom. Literature*, 146, gives a list of the most eminent *litterati*. They were very badly paid, Suet. *Gramm.* 9 (*Orbilius*) *docuit maiore fama quam emolumento*; 18 *L. Crassitius in pergula docuit*; 11 (*Valerius Cato*) *uixit ad extremam senectam sed in summa pauperie et paene inopia abditus modico gurgustio*: hence Catullus' not unjustifiable suspicion.

10, 11. 'I am not discontented, rather I am well-contented and happy, that your efforts are not wasted,' i.e. in securing so valuable a fee.

10. Truc. iv. 2. 31 *inuidere alii bene esse, tibi male esse, miseriam*. Most. i. 1. 49 *mihi benest et tibi malet*, 'I enjoy myself and you mope.' Ad. i. 1. 9; Martial x. 13. 10, of a rich man, *Vis dicam male sit cur tibi, Colla? bene est*. Your fortune is your misfortune, you are unhappy

<sup>1</sup> *Litteratura* was the Roman word for grammar (Quintil. ii. 1. 4; Sen. Epist. 88. 20), but soon fell out of use.



because you have all the appliances of happiness. *bene ac beate*, as in the Ciceronian *bene et beate uiuere*, Parad. i. fin.

11. 'Ironice loquitur quasi dicat o dignum praemium,' Alex. Guarinus. *dispererunt*. Varro, R. R. i. 11. 1 *Minora cum sunt lecta quam postulat fundus, fructus solent disperire*; ii. 1. 24 *ne aut salus desint aut supersint et ideo fructus dispercant*.

12. *sacrum*, 'accursed,' 'vile.' Ramsay on Most. iv. 3. 44 shows that in this sense *sacer* is not used of *things* before Catullus. Cf. LXXI. 1, and Vergil's *auri sacra fames* (Aen. iii. 57). In the remains of old laws as well as in Plautus it is uniformly used of *persons*.

14. *Misti* for *misisti*, as *tristi* for *triuisti*, LXVI. 30. *continuo*, probably 'forthwith,' like Martial ix. 48. 4-7 *Spem muneribus fouimus usque datis, Inter quae rari Laurentem ponderis aprum Misimus: Aetola de Calydone putes. At tu continuo populumque patresque uocasti*. "*Continuo* can only have the sense it so often has in the old idiomatic writers, 'at once without an interval, straight on end.' Cic. Verr. iv. 48 *ille continuo ut uidit non dubitauit . . . illud tollere*. Catullus sent it on the morning of the Saturnalia, to poison at once the poet's happiness." Munro, and so Riese. A. Palmer takes *continuo die* together, explaining 'the approaching day,' i. e. the day immediately following the night or early dawn, when the gift reached Catullus, and he compares, as I had done, Ovid's *continua die* (F. v. 734), *continua nocte* (F. vi. 720). But (1) no instance of *continuo die* (masc.) is alleged; (2) the point after *continuo*. (*sic*) which is found in *G* and *O*, possibly represents an ancient tradition which explained it adverbially. Bährens, following this punctuation implicitly, constructs *continuo* with *Misti*, as if Calvus were anxious to get rid of Sulla's poisonous present without delay.

15. *Saturnalibus, optimo dierum*, like *die bono Aphrodisiis* Poen. ii. 49. Mommsen, CIL. i. p. 408, shows that even during the Empire the Saturnalia proper was a single day, quoting Festus, s.v. Quinquatrus, *errant iam Hercule quam qui triduo Saturnalia et totidem Compitalia. Nam omnibus his singulis diebus sunt sacra*, and the hemerologia (calendars) which uniformly confine the festival to one day. This day was, before Caesar's alteration of the calendar in 46 B.C., xiv K. Ian., afterwards xvi Kal. Ian. *optimo*. Men. iv. 2. 31 *ita mi hunc optimum hodie corrumpit diem*. People greeted each other with the words *Bona Saturnalia*, Epictet. Diatrib. xxix. 31, quoted by Scaliger, τοῖς γὰρ παιδίοις ὅταν προσελθόντα κροτῇ καὶ λέγῃ, Σήμερον Σατορνάλια ἀγαθὰ λέγομεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὰ ταῖνα; Οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπικροτοῦμεν. Cf. Mart. xiv. 70. 1; sometimes with *Io Saturnalia*, Dion C. xxxvii. 4, Mart. xi. 2. 5, Petron. S. 58, Pomp. Inscript. 2005 a. It was the great holiday of the Roman year. Plut. Q. R. xxxiv μεγίστης αὐτοῖς ἑορτῆς τῶν Κρονίων καθιστάσης καὶ συνουσίας τε πλείστας καὶ ἀπολαύσεις ἔχειν δοκούσης. See Mayor on Juv. vii. 97 and Martial *passim*.

16. *Non non*, as we might say, 'Never, never.' Phorm. ii. 1. 73 *non non sic futurumst, non potest. sic abibit*, 'pass off so easily.' 'You will hear again of this.' Key, Lat. Dictionary, s.v. And. ii. 1. 4 *Mirabar hoc si sic abiret*. Att. xiv. i. 1 *non posse ista sic abire*. Fin. v. 3. 7 *etsi hoc fortasse non poterit sic abire*. Cicero uses *abire* of an attack of illness passing off, Att. xiv. 10. 2.

17. *si luxerit*, 'come dawn,' not implying any doubt, though originally perhaps the expression was connected with some superstitious fear of speaking too confidently. So Aen. v. 64 *Si nona diem mortalibus altum Aurora extulerit*. Hor. Epist. i. 7. 10 *Quod si bruma niuis Albanis illinet agris*. See Holtze, Synt. ii. p. 370. *librariorum* is generally explained of booksellers, in which sense it is found Sen. Benef. vii. 6, Gell. v. 4. 2. But in Cicero *librarius* is a transcriber or copyist. Phil. ii. 4. 8 *Qui possis? sunt enim librarii manu*. Ad Q. Fr. ii. 16. 1 *cum a me litteras librarii manu acceperis*. Att. viii. 13. 1 *lippiitudinis meae signum tibi sit librarii manus* (Mayor on Phil. ii. 4. 8). Legg. iii. 20. 48 *leges a librariis peti*, the transcribers. Att. xii. 40. 1 *Misi librum ad Muscam, ut tuis librariis daret*. *Volo enim eum divulgari, quod quo facilius fiat imperabis tuis*. Nepos Att. 13 *in ea (familia Attici) erant pueri lilleratissimi anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii, ut ne pedisecus quidem quisquam esset, qui non utrumque horum pulchre facere posset*, both read and copy. Such men would of course be likely to have on hand several copies of the books they transcribed, and in this sense would unite the functions of copyist and bookseller: and this may be the meaning of Suetonius' remark, Reliq. p. 134, Reifferscheid *librarios (constat) ante bibliopolas dictos, librum enim Graeci βιβλιον uocant*.

18. *scrinia*, cylindrical boxes for holding books, often made of beech. Plin. H. N. xvi. 229. From Hor. S. i. 1. 120 *ne me Crispini scrinia lippi Compilasse putes*; Ovid, Pont. i. 1. 23, 24 *Antoni scripla leguntur, Doctus et in promptu scrinia Brutus habet*; Mart. i. 2. 4 *Scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit*, it might seem that each author had a separate *scrinium* assigned him by the *librarii*: so if Catullus asked to be supplied with copies of Caesius' or Suffenus' poems, the *librarius* would go to the *scrinium Caesii* or *Suffeni*. In the case of voluminous authors this would be an arrangement of convenience: smaller works would be grouped together in one *scrinium* according to the fancy of the seller, poems and prose separately, poems of the same kind together, &c. *Caesios, Aquinos*, 'the whole tribe of Caesii and Aquini.' Plaut. Bacch. iv. 4. 10 *Non mihi isti placent Parmenones Syri*. Riddell, Digest of Idioms, p. 142 of his edition of Plato's Apology, groups these plurals under Formulas of Contempt. He quotes amongst other instances Symp. 218 a *Φαίδρου Ἀγάθωνας Ἐρυξμάχους*; Rep. 387 b *Κωκυτοῦς τε καὶ Στρυγῆς καὶ ἐνέρους καὶ ἀλὶβαντας*, and the Aristophanic *Λαμάχων ἀπαλλαγῆς* Ach. 270; *Κύκνου ποιῶν καὶ Μέμνονας* Ran. 963. Of Caesius nothing is known. Cicero, Tusc. Disp. v. 22. 63 *Adhuc neminem cognoui poetam, et mihi fuit cum Aquinio amicitia, qui sibi non optimus uideretur*, mentions as a specimen of bad poets an Aquinius, probably the Aquinus of Catullus. *Aquinius, Aquinus*, are two forms of the same name. Cf. *Varinus, Varinius*, Plut. Cras. ix, App. B. C. i. 116. *Aquinus* occurs in Mart. i. 93. 1, where it cannot be used slightly; but Catullus may notwithstanding have used the shorter form contemptuously, as he has used the plural: or perhaps Aquinius liked to distinguish himself from the mass of Aquini by the longer termination, and Catullus merges him again in the shorter name.

19. *Suffenum*, accusative. *omnia* gathers up and concentrates the three accusatives, *Caesios, Aquinos, Suffenum*. *uenena*, 'the whole

crop of poisons,' i.e. of vile poets, whose works produce the effect of poison on the reader. Infr. XLIV. 11, 12.

20. 'And requite your present with this penal offering.' Catullus probably uses *supplicia* as a strict plural, as Caesar, B. G. vii. 5, implying that for each bad poet Calvus had sent him he would send him a bad poet in return, each forming severally a distinct punishment. *Je le rends supplice pour supplice*, Develay. *remunerabor*. Fam. ix. 8. 1 *Vt possem te remunerari quam simillimo munere*. Cicero also uses *remunerare*. M. Aurelius to Fronto, p. 41 in Naber's edition of Fronto, *quid? si lacessitus fuero, non eum simili dicto remunerabo?* Here the word is obviously chosen in reference to the *munus* in 9.

21. *ualete* is not to be isolated from *abite* (Lachm. and Rossbach): the two words form one compound expression on which *hinc* depends, as in *χαῖρε καὶ ἀπιθι* Alciph. i. 27. 2; Ad. v. 7. 19 *tu illas abi et traduce*. Aul. ii. 3. 3 *Vascula intus pure propera et elue*; quoted by Mr. Herbert Richards in the Cambridge Journal of Philology, v. 135. Cf. Anth. P. vii. 664. 1 by Theocritus, *Ἀρχιλοχὸν καὶ στᾶθι καὶ εἴσιδε τὸν πάλαι ποιητᾶν*. *abite*. Lucian, Catapl. 12 *εἰς τὸν τῶν ἀσεβῶν χώρον ἀπιθι*. Callim. H. Apol. 113 *ὁ δὲ μῶμος ἴσ' ὁ φθόρος ἔνθα νέοιτο*. Demosth. c. Aristogit. i. 42 *ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄγει πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἐκείνη δὲ (ἡ ἀπόνοια) οἱ τούτων ἀπειλῶν δέι*. The common expression *abi in malam rem*, and the proverbial *ἔνθεν ἦλθεν, ἐνθ' ἔβη* is here slightly varied.

22. *malum pedem*, 'Alludit quia uersus pedibus constant. Sed mali sunt poetae ideo malum dixit pedem.' Alex. Guarinus. Ovid plays similarly upon the word, Trist. i. 1. 16 *Contingam certe quo licet illa pede*. *attulistis*, here little more than *tulistis* (And. iv. 5. 13).

23. '*Saeculi incommoda* uocantur homines qui ad ingenium saeculi accommodare se nesciunt,' B. Schmidt, who thinks Catullus is here contrasting his own new school of poetry with the poetasters who still kept to the older style of diction and metre. I doubt whether the words convey so much.

## XIV.<sup>b</sup>

In this fragment Catullus deprecates the unfavorable criticism of his readers. It may belong, as Bruner thought, to an original *epilogue*<sup>1</sup>, perhaps intended to form the finale of the lyrical poems, or possibly of the small collection I-XIV, which Schulze supposes to have been first published. Less probably it was a *prologue*, whether of the collective lyrics, retained after it had been ousted from its place by I, *Qui dono lepidum nouum libellum*; or, on Schulze's hypothesis, of the lyrics following I-XIV.

That it was a poem of excuse is I think likely from the form of the three verses which remain. Similarly Ovid, Trist. iii. 14. 25-30 *Hoc quoque nescio quid nostris adpone libellis, Diuerso missum quod tibi ab orbe uenit. Quod quicumque leget, si quis leget, aestimet ante, Compositum quo sit tempore, quoque loco*. These lines form a sort of *epilogue* to bk. iii; but the very first lines of bk. iv repeat the same petition to the reader, in the

<sup>1</sup> Bonnet seems to lean to this view, *Revue critique* for 1883, p. 345.

form of a prologue, *Si qua meis fuerint, ut erunt, uitiōsa libellis, Excusata suo tempore, lector, habet*. Plancus, ap. Cic. Fam. x. 8. 1 *Si cui forte uideor diutius et hominum expectationem et spem rei publicae de mea uoluntate tenuisse suspensam, huic prius excusandum me esse arbitror quam de insequenti officio quidquam ulli pollicendum*. Frontin., Praef. Strateg. *Si qui erunt quibus uolumina haec cordi sint, meminerint* (perhaps by an interpolator, Teuffel, Hist. Lit. ii. 322. 5).

1. **ineptiarum**, trifles in verse, light subjects treated lightly. Pliny, Epist. iv. 1. 4, describes such a work of his own. *His iocamur ludimus amamus dolemus querimur irascimur describimus aliquid modo pressius modo elatius atque ipsa uarietate temptamus efficere ut alia aliis quaedam fortasse omnibus placeant. . . . Sed quid ego plura? nam longa praefatione uel excusare uel commendare ineptias ineptissimum est*. C. Melissus of Spoletum, a slave and afterwards a freedman of Maecenas, then appointed by Augustus to superintend the libraries in the Porticus Octauia, wrote 150 books of *Ineptiae* or, as they were afterwards called, *Ioci*. (Suet. Gramm. 21, cited by Passerat.)

2. **manus**, as if by way of solicitation.

## XV.

IN this poem Catullus recommends the young Juventius to the protection of his friend Aurelius, warning him not to betray the confidence thus placed in him by any undue familiarity. From XXI it would seem that this warning was slighted; and in XXIV Juventius is upbraided for favoring Aurelius' friend Furius.

There are three other poems referring to Juventius, XLVIII, LXXXI, XCIX. Of the series XLVIII, XCIX, XXIV were perhaps written before the rest; but all seem to belong to the last years of the poet's life. It is not improbable that XL also refers to Juventius: see Introduction there.

It was customary to recommend youths or children of tender years to the protection of friends or relations; so Cicero commends his son and daughter to his brother Quintus (Q. Fr. i. 3. 10), and the father of the handsome Caelius Rufus recommended and introduced his son to Cicero (Cael. xvii. 39 *puerum commendauit et tradidit*): to whom also the ardent C. Curio, at the time contemplating exile, *lacrimans commendabat* his friend M. Antonius (Phil. ii. 18. 45).

1. **me ac meos amores**, a commendation, like B. G. viii. 50 *se et honorem suum sequentis anni commendaret*. Phorm. i. 4. 40 *Vobis commendo Phanium et uilam meam*. **meos amores**, always in Catullus of Juventius, except in XXXVIII. 6, perhaps XL. 7.

2. **pudentem**, 'modest,' here, of the favour asked, more usually of the person asking. Fam. ii. 6. 1 *Graue est homini pudenti petere aliquid magnum ab eo de quo se bene meritum putet*.

3. **Vt**, definitive. 'I mean, that if you ever had an earnest longing

that made you wish to keep something chaste and innocent.' A pleonasm; it is not the thing itself, but the preservation of its chastity, which is the object of desire (*cupisti quod expeteres*). *animo tuo*, i.e. earnestly.

4. *Quod expeteres*, i.e. *ut id exp.* Epexegetic. *integellum*, XXXIV. 2 *pueri integri*.

5. *pudice*, as in Hor. S. i. 6. 82 *pudicum*, *Qui primus uirtutis honos, seruauit*. In both passages it is the opposite of *impudicitia* in its strict sense of passive unchastity.

6. *Non dico . . . Verum*. Cf. the Ciceronian *Non dico . . . sed*. Phil. ii. § 9, 19, 66; Mil. § 34, 35 (Mayor on Phil. ii. 4. 9). *a populo* depends on *pudice* as in Curc. i. 1. 51 *Tam a me pudicam quasi soror mea sit, nisi Sisti ausculando quipiam impudicior*.

7. *platea*, *πλατεία*, not in Plautus seemingly; Terence has it several times, Eun. ii. 3. 53; Ad. iv. 2. 35; Phorm. i. 4. 37. *modo huc modo illuc* with *praetereunt*. The words recall the well-known lines of Callimachus, Ep. 28. *ἰ οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ Χαίρων τίς πολλοῦς ὠδε καὶ ὠδε φέρεῖ*.

8. *In re . . . occupati*, a rare construction, found twice in Cornelius Nepos, Alc. 8, Hann. 7. See Lupus, *Satzbau des Corn. Nepos*, § 39.

9. *a te*, the direction of the danger: Capt. iii. 4. 75 *Si quid metuis a me*; ii. 1. 13 *Quid a nobis metuit?* And. i. 1. 79 *metui a Chryside*.

10. *Infesto*, here active; passively Cael. iv. 10 *illud tempus aetatis quod aliorum libidine infestum est*, of the young Caelius. *bonis malisque* is explained by nearly all the commentators 'handsome or plain.' Cf. Gloss. Bodl. Auct. T. ii. 24 *Bonus a uenustate corporis creditur dictus postea et ad animum (MS nimium) translatus nomen*. Gloss. Harl. 6514 *Bonus pulcher est. Terentius forma fortasse bona*. But though from Bacch. v. 2. 42 Ph. *haud malast mulier*. Ni. *Pol uero ista mala et tu nihili?* *malus* seems to have been used for *turpis* or *deformis* (contrast however Merc. ii. 3. 79 *non malam forma mala*), it is doubtful whether *bonus* ever is i. q. *formosus*, for in *bona forma* Ter. And. ii. 5. 17, Prop. ii. 18. 32, *bona facies* A. A. iii. 398; *bona crura* Am. iii. 2. 27, quoted by Vulp., Hor. S. i. 2. 102, the notion of 'handsome' is determined by the substantive, and is not inherent in the word itself. Nor would Aurelius have been likely to pursue handsome or plain indifferently: what Catullus implies is that he was sufficiently profligate to make him dangerous, whether the character of the person he was pursuing was virtuous or vicious. In fact *bonis malisque* nearly = *ingenuis* (whom it was illegal to corrupt, and who were therefore more likely to be virtuous) *meritoriisque* (Phil. ii. 41. 105). Cf. Sallust's *boni malique strenui et inbelles* of soldiers, Jug. 67. Martial uses the word undeniably in this sense, viii. 3. 16 *Praelegt ut grandis uirgo bonusque puer*.

11. *qua lubet, ut lubet*, 'wo du willst und wie du willst.' Riese.

12. *Quantum uis* with *moneto*, not with *paratum* (Ovid, F. i. 437). *ubi erit foris paratum*, impersonal in the same sense as Horace's *praesto est* S. i. 2. 117.

14. *Quod si* introduces the conclusion, as in Mart. viii. 64. 16 *Quod si ludis adhuc: mala mens*, 'infatuation,' as in XL. 1. It is the opposite of *mens bona*, Prop. iii. 24. 19. *uicors*, XL. 4 *uicordem rixam*.

16. 'To attack me with a deadly snare,' viz. by plotting to win the

affection of Juventius, and so plotting to injure *me*. **nostrum caput**, like *hoc caput* (Epid. i. 1. 86; Pseud. ii. 4. 33; Stich v. 5. 10) for *me*, **suum caput** for *se ipsum* (Epid. iii. 2. 33) is an emphatic 'me,' with the farther notion of something virtually affecting my life and fortunes: here the treachery which Catullus apprehends from Aurelius in the trust which he has committed to him, XXI. 7 *insidias mihi instrumentem*. See Ramsay's *Mostellaria*, pp. 128, 146. **insidiis**, in reference to chastity, as in Curc. i. 1. 25 *Num tu pudicae quopiam insidias locas?*

18, 19. You shall suffer the penalty of the detected adulterer; have your feet tied and then be tortured by *ραφανιδωσις*, or a worse form of the same punishment. The idea is perhaps suggested by Eun. v. 4. 31-36, quoted by Vulp., Py. *eam iste uisauit miser. Ille ubi id rescuit factum frater uiolentissimus*, Pa. *Quid nam fecit?* Py. *Contigauit primum eum miseris modis*. Pa. *Contigauit?* Py. *Atque quidem orante ut ne id faceret Thaïde*. Pa. *Quid ais?* Py. *Nunc minatur porro sese id quod moechis solet. Quod ego nunquam uidi fieri neque uelim*.

18. **attractis pedibus** occurs in a Pompeian Inscription, 1261. The preposition seems to express the act of drawing the feet of the patient towards the slave employed to bind the criminal for punishment. Rem. Am. 397 *attrahe lora Fortius*, draw the reins more vigorously towards you to tighten them. **porta**, i.e. *ano*. Priap. lii. 5 *Porta te faciet patentiorem*. So *θύρα* in Greek Comedy. Apollod. Inc. i. 8 *τὴν γὰρ αἰσχύνην πάλαι Πᾶσαν ἀπολωλέκασι καθ' ἐτέρας θύρας*, where Meineke compares Cycl. 500 *θύραν τίς οἷζει μοι*; and Εὐρύτου πύλα in Anaxandrides, Ὀδυσσ. i. 17. Kock there adds Diog. L. vi. 59 *Χείρων μὲν οὐ, Εὐρυτίων δέ (laxior)*.

19. **Percurrent**, 'shall make free way through.' **raphanique**, Aristoph. Nub. 1079 ΑΔ. *μοιχὸς γὰρ ἦν τύχης ἀλοὺς τὰδ' ἀντερείς πρὸς αὐτόν* ΔΙ. *τί δ' ἦν ραφανιδωθῇ πιθόμενός σοι τέφρα τε τιλθῇ; ἔξει τίνα γνώμην λέγειν, τὸ μὴ εὐρύπρωκτος εἶναι*; Lucian de Morte Peregrini ix *μοιχεύων ἀλοὺς διέφυγε ραφανίδι τὴν πυγὴν βεβυσμένος*. Alciph. iii. 62 *ραφάνοις τὴν ἔδραν βεβυσμένος*. Anth. P. ix. 520, cited by Voss, *Ἀλκαίου τάφος οὗτος, ὃν ἔκτανεν ἡ πλατύφυλλος Τιμωρὸς μοιχῶν γῆς θυγάτηρ ράφανος*. Hor. S. i. 2. 133 *Ne nummi pereant aut fuga*. The Schol. on Plut. 168 says *ραφανιδωσις* was only inflicted on poor men; rich men paid a compensation. Miller, *Mélanges Grecques*, p. 357 *Δῆμος δέ ἐστι τῆς Ἀττικῆς οἱ Πλακιάδαι· κακεῖ ραφανίδες μεγάλαί γίνονται· ταύταις δὲ χρῶνται κατὰ τῶν ληφθέντων μοιχῶν ἐφυβρίζοντες, εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆεν στελαίφ τῷ ἐκ τῆς δικέλλης*. The proverb there explained *Πλακιάδαι καὶ στέλαιον* shows that the punishment was in actual use. **mugilis**, Iuven. x. 317 *quosdam moechos et mugilis intrat*; cf. Schol. there *Mugilis piscis grandi capite postremus exilis qui in podicem moechorum deprehensorum solebat immitti*. 'The mugilis was chosen from its wedge-like form (Athen. 307 b, *σφηνέας*),' Mayor. Mr. Tozer cites Strother-Smith, *The Tiber and its Tributaries*, p. 155, where an engraving is given of the *cefalo del mare*, which is usually identified with the mugilis. 'The foremost dorsal fin of the mullet is furnished with four rigid spines, which lie flat when the fish is moved in the direction of the head through an opening a little larger than itself, but which erect themselves when it is attempted to withdraw it. It was thus used by the Romans to lacerate the tenderest parts of the human body as a punishment for the crime of adultery,' p. 156.

## XVI.

AURELIUS and FURIUS had remonstrated with Catullus on the effeminate tone of his poetry, and had drawn the inference that the poet himself *was* personally open to the same charge. If we press the language of Catullus' indignant reply, we might be led to think that the charge against him was of actual bodily effeminacy (*impudicitia, mollitia*), a very common accusation at the time, cf. XXIX, LVII and XXV, CXII; this almost seems required by the words *male marem*, and the peculiar form in which he asserts his virility (vv. 1, 2, 14). Such an imputation, too, would be likely to alienate Juventius (Bährens).

It is more probable that we have here, as in other poems of Catullus, an instance of the same exaggeration of language which is still distinctly traceable in the extant fragments of Lucilius, and which belongs partly to the coarse and realistic character of the Italian people as a whole, partly reflects the grossness of Roman comedy, not so much the comedy of Plautus, as of other writers like Caecilius, Turpilius, Novius, and the writers of Atellanae. The fragments of these writers are much more Aristophanic than most of the comedies of Plautus; and it is to the old Comedy, not the New, that Catullus, like Lucilius before him, in this mood most nearly approximates. Already in X. 12, we have seen him speaking in the same way of Memmius, probably in imitation of Lucilius, and we shall find him repeating the same charge XXVIII. 10. In XXI. 8, 12, he threatens Aurelius exactly as he threatens Furius and Aurelius in XVI: in each case the threat is only half serious, but in each case it seems chosen in reference to something said or done by the persons threatened. We need not suppose that the accusation itself was more serious than the reply. The *mollitia* of many of Catullus' erotic poems would no doubt seem a graver offence to a Roman than to a Greek, and if Furius and Aurelius really believed the poet to be *mollis* on the strength of his lyrics to Lesbia<sup>1</sup>, their belief would be quite in harmony with the old national point of view. Even Seneca, living in an age when every kind of effeminacy was the rule, speaks of Maecenas, the type of luxury in its less vicious mood, as less of a man than the two eunuchs who accompanied him (*spadones duo, magis tamen uiri quam ipse* Epist. 114. 6); and we may well believe that something like a determination to confuse words with acts, softness of language with effeminacy in conduct, effeminacy in gait and dress with unnatural effeminacy of body, for a long time formed part of the traditional Roman antagonism to foreigners.

The defence which Catullus makes here, that his life is pure, though his verse is not, has often been made. Ovid, Trist. ii. 353, sqq. *Crede mihi, mores distant a carmine nostro. Vita uerecunda est, Musa iocosa mihi.*

<sup>1</sup> Bruner, Westphal, and Bährens consider v. 12 to be an allusion to XLVIII. 3, and explain *pueris* in v. 10 of Juventius. But XLVIII is too slight in itself to be thus alluded to; whereas V and VII would recur at once to the memory of every reader of Catullus in connexion with the words *milia multa basiorum*. And so B. Schmidt, p. xix, whose view however that Catullus repeated the language of V, VII in XLV expressly to annoy Furius and Aurelius seems very unlikely.



*Magnaue pars operum mendax et ficta meorum Plus sibi permisit compositore suo.* Mart. i. 35. 3-5 *sed hi libelli Tanquam coniugibus suis mariti Non possunt sine mentula placere*; 10, 11 *Lex haec carminibus data est iocosis Ne possint nisi pruriant iuuare*; xi. 15. 3 *Hic totus uolo rideat libellus*; 13 *Mores non habet hic meos libellus.* Plin. Epist. iv. 14. 4 *Si nonnulla tibi paulo petulantiora uidebuntur, erit eruditionis tuae cogitare summos illos et grauissimos uiros qui talia scripserunt non modo lasciuia rerum sed ne uerbis quidem nudis abstinuisse: quae nos refugimus, non quia seueriores (unde enim?) sed quia timidiore sumus.* Scimus alioqui huius opusculi illam esse uerissimam legem quam Catullus expressit. Nam castum esse decet . . . parum pudici. Ibid. v. 3, written when blamed for the looseness of his volume, *Facio nonnumquam uersiculos seueros parum, facio; etiam comedias audio et spectro mimos et lyricos lego et Soladicos intellego . . . An ego uereor ne me non satis deceat quod decuit M. Tullium, C. Calpurnium, Asinium Pollionem, M. Messallam, Q. Hortensium, M. Brutum, L. Sullam, Q. Catulum, Q. Scaeuolam, Seruium Sulpicium, Varronem, Torquatum, immo Torquatos, C. Memmiam, Lentulum, Gaetulicum, Annaeum Senecam, Lucanum, et proxime Verginium Rufum?*

Seneca states the counter view. Epist. 114. 3 *Non potest esse alius ingenio, alius animo color*; 4 *Quid ergo? non oratio eius (Maecenatis) aequae soluta est quam ipse discinctus?*

1, 2 of course retort the charge of *mollitia*.

1. *Pedicabo.* Cf. a gloss quoted by Götz (Rhein. Mus. 1885, p. 326) *Pedicum uicium molliciae. Lucilius in 11 Satirarum pedicum iam excoquit omne.* Götz thinks this may be neuter of an adj. *pedicus*.

4. *parum pudicum*, XXIX. 2, 6.

5. *pium*, XIV. 7, 'the godly poet.'

6. But Aristophanes, Ran. 1057, says, ἀποκρίπτειν χρὴ τὸ ποιητὸν τὸν γε ποιητὴν, καὶ μὴ παράγειν μηδὲ διδάσκειν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαρίοισιν ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖς ἡβώσιν δὲ ποιηταί.

7. *tum denique . . . Si, 'then only, if.'* Cic. Fam. v. 12. 5 *qui tum denique sibi auelli iubet spiculum, posteaquam ei percontanti dictum est clipeum esse saluum.*

8. *Si sint . . . Et possunt*, so the best MSS of Catullus; *si sunt . . . et possunt*, the MSS of Plin. Epist. iv. 14. 4. If *sint* is right Catullus passes from the condition stated hypothetically to the condition as realized (*possunt*). Such combinations of indic. and subjunc. with the same conjunction are undeniable in verse; Madvig on Fin. ii. 19. 61, hardly proves that all the prose instances of such combination are solecisms, requiring alteration. But the indic. is the more regular construction after *tum denique*, as in Capt. i. 2. 39 *tum denique intellegimus cum amisimus.* De Legg. ii. 4. 10 *non tum denique incipit lex esse cum scripta est sed tum cum orta est.* Tusc. Disp. iii. 31. 75 *tum denique non appellatur recens cum uetustate exaruit* (see Hand's Tursellinus, ii. p. 276).

9. *quod pruriet* expresses the difficulty of finding an itching or susceptible point. According to Hesych. ψυρὸς was a name for παιδαριστής.

10. *Non dico . . . sed = pilosis, non modo pueris.* pueris, as easily roused. The dative is used in *re ueneria*, as shown by the Pompeian Inscriptt. his recalls the *pilosi* contemptuously. So De Orat. ii. 60.

246 *hinc lusco familiari meo C. Sextio*. Pers. v. 86 *Stoicus hic*. So *οἶτος*, Nub. 246 *οἱ τρυγοδαίμονες οἶτοι*, 969 *τὰς κατὰ φῶνιν ταύτας τὰς δυσκολαιμύτους* (καμπάε). Riddell, Digest of Idioms, p. 241. *pilosus*, 'covered with hair,' a sign of roughness, as to remove the hair by depilatories was a mark of effeminacy. Mart. ii. 36. 5 *Nunc sunt crura pilis, et sunt tibi pectora setis Horrida: sed mens est, Pannice, uolsa tibi*. ix. 27. 1, 2sq. *Cum depilatos, Chreste, coleos portes, Nec uiuat ullus in tuo pilus crure, Purgentque sacuae cana labra uolsellae; Curios, Camillos, Quintios, Numas, Ancos, Et quidquid unquam legimus pilosorum Loqueris*. Iuven. ii. 11 *Hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia setae Promittunt atroce animum*. Quint. v. 9. 14.

11. *duros*, perhaps 'shaggy,' as in Arnob. v. 25 *in speciem leuigari nondum duri atque striculi pusionis*, which Orelli explains to mean 'still without hair and with nothing of the porcupine about him,' comparing Iuven. ii. 11, Sidon. i. 2. Paul. D. *Hirtipili durorum pilorum homines*. But it seems possible that both Arnobius and Catullus express in *durus* the natural accompaniment of the increasing growth of hair upon the body, viz. its diminished tenderness or suppleness, and increased rigidity. In this sense 'rigid' or 'torpid,' cf. Anth. L. 698. 6, Riese, *ames cum mille puellas, Solus io solus, dure* (torpid one), *tacere potes?*

12. *milia multa basiorum*, v. 10.

13. *male marem* = *mollem*. Ovid has *male uir* A. A. i. 524, Quintilian v. 9. 14 *parum uir*, in the same sense (Vulp.).

## XVII.

A FELLOW-TOWNSMAN of Catullus, who, like the Homeric Margites, was not aware *ὅτι χρὴ γήμαντα χρῆσθαι τῇ γυναίκα*, had irritated the poet by the coldness with which he treated his young wife. In these verses Catullus expresses a humorous wish that he may suffer the punishment of the *uxagenarii deponati* (cf. Festus s. v.) and be precipitated for his senility from the summit of a rotten bridge into the deepest part of a quagmire, near a place which is designated as Colonia.

It is uncertain what place is meant by Colonia. Cluverius, Italia Antiqua p. 117, thought it was Mantua, and supposed that the bridge alluded to in the poem connected that town with the territory of Verona. But Mantua was not a Roman colony, though otherwise the description of Catullus would agree with the marshy situation of this town on an island near the confluence of the Mincio and the Po. Scaliger thought it was Comum, which in 59 B.C. was augmented by a body of 5000 new colonists under Julius Caesar, and assumed the title of Novum Comum. But, as Schwabe observes, Quaest. p. 345, neither the description of the lake 4, 10, 11, 25, nor the mention of bridges suit the lake of Como (*Lari maxime* Verg. G. ii. 159). It had occurred to me that Cremona may be meant: it was a colony (Κρεμονία κολωνία Prol. iii. 1. 27), and is described in words very like those of Catullus in one of the Catalepta, viii. 14 Ribbeck *Cremona frigida et lutosa Gallia, . . . ultima ex origine Tua stitisse dicis in uoragine, Tua in palude deposisse sarcinas*. The prevailing

view is perhaps that of Muretus, which identifies it with the modern Cologne, a small town a few miles east of Verona. This was held before Muretus by Alex. Guarinus, who describes the town as it appeared in his own time, the beginning of the 16th century: '*Mihi autem Colonia nomen proprium cuiusdam oppiduli non longe ab agro Veronensi distantis uidetur, quod hodie corrupto tamen uocabulo uulgo Cologne appellatur. Et praesertim quia Verona illuc iter habentibus paludes latissimae occurrunt, quae in loco quodam coarctantur ubi ponte ligneo satis longo transitus patet, qui nunc pons Zerbanus uocatur.*' Persico, Descrizione di Verona ii. p. 266 (Verona 1821), seems to consider this identification certain, and appeals to urns, tiles, pots, coins and stones, amongst them a sarcophagus with an inscription referring to the Sevir Augustales, in proof of the antiquity of the place.

The metre is Priapean, and is found again in the fragment addressed to Priapus (II). It consists of a Glyconic verse followed by a Pherecratean: it occurs in a popular distich in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, No. 42, p. 1312 Δέξαι τὰν ἀγαθὸν τυχεύαν, δέξαι τὰν ὑγιαν. The last foot of the Glyconic is always a cretic, never a dactyl, as Voss observed.

1. **iudere**, of celebrating games, probably as part of the worship of some god, cf. 6. Sacred rites are specially mentioned in connexion with the *pons sublicius*, from which small figures of men, made of rushes, and called Argei, were annually thrown into the Tiber by the Pontifices and Vestal Virgins on the Ides of May. Varro, L. L. v. 83, vii. 44; Ovid, F. v. 621; Festus *Argei* and *Sexagenarii*; Plut. Q. R. 32. See also my note on Ibis 418. **longo**, instead of the *ponticulus*.

2. **paratum habes**, like *cognitum perspectum expertum statutum habere* in Cicero. **inepta**, 'crazy,' 'unsteady:' Forc. gives no other example. Munro, citing Cic. Orat. lxviii. 228 *quod multo maiorem habent apta uim quam soluta*; lxx. 233 *cum sint ex aptis dissoluta*, explains *inepta* here as *non apta*, i. e. *dissoluta*, *soluta*. Sandys, on Orat. xlv. 149, points out that *aptus*, 'well-fitted,' is combined with *cohaerens* and *conexus* (de N. D. iii. 1. 4, ii. 97); and this agrees well with Munro's explanation.

3. **acsuleis**, i. e. *axuleis* from *axula*, diminutive of *axis*, is explained by Hand as = *assulis*, 'laths' or 'planks'; *axis* and *assis*, like *fraxinus* *frassinus*, *toxicum* *toxicum*, *coxim* *coxim*, seem to have been two forms of the same word. 'Rarius paulo uocabulum *asses* siue *axes*, unde natum est Gallorum *ais*,' Madvig, Liu. iv. p. xviii. Paulus D. s. u. *Axis*. *Tabula sectilis axis uocatur*. Gloss. Bodl. Auct. T. ii. 24 *axes tabule*. Hand quotes Caesar B. C. ii. 9 and Luc. iii. 455, in support of *axis* thus used. But in both places the meaning is uncertain; and here, if *axuleis* is the right word, it may mean 'wooden cylinders,' forming part of the under frame-work of the bridge. *Assuleis*, the ordinary reading, is found in the sense of 'thin wooden planks' in Suet. Gramm. ii. **rediuuius**, taken from old buildings and used again. Verr. i. 56. 147 *utrum existimatis minus operis esse unam columnam efficere ab integro nouam nullo lapide rediuuiuo an quattuor illas reponere?* 148 *Rediuuius sibi habelo. Quasi quidquam rediuui ex opere illo tolleretur, ac non totum opus ex rediuuiis constitueretur.*

4. **supinus**. The timber supporters at each end of the bridge give way, and the centre, no longer able to maintain itself, falls in, at first (it would seem) inclining towards one side, then turning completely round, so that the top side faces downwards. This must, I think, be the idea, just as *versus* is used of anything turned the contrary way to its ordinary position, upside down (Liddell and Scott). **causa**, 'engulfing.' Döring compares Met. vi. 371 *tota causa submergere membra palude*. See on LXIV. 259.

5. **Sic fiat** . . . **da**, as in Hor. C. i. 3. 1 *Sic te diua regat . . . Reddas*; Verg. Ecl. ix. 30-32 *Sic fugiant . . . Incipe*. In all these passages *si* anticipates the condition mentioned afterwards, *da*, *reddas*, *incipe*. Martial similarly Ep. vii. 93. 8 *Perpetuo liceat sic tibi ponte frui*, alluding to the famous bridge over the Nar, built by Augustus at Narnia.

6. **Salisubsalii**, a word not known to exist elsewhere; the line which Alex. Guarinus quotes from Pacuvius' *Armorum Iudicium*, *Pro imperio Salisubsulus si nostro excubet*, though its want of metre gives it a look of genuineness, or at least of being copied by some one who thought it so, is not discoverable in any ancient author and seems rightly rejected by Ribbeck. According to Guarinus (and so Marquardt iii. p. 434 note) it was an ancient name of Mars, to whom alone *Salios dicaui antiquitas*, Macrob. S. iii. 12. 1; and who might therefore be called preeminently 'the leaping god'; cf. Mercurius Negotiator, Nundinator, Jupiter Redux, etc.: though Vergil, Aen. viii. 285 and Macrobius, iii. 12 assign Salii to Hercules; and one Collegium of Salii, the Agonales or Collini, was assigned to Quirinus specially. Hand reads *Salisubsulus*, and explains of the troop of men-dancers who chanted the *axamenta* in procession, in contradistinction to their leader, *praesul* or *praesultor*. Whether the god or his priests are meant, their existence in this Cisalpine Colonia has many parallels; Inscriptions mention Salii at Tibur, Alba, Lavinium, Verona (Marquardt, Handb. iii. p. 427). They were selected from young men, hence *uel*, as their motions would be more vigorous. **suscipiantur**, technical of entering upon the performance of sacred rites. Vatin. vi. 14 *Cum incondita ac nefaria sacra suscepis, cum inferorum animas elicere soleas*.

7. **Munus**, 'boon,' but with allusion to the other sense of exhibiting a public show, as in Sest. lviii. 124 *erat munus* (gladiatorial show) *Scipionis dignum et eo ipso et illo Q. Metello, cui dabatur* (Stat.). **maximarius**, gen. of quality, 'most mirth-moving,' Mr. Clayton.

8. **municipem meum**, a native of Verona; so Cicero of Marius, *Cum Populo Gratias Egit* viii. 19, *municeps noster* of M. Pontidius of Arpinum, Brut. lxx. 246.

9. **per caputque pedesque**, *κατωκῆρα*, Aristoph. Pax, 153, 'head over heels.'

10. **Verum**, 'only,' corrects and defines the wish which is expressed generally in 8. Heaut. iii. 3. 37 *Dicam, verum ut aliud ex alio incidit*. *ut* is generally taken as = *ubi*, 'where,' like XI. 3: and so Scioppius Suspect. Lect. v. 25: perhaps rightly, though this sense is very rare. The only other explanation would be to take it in close connexion with the superlatives *Liuidissima maximeque profunda*, 'according as the abyss is blackest and most deep,' as in C. I. L. iii. 947 *ita ubi clao fixa et optima maximaque est*. *Vi* in this sense is more

often followed by *quisque*, or *quis*, sometimes by *forte*, as in Aen. v. 329.

11. *Liuidissima*, 'blackest.' Aen. vi. 320 *uada liuida*.

12. *Insulsissimus est homo*, 'the creature is a mere idiot,' from his dulness in regard to his young wife. So Eun. v. 8. 49 *Fatuos est, insulsus, tardus: stertit noctesque et dies. Neque istum metuas ne amet mulier; facile pellas, ubi uelis.* Suidas, s. v. Γέλοιος, mentions Meletides and Coroebus as typical names of husbands who refused *συγκαθεύδειν ταῖς γυναῖξιν*. *pueri*, Aesch. P. V. 987 οὐ γὰρ σὺ παῖς τε καὶ τοῦδ' ἀνούστερος; *instar*, the amount of sense, CXV. 1.

13. *Bimuli tremula*, double diminutive, as in 3 *ponticuli aculeis*, 15 *puella tenellulo*. *Bimuli*, 'two years old.' Suet. Calig. 8. *Tremula*, 'rocking or dandling.' Vulp. quotes Plato, Legg. 790 ἦνικα γὰρ δὲ που βουληθῶσι κατακομίζειν τὰ δυσπικνούonta τῶν παιδίων αἱ μητέρες, οὐχ ἡσυχίαν αὐτοῖς προσφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον κίνησιν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτῶν σείουσιναι.

14. *uiridissimo flore*, 'freshest bloom.' Strictly it is the plant, not the flower, which is green: but *flos* had lost some part of its precision, from its constant use = 'youthful bloom:' Cic. Phil. ii. 2. 3.

15. *Et = et quidem*, as in Mil. xxiii. 61 *Magna uis est conscientiae et magna in utramque partem*; Catil. ii. 8. 17 *de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste qui iam faletur se esse hostem* (Hand); Verr. iii. 26. 65 *sterni triclinia et in foro sterni iubebat*; Varr. R. R. ii. 7. 2 *eiciunt et totidem eiciunt*; Pomp. Inscriptt. 1819 *Suavis uinaria sinit rogo uos et ualde sinit*. In all these instances the *et* connects two clauses in which the same word is twice repeated, *puella Et puella, magna uis et magna, hoste et eo hoste, sterni et in foro sterni, sinit et ualde sinit*. Reid on pro Sulla vi. 18 collects several instances from that and other orations of Cicero. *delicatio*, 'tenderer.' Mart. v. 37. 3, of a girl five years old, *Concha Lucrini delicatio stagni haedo*. Theocr. xi. 20, 21 ἀπαλωτέρα ἀπρός, Μόσχῳ γαυροτέρα, φιαρωτέρα δμφακος ὤμῳ.

16. *nigerrimis*, grapes which are fully ripened and ready to be plucked, therefore requiring greater care to preserve them. Ben Jonson seems to imitate Catullus here, The Fox, i. fin. *all her looks are sweet Like the first grapes or cherries and are watch'd As near as they are*.

17. *Ludere*, LXVIII. 17. *pili facit*, X. 13. *uni*, archaic for *unius*. So *ullus, nullus, totus, alius, neuter, uer, alter*. (Neue, Formenlehre, ii. 183 sqq.) According to Priscian 677, Cicero wrote, Pro Tullio 36 *unae rei*; Ad Herenn. iv. 48. 61 *totae rei*: cf. Rosc. Com. xvi. 48 *nulli consili*, perhaps N. D. ii. 26. 66 *altero fratri*. Corn. Nepos has, Eun. 1 *alterae alae*; Timol. 3 *totae insulae*; Caesar, B. G. v. 27 *alterae legionis*; vi. 13 *nullo consilio*; B. C. ii. 7 *nullo usui*. In the comic writers these forms are of course common.

18. *se subleuat*, sens. obscen. = ἐπαίρει ἑαυτὸν, Lysist. 937; ἐπαρίσταται. Hesych. σκίδαρος ἢ ἐπαρίστασις νυκτὸς ἀφροδισίων ἐνεκα. *ex sua parte*, hardly *lecti*, but 'for his part,' LXXXVII. 4, implying the προσκυνῆσθαι on the part of the wife. *alnus*. The marshy character of the country near the Po is favourable to the growth of alders (G. ii. 110, 451; Plin. xvi. 77, to which Key Latin Dict. s.v. adds Plin. xvi. 218, 219, Vitruv. ii. 9, 10), hence its connexion with the myth of the Heliades who were there

changed into alders, Ecl. vi. 63. The simile is taken from Il. iv. 482 sqq. ὁ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσεν, αἰγείρος ὥς, 'Ἡ ῥά τ' ἐν εἰαμένῃ ἔλεος μεγάλοιο πεφύκει Δεῖη, ἀτὰρ τί οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασι. Τὴν μὲν θ' ἄρματοπηγὸς ἄπορ αἰθῶσι σιδήρῳ Ἐξέταμ' ὄφρα ἵππιν κάμψῃ περικαλλεῖ δίφρῳ. 'Ἡ μὲν τ' ἀζομένη κίττα ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας.

19. *Liguri* with *securi*. The Ligurians, from the abundance of timber in their country, were skilful in felling trees; Strabo 202 ἔχουσι δ' ἄλλ' ἐνταῦθα πανπύλλην ναυπηγήσιμον καὶ μεγαλόδενδρον. Hence a Ligurian axe may be i. q. the axe of a sturdy wood-cutter. It is perhaps better to suppose that Catullus meant simply to express the country of the alder, and joined the epithet with the axe, in the same way as XXXI. 13 *Lydiae lacus undae* = *Lydi lacus undae*; Lucretius' *Alexandri Phrygiæ sub pectore gliscens* i. 474, where see Munro: and still closer Horace, C. i. 31. 9 *Premant Calena falce quibus dedit Fortuna uilem*; iii. 6. 38 *Proles Sabellis docta ligonibus Versare glebas*. Bährens, with some of the older commentators, joins *fossa Liguri*, explaining either of some place in Liguria where the ground was excavated to form a receptacle for felled timber, or of a canal by which timber was conveyed from a distance. This latter view, I think, is impossible. I do not know what truth there is in W. S. Lander's remark (For. Quarterly Review for 1842, p. 349), 'There are few countries in which there are fewer ditches, or fewer alders, than in Liguria: we who have travelled through the country in all directions, do not remember to have seen a single one of either:' and he suggests 'that the Ligurians may have exercised their ingenuity out of their own country, and the poorer of them may have been hewers of wood.' Cf. however Lucan ii. 426 *nullasque uado Macra moratus Alnos*, which seems to associate the alder with a Ligurian stream. *supernata*, 'ham-strung,' the reading of Festus is no doubt right: the word is obviously chosen in reference to the supineness of the husband. *Separata*, the wording of some MSS, is explained by Alex. Guarinus, 'diuisa a radicibus,' 'severed,' a meaning which, if found at all, is rare (cf. however Hyg. 165 *membratim separauit*), but which deference to his father Baptista led him to retain, in spite of his convictions in favour of *supernata*. Filial piety was perhaps a better motive than the personal hostility which could induce so excellent a scholar as Marullus to taunt Poliziano, by whom *supernata* was introduced from Festus, with a supposed false quantity: the spondee in the first foot of the Pherecratean is found in this very poem, 20 *quam si*; if Marullus believed the first syllable of *supernata* to be short, which is incredible, he ought to have known that Catullus allows an iambus here as well as a spondee and trochee. See fragm. III.

20. 'Just as alive to everything, as if she had no existence anywhere.' *nulla*, an emphasized *non*: often in Cic. See Reid on Acad. Pr. ii. 22, 47. 104. 106.

21. *Talis . . . nil uidet*, double predicate. 'Such a creature is this booby friend of mine, who sees and hears nothing.' *meus*, contemptuously. Phaedr. v. 7. 32 *homo meus*. *stupor*. Phaedr. i. 13. 12, Mart. xiv. 210. 1. Catullus has been imitated by the author of one of the *Catalepta* iii. 3. 4 *Tuone nunc puella talis et* (Haupt *ei*) *tuo Stupore pressa rus abibit*? Cf. *odium*, 'a bore'; *scelus*, 'a knave'; *pestis propudium* etc. Passerat's *merus stupor*, 'essence of dulness,' though not supported by MSS, is clever, cf. XIII. 9. The word, which is properly applied to

paralysis of the senses, *stuporis in corpore* Tusc. Disp. iii. 6. 12, *sensus stupore* Phil. ii. 45. 115, *oculos stupor urget* G. iii. 523, is doubtless chosen in reference to the dull *perceptions* of the man, *nil uidet, nihil audit*, with which cf. Antiphanes ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. p. 112, 196 Kock *κάθηται . . . ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἀκούων οὐθ' ὁρῶν*.

22. Asin. ii. 4. 59 *Sit, non sit, non edepol scio*; Capt. iii. 4. 28 *Quin suum ipse interdum ignorat nomen neque scit qui siet. id quoque nescit*. Lucr. iv. 469 *Denique nil sciri si quis putat, id quoque nescit An sciri possit, quoniam nil scire faletur*, Acad. Pr. ii. 39. 124 *Tenemusne quid sit animus, ubi sit, denique siue, an, ut Dicaearcho uisum est, ne sit quidem ullus*, where see Reid.

24. *Si pote*, 'in the hope that he may possibly wake up his lethargic fatuity.' The subject to *pote* is the man himself, as is shown by *derelinquere* and *mula*. With *excitare ueternum* as nearly = *excitare se a ueterno*, cf. *erumpere gaudium*, 'let joy have a vent,' Eun. iii. 5. 2; *concitare libidinem*, 'feel their passions roused,' Petron. S. 126; and so Lucr. vi. 645 *pauida complebant pectora cura*, 'they felt their breasts fill with care'; Tac. Ann. vi. 36 *sustulerant animum*, 'had felt their spirits rise.' Such expressions are common in Greek, so *αἰνῶ βίον* Soph. El. 819; *χάρα δὲ πύμπλημ' εὐθὺς δῖμμα δακρύων* 906.

25. *supinum*, an early instance of the derived meaning, 'listless,' 'sluggish.' Quintil. xi. 3. 3 *supini securique. graui*, 'clogging,' as in Tac. Ann. i. 63 *cetera limosa, tenacia graui caeno. derelinquere*, 'leave behind him.' Gargilius Martialis de Persicis x. (Mai Auct. Class. i. 401) *hodieque nonnulli iumentorum solias in itinere derelictas prae medio (pro remedio Mai) truncis ramisque suspendunt. caeno*. Lethargies (*ueterni*) were cured by strong smells or sprinkling with cold water, Cels. iii. 20. Hence, as Voss remarks, the propriety of the punishment which the lethargic husband is to undergo; he is to fall into the blackest and deepest part of the foul marsh-waters.

26. *soleam*, according to Rich s. u., not a piece of iron nailed on to the hoof, as usual now, but a sock of leather or some similar material (cf. the *solca sparte* used for cattle), the underneath part of which was strengthened by a plate of iron, or sometimes silver (Suet. Ner. 30) and even gold (Plin. xxxiii. 140). It is this iron plate which is here supposed to become detached from the rest of the sock and left in the mud.

#### EXCURSUS ON XVII. 6.

THE genuineness of the verse quoted as from the *Armorum Iudicium* of Pacuvius has been much discussed. It is found for the first time in the Commentary of Alexander Guarinus (1521 fol. 17<sup>b</sup>) *In quo uel salisubsuli sacra suscipiantur, cum uersus iste corrupte legeretur adeo ut doctorum ingenia torqueret. Pater meus ipsum corruptissimum et paene mortuum sic uilae restituit, cuius quidem sensus erit. Ita bonus et ualidus fiat pons iste tuus, ut in eo suscipi possint sacra Martis, quae saltando a salis celebrantur, ordo uero talis erit, in quo scilicet ponte uel id est etiam sacra salisubsuli id est Martis suscipiantur. Salisubsulus enim uti in antiquorum monumentis reperi Mars a ueteribus dictus est. Pacuuius in armorum iudicio, pro imperio salisubsulus si nostro excubet*.

Muretus in his edition of 1554 quotes the verse thus: *Pro imperio sic salisubsulus uostro excubet*. He does not say whence he took it; but



probably it came from Guarinus, and was altered by Muretus as he thought metre and sense demanded. Achilles Statius makes no mention of it, neither does Scaliger in his first edition of 1577; in that of 1600 it is cited as genuine, with the remark that it probably came from the end of a prologue like the Plautine (Asin. Prol. 15) *Et uos item alias, pariter nunc<sup>1</sup> Mars adiuvet.*

Delrio in his *Synlogma Tragoediae Latinae*, Antwerp 1593, does not include the verse in the fragments of Pacuvius, and makes no reference to it in his commentary on them.

Isaac Voss (1684) seems to have been the first editor of Catullus who pronounced the verse to be a forgery. He quotes it from Muretus with the remark, 'Mera haec est impostura, cum iste versiculus nusquam alibi exstet, nec Pacuuium sed Muretum habeat autorem:' and wonders that Scaliger had not detected the fraud.

The end of the fifteenth and most of the sixteenth century, as is known, was a time when classical forgeries were rife. Both Muretus and Statius are believed to have been guilty of this literary crime. Hence it is not surprising that, the verse having once been set down to Muretus, it was condemned as suspect.

Two critics in the present century, nearly at the same time, vindicated the genuineness of the verse, Orioli of Viterbo in his *Epistolae in C. Valerium Catullum* (Bononiae 1822), and Näge in a programme published in 1823. (Opusc. i. 107.)

Orioli shows that the imputation directed by Voss against Muretus, of forging the line, was based on a delusion, namely that Muretus was the first to quote it. That delusion was the natural result of the increasing rarity of Alex. Guarinus' edition; a rarity, no doubt, attributable to the licentiousness of the notes, especially in the reviving strictness of morals which marked the Catholic revival. Orioli argues for the genuineness of the verse (1) from Guarinus' words in *antiquorum monumentis reperi*, i.e. from some ancient source; (2) from the explanation which accompanies it, probably taken with the verse itself from some grammatical excerpts now unknown or lost.

Näge is equally pronounced in his defence. 'We shall believe it to be by Pacuvius till some one points out another origin.' Guarinus at any rate is beyond the suspicion of forging it; and it was accepted by Muretus, Scaliger, and Gerard Voss in his *Etymologicon*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *salire*.

I may add that the *form* in which Guarinus quotes it is in favor of its genuineness. It will not scan. Wherever it came from, he gives it exactly as he found it. And suppose it was a forgery of the latter fifteenth century, like those which Madvig Opusc. i. 1 believed himself to have detected in the fragment known as *L. Apuleius de Orthographia*, (cf. the Prolegomena to my edition of the *Ibis*), it would require more acquaintance with the iambic metre than was usual at that time, not perhaps to forge an iambic line, but so to forge it that a change in the position of two words was necessary to restore the metre.

A reconsideration of the point, therefore, obliges me to modify the

<sup>1</sup> *Nunc uos Mars*, Scaliger by mistake.

<sup>2</sup> 'Salimbeulus quasi salius subsiliens. Erat ludius in sacris Herculis saltans.' Gerard Voss therefore accepted the word, but not the interpretation which made it a name of Mars.

opinion expressed in the note, and maintained not only by Ribbeck, but most modern scholars.

#### EXCURSUS ON XVII. 15.

IN writing *haedo* not *aedo*, I follow Lachmann on Lucr. iii. 7, Ribbeck in his Vergil, and Corssen Aussprache, i. p. 204. It is true that Varro L. L. v. 97, M. writes *Ircus quod Sabini fircus: quod illic fedus in Latio rure edus; qui in urbe, ut in multis A addito, aedus*, where the Mediceus throughout omits the *h* (Lachm. on Lucr. iii. 7): and Quintilian i. 5. 20 states *parcissime ea (h) uelures usi etiam in uocalibus, cum aedus ircosque dicebant*. But, though Varro is stated to have written *ortus* for *hortus* (Charis. p. 82. 7 Keil), and may therefore have written not only *aedus* for *haedus*, but *ircus* for *hircus*, the amount of weight due to the statement in the de L. L. is materially diminished (a) by its seeming identity with that of Paulus D. 84 M. *foedum antiqui dicebant pro hoedo, solus pro olere, fostem pro hoste, fostiam pro hostia*, and of Velius Longus ap. Keil Gramm. Lat. vii. p. 69, p. 2230 P. *ut testis est Varro, a Sabinis fasena (harena) dicitur, et sicut S familiariter in R transit, ita F in uicinam adspirationem mulatur. Similiter ergo et haedos dicimus cum adspiratione, quoniam faedi dicebantur apud antiquos, item hircos, quoniam eosdem aequo fircos uocabant* (Wilmanns de M. Terenti Varronis libris Grammaticis, p. 183); (b) by the counter statement of Cassiodorus Cornutus, ap. Keil. Gramm. Lat. vii. p. 152, p. 2285 P. *Vult enim (Varro) auctoritate sua efficere ut H prius ponatur ea littera cui adspirationem conferat et tanto magis hoc temptat persuadere, quod uocalibus quoque dicit anteponi ut heres hircus*, that Varro wrote *hircus* with the aspirate (Wilmanns, p. 182). Coming to Quintilian's statement, it is certain that he would not have included Catullus and his contemporaries in the *uelures*; since he goes on to rank him with the later period when *erupit nimius usus, ut choronae chenturiones praechones adhuc quibusdam in inscriptionibus maneat, qua de re Catulli nobile epigramma est*. In Lucretius both *A* and *B* give the aspirate to *haedus*, and so preponderantly the MSS of Vergil (for the exceptions see Ribbeck Prolegomena, p. 422). Lastly, Corssen (i. pp. 102-4), by an examination of the Inscriptions of the Republic in CIL. I., shows that for one case of *Irtio* three of *Hirtius* occur, for one of *Oratius* five of *Horatius*, *Horatia*, for one of *Ostius* three of *Hostius*, *Hostilius*, for one of *eres* twenty-one of *heres*: a proportion which seems to prove that the omission of *h* became increasingly rare with the decline of the Republic. Catullus, it is true, protests against over-aspiration in his Epigram on Arrius (LXXXIV); but nothing proves that he could allow himself to speak or write a form, which seems to have been in his day provincial, like *ircus* or *aedus*; even if Varro, on grounds no doubt of his own, did so.

#### XXI.

ON the same subject as XV, to which it is the sequel. Aurelius seems to have disregarded the poet's warnings and roused suspicion by his familiarities with Iuuentius. He is again threatened half jocosely (cf. XV. 17-19), and at the same time is taunted with poverty, in which he is sarcastically described as giving lessons to his *protégé*.

Martial has epigrams on the same subject, i. 92, xi. 94, both obviously suggested by this poem.

1. **pater esuritionum** has been explained as a sort of *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* for *cenae pater*, which in Horace S. ii. 8. 7 is interpreted by Acron *συμποσί-αρχης*, and seems to be a comic expression for the host, 'master of the banquet—of starvation.' It seems better to follow Vulp. in considering *pater esuritionum* to be a comic expression of the same kind as Plaut. Stich. i. 3. 1 sqq. *Famem ego fuisse suspicor matrem mihi: Nam postquam natus sum, satur nunquam fui*, where the parasite Gelasimus describes himself as the son of *Famine*, who bore him in her womb ten months, and with whom he in turn was in labour ten years, her child and mother alternately. That this passage was actually in Catullus' mind seems probable from Gelasimus proceeding to dwell upon his *poverty*, and the lessons which it taught him in order to procure a dinner, i. 3. 20 sqq., cf. 10, 11 of this poem, *esurire Mellitus puer et sitire discet*. But though the outline of the expression seems derived from Plautus, Catullus has altered it by substituting the plural *esuritionum* for the single *Famis*; Aurelius is the father not of *Famine*, but of *Starvations*, or rather of famished starvelings: for that *esuritionum* is used for the concrete *esuritorum* seems to follow from a comparison of XXIV. 1-3, XLIX. 1-3: cf. λιμοί Poseidippus ap. Mein. Fragm. Com. Graec. iv. p. 521 Κυμνο-πρίστας πάντας ἢ λιμούς καλῶν. Ben Jonson imitates Catullus: Alchemist, i. 1 *Like the father of hunger you did walk Piteously costive*.

2, 3 recur XXIV. 2, 3 of Iuvenius, XLIX. 2. 3 of Cicero.

2. **harum**, 'those of our own day.' De Off. iii. 16, 66; Varro R. R. i. 13. 6 *Si potius ad antiquorum diligentiam quam ad horum luxuriam derigas aedificationem.* quot . . . fuerunt . . . sunt . . . erunt. Plautine. Amphitr. ii. 1. 3 *Quia id quod neque est neque fuit neque futurumst Mihi praedicat.* Bacch. v. 1. 1, sqq. *Quicumque ubique sunt qui fuerunt quique futuri sunt posthac Stulti stolidi fatui fungi bardi blenni buccones.* Pers. v. 2. 1 *Qui sunt qui erunt quique fuerunt quique futuri sunt posthac.* Cic. Fam. xi. 21. 1 *homini nequissimo omnium qui sunt qui fuerunt qui futuri sunt.* Cum Populo Grat. egit vii. 16 *Cn. Pompeius uir omnium qui sunt fuerunt erunt uirtute sapientia gloria princeps.* Lucr. v. 1135 *Nec magis id nunc est neque erit mox quam fuit ante.* It is found in Greek also, Xenoph. Symp. ii. 10, of Xanthippe, γυναῖκι τῶν οὐσῶν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γεγεννημένων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων χαλεπωτάτη, quoted by the younger Dousa. Plat. Tim. 38 A οἷδι γαρίσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲ γεγονέναι νῦν οὐδ' εἰσαύθις ἔσσεσθαι; 38 C γεγονώς τε καὶ ὄν καὶ ἐσόμενος, and in the Comic writers, Menand. Inc. xii. Mein. φθίσως φθισικὸν πεποίηκε καὶ ποιήσει καὶ ποιεῖ. Philem. Inc. ii. Mein. ὄν οὐδὲ εἰς λελθὲν οὐδὲ ἐν ποιῶν, Οὐδ' ἂν ποιήσω, οὐδὲ πεποίηκώς πάλας, and Tragedy Eur. Troad. 467 πάσχω τε καὶ πέπονθα καὶ τι πέισομαι. It has some resemblance to the legal forms *quicumque est, erit* Frontin. de Aquaed. 129.

5. **simul es**, 'you are in his company,' L. 13. οὐδαμοῦ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, of a lover, Xenoph. Symp. iv. 24.

6. **Haeres**, the conj. of Voss for the reading of all good MSS **Haerens** is very probable, as **omnia** seems to gather up the three former expressions, cf. XIV. 19; and the asyndeton would be in character. Eun. ii. 3. 82 *Cibum una capias adsis tangas ludas propter dormias.* **ad iatus.** De Amic. i. 1 *a senis latere nunquam discederem.* Mart. v. 61. 1, 2

*Crispulus iste quis est, uxori semper adhaeret Qui Mariane tuae?* iii. 91. 3 *Huic comes haerebat.* Plin. H. N. x. 51. Xen. Symp. iv. 27 τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸν ὄμω γυμνὸν πρὸς γυμνῷ τῷ Κριτοβούλου ὤμῳ ἔχοντα. **omnia experiris**, 'leave nothing untried.' Andr. ii. 1. 11 **omnia experiri certumst prius quam pereō.** Att. i. 3. 3 *Quod ad me saepe scripsisti de nostro amico placando, feci et expertus sum omnia*, a passage quoted by Stat.

7. **Frustra.** Hor. C. iii. 7. 21, 13. 6; Mart. x. 35. 19. Cf. Lucretius' *Nequiquam. insidias mihi instruētem.* See on XV. 16. Ribbeck's *struētem* is the more ordinary, but for that reason less probable, expression. See on XIV. 22.

8. **Tangam** is generally explained sens. obscen. Hor. S. i. 2. 54. It seems at least as natural to take it like *ferire* in the sense of 'outwitting.' Nonius, 408, quotes amongst other instances a line from the Aleones of Pomponius, *at ego rusticalim tangam, urbanatim nescio.* Cf. Plaut. Pseud. i. 1. 120 *Si neminem alium polero, tuum tangam patrem. prior.* 'I will anticipate and outwit you by a trick as dirty as your own.' The masc. brings into prominence the counter-plotting of the two rivals, Aurelius and Catullus (see LXVII. 20).

9. **satur**, Mart. i. 92. 14. Catullus dwells similarly on the poverty of Furius as an aggravation of the same offence in XXIV.

10. **Nunc**, 'as it is,' LXXXIII. 3, 4. Petron. 98 *merito excañdesceres, si posses perditum ostendere. nunc inter turbam puer fugit nec quo abierit suspicari possum* Mart. ix. 54. 7. **ipsum id**, the mere fact that you will be teaching Iuventius how to starve, irrespective of any love proposals.

11. **discet**, from this *magister esuriendi*, not *cenandi*. Fam. ix. 16. 7. (Vulp.) Menander described the Stoics as giving lessons in the philosophy of hunger, πεινῇ διδάσκει καὶ μαθητὰς λαμβάνει. Mein. Com. Fragm. v. p. 29.

12. **Quare desine.** So Horace in a similar conclusion, S. i. 2. 77 *quare, ne paenileat te, Desine matronas sectarier.* Mart. i. 41. 14.

13. **Ne finem facias, sed irrumatus** = *ne ita finem facias ut te prius irrumem*, a use of *sed* more common in later Latin. Mart. i. 107. 3 *Otia da nobis, sed qualia fecerat olim Maecenas Flacco Vergilioque suo*; xii. 36. 8 *Pisones Senecasque Memmiosque Et Crispos mihi redde, sed priores*; viii. 49. 1 *Formosam sane, sed caecus diligit Asper*; ii. 48. 3 *paucos, sed ut eligam, libellos*; Stat. S. ii. 6. 8, 11 *famulum—Sed famulum gemis, Vrse, pium.* The punishment here threatened, like that with which Aurelius is before (XV. 18) menaced for the same offence, would remind a Roman of the penalties of adultery, one of which was the right of violating the *pudicitia* of the offender. Val. Max. vi. 1. 13.

## XXII.

Of the Suffenus here ridiculed nothing is known. In XIV. 19 he is classed with Caesius and Aquinus as one of the bad poets of the day. It seems possible that, as in the case of Aquinus, the real name is slightly altered. A M. Nonius Sufenas was tribunus plebis in 57–56 B.C., and seems to have been brought to trial with two of his colleagues, C. Cato and Procius (Att. iv. 15) in 54; but there is nothing to identify him with Catullus' poetaster.

Hand reads *Fuffenus*, and though the MSS both in XIV and XXII agree in reading *Suffenus*, they cannot be considered to decide the question. There is the same doubt about *Sufficius*, *Fufficius*, LIV. 5: and between *Fuffanus*, *Furfanus*, or *Sufanus*, Att. vii. 15. 2.

The Varus of 1 is probably the person introduced in X.

1. **probe nosti**, so *probe scire* Fam. ii. 12. 2; *probe commeminisse* de Orat. i. 53. 227; *probe intellegere* Ter. Eun. iv. 6. 30. Plautus has *adprobe nosse* Trin. iv. 2. 115. It may be translated 'perfectly' or 'perfectly well.' See Ramsay, *Mostellaria*, p. 231.

2. **uenustus et dicax et urbanus**, 'a man of taste and wit and breeding.' Mr. Clayton, who quotes, as before him Alex. Guarinus, Quintil. vi. 3. 17 *nam et urbanitas dicitur, qua quidem significari uideo sermonem praeferentem in uerbis et sono et usu proprium quandam gustum urbis et sumptum ex conuersatione doctorum tacitam eruditionem, denique cui contraria sit rusticitas. uenustum esse quod cum gratia quadam et uenere dicatur, apparet. . . . Dicacitas sine dubio a dicendo, quod est omni generi commune, ducta est, proprie tamen significat sermonem cum risu aliquos incessentem.* Sen. de Const. Sapientis xvii *scurram fuisse et uenustum ac dicacem memoriae proditum est.*

3. **longe plurimos**, 'an unparalleled number.'

4. **milìa aut decem aut plura**, 'ten thousand if not more.' **decem**, for an indefinitely large number, as in Hor. Epist. i. 18. 25 *Saepe decem uitis instructor: so decies centena* S. i. 3. 15.

5. **Perascripta**, 'written out.' Tac. Ann. i. 11 *Quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat Augustus*, of the *Breviarium totius imperii* drawn up by Augustus. *ut fit*, 'as is usual.' Birt, *das Antike Buchwesen*, p. 58. And. i. 1. 53; Hec. i. 2. 83. **in palimpsesto**, abl. after *relata*; as Cicero, quoted by Hand, seems to use both *in codice* and *in codicem* (*codices*) *referre* Rosc. Com. i-iii, where the accus. occurs five times, the abl. once, § 5 *non habere se hoc nomen in codice accepti et expensi relatum confitetur.* Similarly de N. D. i. 12. 29 *in deorum numero referre*, but i. 13. 34 *refert in deos.* Jos. Mayor on this passage states that the abl. is the most common construction after *reponere*, e.g. *sidera in deorum numero reponit* Plin. i. 54, iii. 21. 51, cf. Charis. 117 Keil, Priscian vi. 14. 74, both of whom give *numero* in the last cited passage. *Palimpsestus*, *παλινψηστός*, was parchment from which the previous writing had been erased to be used again for the same purpose. Fam. vii. 18. 2 *nam quod in palimpsesto, laudo equidem parsimoniam, sed miror quid in illa cartula fuerit quod delere malueris quam haec scribere, nisi forte tuas formulas. Non enim puto te meas epistulas delere ut reponas tuas*, a passage which suggests that at the time Cicero and Catullus were writing, *in palimpsesto* was a recognized locution of the trade, which might make its use after *Relata* more justifiable. Marcius conj. *palimpseston*.

6. **regiae**. Heron Autom. 269, quoted by Voss, *δεῖ χάριτην λαβόντα λεπτότατον τῶν βασιλικῶν λεγομένων*. Pliny, H. N. xiii. 74 *hieratica appellabatur antiquitus religiosis tantum uoluminibus dicata, quae adulatione Augusti nomen accepit, sicut secunda Liuiæ a coniuge eius*, shows that the best kind was in his time called *Augusta*, a name which perhaps supplanted the earlier *regia* (cf. *laurus regia*, later *Augusta*, Plin. xv. 129), which

Birt plausibly suggests may have come in the first instance from the Ptolemies (p. 248). So Suetonius, Reliqq. p. 131 Reifferscheid (*Cartarum*) *prima et praecipua Augustea regia maioris formae in honorem Octavianii Augusti appellata*. Thus the *hieratica* and *regia* would be identical, as Rich supposes (cf. Birt l. c.), although both Pliny and Suetonius agree that the *hieratica* descended to the third rank. *noei libri*, from its parallelism with *Novi umbilici*, might be one part of the book, as *umbilici* is another. If so, *liber* may be, as Stat. and Voss think, the outer parchment wrapper in which the papyrus-roll was enclosed for ornament and protection. But this seems to be *membrana* in 7; nor is any instance of *liber* in this sense quoted. It seems better to explain it of the separate volumes or rolls of papyrus, each of which was made up of leaves or as we should say sheets, new and unused before. Sueton. Reliqq. Reifferscheid p. 134 *codex multorum librorum est, liber unius uoluminis, uolumen liber est, a uoluendo dictus*. (So Birt and Munro.)

7. *umbilici*, according to Rich, the ends of the cylinder or stick round which the volume was rolled, probably from their resemblance, when forming the centre of the sheets thus rolled round this stick, to a navel. But from Stat. S. iv. 9. 8 *binis decoratus umbilicis*; Mart. i. 66. 11 *umbilicis cultus atque membrana*; iii. 2. 9 *pictis luxurieris umbilicis*, it seems certain that they were more conspicuous than the flat circular pieces figured in Rich could be. Tibullus iii. 1. 13 and Ovid, Trist. i. 1. 8, speak of painted *cornua* at each end of the roll (*frons*); these seem to have been horn-like projections; the *umbilici* may have been either identical with these or more in the shape of a tapering boss. *lora*, 'straps' or 'strings' for tying up the roll or its parchment case; less probably for attaching the *σῖλλυβοι*, or small strips of parchment containing the title of the work. Att. iv. 4. Rich gives an illustration of such strings and the label attached to them, s. u. Index. Catullus can hardly mean that Sufenus used red straps for tying up the rolls in bundles, though Birt shows, p. 33, that this was sometimes done. *membrana*, the parchment wrapper or envelope of the roll, ruled with lines, perhaps to give it a finer appearance. All MSS however give *membran(a)e*, which Munro retains as nominative, continuing to it the force of *rubra*, and beginning a new sentence with *Derecta plumbo*. Most edd. since Benoist follow Munro in keeping *membranae*; it was usual to dye the parchment-case in which the roll was wrapt with purple, saffron, or some other gay colour (Tib. iii. 1. 9 *Lutea sed niueum inuoluat membrana libellum*, Mart. i. 66. 20, iii. 2. 10, Trist. i. 1. 5 sqq. with S. G. Owen's Appendix, and particularly the passage of Lucian de Mercede Conductis 41 *ὅμοιοι εἰσι τοῖς καλλίστοις τοῖτοις βιβλίοις ὃν χρυσοὶ μὲν οἱ ἀμφαλοί, πορφύρεά δ' ἐκποσθεν ἡ διφθέρα*), and even if the harshness first felt by Benoist of extending *rubra* to *membranae* (nominative) seems insurmountable in so careful a writer as Catullus, this difficulty may be removed by taking *membranae* as genitive, 'red the strings of the parchment-case' (so seemingly Bährens). But a difficulty still remains in finding the subject to *Derecta*: for (1) Munro's view is against the order, and scarcely defended by LXVI. 65, Lucr. v. 789. (2) The explanation of A. Palmer that the sentence returns to 4, and that the subject to *Derecta* is *milia aut decem aut plura*, is unparalleled in Catullus, and is nearly as awkward as Munro's. (3) If with Benoist and B. Schmidt *omnia* is referred backwards to *Derecta*, the sentence is dislocated in a way quite alien to the simple

directness of our poet. Yet, as compared with (1) or (2), I prefer this, as at least retaining *membranae*, and as terminating the description where it obviously was meant to terminate, at *aequata*. Then *omnia* will be 'the whole' in a general sense: 'on ouvre le livre, et on y trouve tout bien réglé et bien poli à la pierre ponce,' Benoist. After all, Avancius' conj. *membrana* still seems to me more than probable: the objection that we do not know of such wrappers being ruled, is of no great weight in the absence of detailed information on many points of the 'antike Buchwesen.' It is indeed not quite impossible that *membrana* may here = *membranula*, the affixed strip of parchment on which the name of the author and his work was written (*στίλλυβος titulus index*, see Birt, p. 66). It would be natural to inclose such titles within ruled lines.

8. *Directa plumbo*, 'ruled with lead.' Lines were drawn in ancient MSS with a small circular plate of lead *κυκλοτερὴς μόλιβος* (Anth. P. vi. 62. 1), *γυρὸς μόλιβος* (Anth. P. vi. 64. 1), *τροχόεις μόλιβδος* (Anth. P. vi. 65. 1, 68. 2), *τροχαλὸς μόλιβδος* (Anth. P. vi. 66. 3), sometimes *κυκλομόλιβδος* (Anth. P. vi. 63. 1). To keep the lines straight they used a ruler or *κανών*, which is mentioned in all the above-quoted epigrams as a regular accompaniment of the pencil, *κανὼν γραμμῆς ἰθυπόρου ταμῖν* (Anth. P. vi. 64. 4), *ἡγμένη γραμμῆς ἀπλασίου κανὼν* (65. 4), *κανὼν τροχαλοῖο κυβερνητήρα μολίσδου* (66. 3), *μολίσδου κανὼν συνδρομον ἡγοχῆα* (67. 2). Thus *Directa plumbo* is a condensed expression for *plumbo notata lineis ductis ad regulam*. *pumice*. There is no reason to suppose that the use of pumice was restricted to smoothing the inequalities of the two ends or *frontes* of the roll, though it is most often mentioned in this connexion, Tib. iii. 1. 10 *Pumicet et canas indeat ante comas*; Trist. i. 1. 11 *Nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes Hirsutus passis ut uideare comis*, and so perhaps Mart. viii. 72. 1 *Nondum murice cultus aridoque Morsu pumicis aridi politus*. The general language of the poets speaks of it as a regular accompaniment of the ruler, pencil, ink-pots, pens, pen-knife, and other implements of the scribe. Anth. P. vi. 62. 3 *καὶ κανονὶδ' ὑπάτην καὶ τὴν παρὰ θίνα κίστην*; vi. 295. 5, 6 *Κάρωνά τε σπειροῦχα λεάντειράν τε κίστην Καὶ τὰν ἀδυφαῆ πλινθίδα καλλιάναν*: and we may safely infer that it was used wherever its absorbent (Alexis fr. 124. 9, 10 Kock), no less than its levigating, qualities were in requisition. Thus Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 154, speaks generally of its smoothing properties; and Propertius compares the fine polish of his verses to the smooth look of a pumice-polished page, iii. 1. 8 *Exactus tenui pumice versus eat*. Benoist well remarks that the order of the description in 6-8 is from outer to inner, from the external rollers, strings, wrapper, to the internal look of the papyrus pages, with their neatly-ruled lines and pumice-smoothed surface: another reason for retaining the MS reading *membranae*. *omnia*. 'Il n'est pas nécessaire, comme le pense Munro, que *omnia* représente tout ce qui précède. *Omnia* représente tout ce qu'on voit dans l'intérieur du livre quand une fois on l'a ouvert,' Benoist.

9. *cum legas tu*, 'each time one reads;' for this use of *cum* with pres. subj. to signify a repeated action, see Munro on Lucr. ii. 41, where a number of instances are given.

10. *unus caprimulgus*, 'an absolute bumpkin.' Att. ix. 10. 2 *me una haec res torquet, quod non omnibus in rebus labentem uel potius ruentem cum tamquam unus manipularis secutus sim*; de Orat. i. 29. 138

*minime est facile praecipere, non mihi modo qui sicut unus paterfamilias his de rebus loquor, sed etiam ipsi illi Roscio*, where see A. S. Wilkins. In these cases *unus* is nearly i. q. *quiuvis* or *quilibet unus*, any specimen you like to single out; an emphasized *any*; the laudatory or disparaging notion is determined by the general meaning of the sentence; 'any mere,' 'any average,' 'any absolute.' *fossor*, 'a clown.' Pers. v. 122 *nec cum sis cetera fossor Tres tantum ad numeros satyrum mouere Bathylli*. Lucian Vitar. Auct. 7 τί δ' ἂν τις αὐτῷ χρήσαιο ῥυπῶντι καὶ οὕτω κακοδαίμονως διακειμένῳ; πλὴν εἰ μὴ σκαπανία γε καὶ ὕδροφόρον αὐτὸν ἀποδεικτέον. Strab. 157 οἱ δ' οὕτως ἀγροίκως ἐδέξαντο τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοιαύτην ὥστε οὐ μόνον τὸν ποιητὴν σκαπανίως ἢ θεριστοῦ δίκην ἐκ πάσης τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης ἐξέβαλον. Cf. Alciphron's αὐτοσκαπανεῖς, iii. 70. 2.

11. *Bursus*, as in LXV. 5 *Quamque ferunt rursus uolo seruisse maligno*, changed and lent itself to a bad vow. *tantum abhorret ac mutat*, 'so unlike himself, so altered is he.' *abhorret* is inconsistent or inconsonant, sc. with himself, as is clear from the accompanying words *ac mutat*. This use is found several times in Livy, xxxviii. 56 *orationes P. Scipionis et Ti. Gracchi abhorrent inter se*, 'are inconsistent with each other'; xl. 57 *nec enim aut lingua aut moribus aequales abhorreere*, 'they had nothing incongruous.' Cf. the Greek equivalents by which *abhorreere* is explained in Glossaries, διαφωνεῖν ἀπ'ἀδων ἀπ'ἀδὸν εἶναι (Ploen in Archiv für Latein. Lexicographie, iv. p. 277). The meaning can hardly be as in de Orat. ii. 20. 85 *sin plane abhorrebit et erit absurdus*, 'unapt' or 'unfit' (Munro). [If any change is needed, which I do not believe, *aberrat*, 'is untrue to himself,' is suitable in sense, and the two words are often confounded in MSS. Sen. Excerpt. Controuers. iii. p. 361 *Bursian Pylades in comoedia, Bathyllus in tragoedia multum a se aberrant*: Anth. Lat. 296. 3 *Riese aborret* for *aberret*, Petron. 68 *errantis barbariae*, read *horrentis*, Ovid Metam. ii. 39 *errorem al. horrorem*, the Brit. Mus. fragm. of eleventh cent. Harl. 2610<sup>1</sup>.] *mutat*, intransitive, so not only in Plautus, Rud. iii. 6. 27; *demulare* Mil. Glor. iv. 3. 37; Ps. i. 5. 142, 153; Stich. v. 4. 43 (see Lorenz on Mil. Glor. iv. 3. 37), and the older writers, but Varro, L. L. v. 101 *G in C mutauit*; idem ap. Gell. xviii. 12. 8 *in priore uerbo graues prosodiae quae fuerunt, manent; reliquae mutant*; R. R. ii. 2. 12, Lucr. i. 787; Liu. ix. 12 *adeo animi mutauerant*, xxxix. 51. So *augere, sedare*, both quoted by Gellius xviii. 12; *minuere* Caesar B. G. iii. 12.

12. *scurra*, 'a professed wit,' nearly = *urbanus*, as in Phaedr. v. 5. 8 *scurra notus urbano sale*, where it is opposed to *rusticus*. Hor. Epist. i. 15. 29 *urbanus coepit haberi, Scurra uagus, non qui certum praesepe teneret*. Ritter there cites Trin. i. 2. 165 *Urbani adsidui ciues quos scurras uocant*; and Quintil. vi. 3. 105 *Urbanus homo erit—qui in sermonibus circulis conuiujs item in contionibus omni denique loco ridicule commodeque dicet*. Seneca de Const. Sap. 17 *scurram et uenustum ac dicacem*.

13. *Aut siquid hac re tritius*, cf. XXIII. 13, Mart. xiv. 83. 2 *Pulice uel siquid pulice sordidius*. *tritius*, scarcely 'finer,' 'more polished' (Heyse), in which sense Forc. quotes no instance of this word, though such a meaning is not in itself impossible, and might be illustrated by

<sup>1</sup> Published in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Classical Series, i. part 5 (Clarendon Press 1885). It contains I, II, III. 1-622.



γλαφυρός, which is specially applied to men of nice or refined wit, γλαφυρός ὡς τρεῖς τε Machon ap. Athen. 579, προσπαῖσαι τε γλαφυρός καὶ λαλῆσαι στωϊκοί Alciph. iii. 65. 3. If *tritus* (MSS *tristius*) is what Catullus wrote, it would seem to mean practised, or skilful, as in *tritae aures* Fam. ix. 16. 4, the trained ears of a Plautine critic, and *cum cotidie faciendo tritiores manus ad aedificandum perfectissent* Vitruv. ii. 1. 6, hands more apt or dexterous for building; *hac re*, to which Traube, Var. Libamenta Critica, pp. 5, 6, objects as unusual (yet Sen. Epist. 47. 13 *uiue cum seruo clementer. ... hoc loco adclamabit mihi tota manus delicalorum. Nihil hac re humilior, nihil turpius* is very similar), might then be changed to *aure*<sup>1</sup>, 'more practised of ear' for distinguishing the true tone of genuine wit. This would exactly represent ὁ τετριμμένος τὰ ὅρα of Longinus de Arte Rhetorica, p. 137, Bake<sup>2</sup>. [Against *tersius* or *tertius* (Munro, Bährens), a comparative found in Quintilian x. 1. 99, is the palaeographical fact that it is unlikely to have been corrupted into *tristius* (so Riese); L. Müller's *scitius* is too vague, *strictius* (my own conj.) perhaps too peculiar. In some forms of writing *culius* might be mistaken for *tristius*.]

14. *infaceto infacetiior*, 'outdulls the dulness of the country,' XXXVI. 19. 20. *Infacetus*, 'without humour'; *inficetus* generally means 'foolish,' 'absurd.' Holden on de Off. iii. 14. 58. *rure*, Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 160.

15. *idem*, 'for all that,' 'yet all the time.' CIII. 4.

16. *beatus*. Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 106 *Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina; uerum Gaudent scribentes et se uenerantur et ultro Si laceas laudant quicquid scripsere beati*.

17. *gaudet in eo*, Prop. ii. 4. 18. This abl. with *in* is frequently used of the object or person in whom a feeling whether of fondness or aversion is centred. Cf. *uri ardere deperire aestuare in aliqua*, and such adjectival expressions as *lenis saeuus in hosle* (Ovid Trist. v. 2. 36, Am. i. 7. 34), *in Melie pallidus* Am. iii. 6. 25, etc. Dräger, Historische Syntax, i. pp. 606, 7. Translate 'wrapt in self-conceit.'

18-21. Eurip. fr. 1029, Nauck, Ἀπαντῆς ἐσμεν εἰς τὸ νοουθετεῖν σοφοί, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀμαρτάνοντες οὐ γινώσκουмен. Sosicrates Com. ap. Mein. 4, p. 592, quoted by Nauck, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐσμεν ἐφ' ἑτέρων ἰδεῖν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὅταν ποιῶμεν οὐ γινώσκουмен. Menand. Inc. lxxxv. Mein. Οὐδεὶς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κακὰ συνορᾷ, Πάμφιλε, Σαφῶς, ἑτέρου δ' ἀσχημονοῦντος ὄψεται. Longinus de Subl. 4 said of the historian Timaeus, ἀλλοτρίων μὲν ἐλεγκτικώτατος ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀνεπαίσθητος δὲ ἰδίων.

18. *idem fallimur* = *eundem errorem erramus*, like *idem peccare* Hor. A. P. 354. *neque est quisquam*. Sen. de Clem. 1 *Ex clementia omnes idem sperant, nec est quisquam cui tam ualde innocentia sua placeat ut non stare in conspectu clementiam paratam humanis erroribus gaudeat*.

19. *in aliqua*, a tribrach in the second foot, as Martial has the same word in the fourth foot of a scazon vii. 26. 3 *Hoc quaecunque, cuius aliqua pars ipse est*. Cf. the dactyls in XXXVII. 5 *Confutuer*; XLIV. 20 *Non mihi*; LIX. 3 *Vidistis ipso rapere*, all in scazons. But Catullus has no line so harsh as Martial's *Illic et oculis et animis sumus, Caesar vii*.

<sup>1</sup> O gives *ac retristius*.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Cobet in Mélanges Graux. p. 4 τῆς δ' εὐρυθμίας τὸ γινώσκμα δῆλον τῷ συναρμάρῳ τὸ τῶν εὐρύθμων καὶ ἀποτετορνευμένων καὶ στρογγύλων ἀποδέχεσθαι λόγων καὶ τετριμμένων τὰ ὅρα πρὸς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν τε σεμνῶν καὶ ἀρχαίων λόγων ὡς ἡλικία τοῦ εὐρετάς καὶ πρῶτον φήναντας τὰ παραδείγματα τῆς καλλιλογίας.

7. 7, in which two trisyllabic feet follow each other. **Suffenum**, a Suffenus, as Q. Fratr. i. 2. 15 *Cato adulescens nullius consilii, sed tamen cuius Romanus et Cato*, 'and a Cato;' viii. 56. 6 *Vergiliumque tibi uel tua rura dabunt*; ib. 24 *Vergilius non ero, Marsus ero*. Vell. Paterc. ii. 18 *odio in Romanos Hannibal*.

21. **manticae quod in tergo est**, 'that part of the wallet behind us,' which contains our own vices, as the part in front contains our neighbours'. The *mantica* was a double wallet consisting of two bags joined together and slung over the shoulder, so that one bag hung in front, the other behind. Rich. s. u. This twofold wallet is distinctly implied in the application which Plutarch has made of Aesop's fable, Crass. xxxii *τοῖς μέντοι Σελευκεύσιν ἐδόκει σοφὸς ἀνὴρ Αἰσωπὸς εἶναι, τὴν Σουρήναν ὁρῶσι τὴν τῶν Μιλησιακῶν ἀκολαστημάτων πύραν ἐξηρητημένην πρόσθεν, ὅπισθεν δὲ Παρθικὴν Σύβαριν ἐφελκόμενον*. The fable is given at length in Babrius 66 Rutherford and Phaedrus iv. 10, who both call the wallets *perae* (πήραι). Cf. Hor. S. ii. 3. 299 *Respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo*; in Pers. iv. 24 *Sed praecedenti spectatur mantica tergo*, by a slight variation, each man is represented as carrying one wallet on his back, which is perceptible to his neighbour, not to himself (Conington). Cf. Sen. de Ira ii. 28 *aliena uitia in oculis habemus, a tergo nostra sunt* (Vulp.).

### XXIII.

THIS and XXIV are both directed against Furius, doubtless the friend of Aurelius, with whom he is associated in XI and XVI. Like his friend, Furius seems to have offended the poet by associating too freely with the young Iuuentius (XXIV), and it was this probably which occasioned the present attack. The attack is unusually fierce, even from Catullus, and we may doubt whether the object of its unsparing sarcasm ever forgave the injury. Hence it was either written after XI, which would place the date in 54 B.C., or if, as Schwabe thinks, XI was written subsequently, XXIII was not allowed to reach the knowledge of Furius. Even to one familiar with Catullus' habit of assaulting his most intimate friends most violently, and who had himself experienced something of this scurrility in XVI, the personalities of XXIII must have seemed to go beyond the licence naturally conceded to poets; they could not be treated as merely jocose. The case of Cæsar is different; for Cæsar was a public character, and Catullus only repeats in XXIX, LVII the common scandals of the day. Although therefore the alternation of love and hate, the *odi et amo* of LXXXV is a fact in the character of Catullus, and a fact which makes it certain that the Furius of XI is the Furius of XXIII, XXIV, it is difficult to believe that the fierce abuse of XXIII can have been so completely forgotten by Catullus or ignored by Furius as to make the friendly tone of XI a *subsequent* possibility. If this is a right inference, XXIII, XXIV must be among the latest poems of Catullus. Bährens, in agreement with this view of the poem, well describes it as one 'quod ab acerbitate ex contemptu odioque mixta pauca habet similia non solum apud nostrum, sed in tota Græcorum Romanorumque poesi.' On the other hand Munro 'regards it in a much more innocuous light: I can

fancy Furius taking it philosophically enough and being more than consoled by a dinner or a sum of money much smaller than he asks for at the end of our poem.' Similarly Riese finds in it coarseness not malignity; it is a piece of pure comic humour, in reply to Furius' request for a loan of 100,000 sesterces. 'You profess, Furius, to be poor: but in truth your circumstances remove you from all the dangers of wealth: you have nothing to lose and your health cannot suffer; why then ask for money?'

The language shows traces of the Greek comic poets. Victorius pointed this out on 16, which recalls a passage of Antiphanes, Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. p. 133, describing a life of cheapness, vegetable diet, and the good health produced by such a regimen:

Τὸ δειπνόν ἐστι μᾶζα κεχαρακωμένη  
ἀχύροις, πρὸς εὐτέλειαν ἐξωπλισμένη,  
καὶ βολβός εἰς τις καὶ παροψίδες τινές,  
σῶγχος τις ἢ μύκης τις ἢ τοιαῦθ' ἃ δὴ  
δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ὁ τόπος ἀθλί' ἀθλίοις.  
τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος, ἀπύρετος, φλέγμ' οὐκ ἔχων.

Martial imitates this poem xi. 32:

*Nec toga nec focus est nec tritus cimice lectus  
Nec tibi de bibula sarta palude leges,  
Nec puer aut senior, nulla est ancilla neque infans,  
Nec sera nec clavis nec canis atque calix.  
Tu lamen affectas, Nestor, dici atque uideri  
Pauper, et in populo quaeris habere locum.  
Mentiris uanoque tibi blandiris honore,  
Non est paupertas, Nestor, habere nihil.*

Cf. XI. 56.

For an equally humorous, but quite different, enumeration of the advantages of poverty as compared with wealth, see Xenophon Symp. iv.

**1. Furei.** This is the only instance of the old termination *-ei* in a vocative singular which our MSS present; they give also the vocative plural *bonei coniuges* LXI. (225), the genitives *Romulei* XXVIII. 15, *Africe* LXI (199), *Dindyme* LXIII. 91, *Itylei* LXV. 14; the datives *Herculei* LV. 13 (Lachmann on Lucr. iv. 602). *seruos*. To have no slaves was a mark of extreme poverty, as conversely to have many was a sign of wealth. Menand. ap. Mein. Fragm. Com. iv. 234 εὖξαι τι βούλει, πάντα σοι γενήσεται ἄγρος οἰκία θεραπείας ἀργυρώματα, Lucilius vi. 22 L. Müller *Cui neque iumentumst nec seruos nec comes ullus*. Iuuen. iii. 141 *quot pascit seruos? quot possidet agri Iugera? quam multa magnaue paropside cenat?* Sen. de Constantia 3 *Cum pauperem negastis esse sapientem, non negatis solere illi et seruum et lectum et cibum deesse. arca*, 'money-chest.' Titinius ap. Fest. p. 302 (178 Ribbeck) *Quid habes nisi unam arcam sine clauis? eo condis sucerdas*; Cic. Paradox. vi. 44 *animas hominis diues, non arca appellari solet*; Iuuen. i. 99 *posita sed luditur arca*. See Mayor on Iuuen. i. 89.

**2. cimex**, no mattress to house bugs. Aristoph. Plut. 540 ἀντὶ δὲ αἰλῆς στιβάδα σχοίων κρέων μιστήν. Mart. xi. 32. 1, 56. 5. **aranea**. Lucr. iii. 383: no house with walls for spiders to hang cobwebs upon. In Aristophanes' Plutus 537-539 lice, gnats, and fleas, which will not

let the poor man sleep, are described as part of the possessions he gets from *Πενία*. Possibly Catullus may simply be carrying this idea a step farther: Furius was so poor that he had not even the usual accompaniments of poverty; the very bugs and spiders would not house with him, for fear of starvation. *ignis*. Martial says *fire-place* (*focus*) xi. 32. 1, i. 92. 5. So Alexis ap. Mein. Fragm. Com. iii. 465, Kock ii. 360 οὐκ ἔχων δι' τυγχάνω οὐ βόλβον, οὐ πῦρ, οὐ κύμικον, οὐχ ἄλας.

3. *Verum est*, but who *have* what makes and keeps you poor. *et pater et nouerca*, Verg. Ecl. iii. 33: the poverty of a man's relations is almost a common-place of satirical poetry. Crates fr. 6 Bergk καὶ μὴν Μίκυλον εἰσεῖδον . . . Τῶν ἐρίων ξαίνοντα γυναῖκά τε συγξαίνουσιν τὸν λιμὸν φεύγοντας ἐν ἀλνῇ δηϊοτῆτι. Alexis ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. 456, Kock ii. 352 "Ἔστιν ἀνὴρ μοι πτωχός, καὶ γὰρ Γραῦς, καὶ θυγάτηρ, καὶ παῖς υἱός, Χῆδ' ἡ χρηστή, πένθ' οἱ πάντες. The whole passage is like this poem. See on 21. Martial describes such a family xii. 32.

4. *uel silicem*, as hardly coarser than the food they eat: e. g. mouldy bread, *solidae iam mucida frusta farinae Quae genuinum agitent non admittentia morsum* Iuven. v. 68, where Mayor quotes Sen. Epist. 18. 7 *panis durus ac sordidus*, the black bread (*panis ater* Eun. v. 4. 17 *panis niger* Mart. xi. 56. 8) of Terence and Martial: cf. *panis lapidosus* Sen. de B. ii. 7. 1, *siccus* Epist. 83. 6. *comesse*, Flac. xxxvi. 91, de N. D. ii. 25, 64. So *comesse* XXIX. 14, Sest. li. 110, *comesse* Mart. v. 39. 10: in the earlier writers these forms are of frequent occurrence. See Neue Formenl. ii. p. 469.

5. *Est pulchre tibi*, 'you're a fortunate fellow.' De N. D. i. 41. 114 *Propone ante oculos deum nihil aliud in omni aeternitate nisi mihi pulcre est et ego beatus sum cogitantem*. Hor. S. ii. 8. 19.

6. *lignea*, 'scraggy' or 'wizened'; Lucr. iv. 1161 *neruosa et lignea dorcas*. The opposite is *corpus solidum et suci plenum* Eun. ii. 3. 27.

7. *Nec mirum*, LVII. 3, LXII. 14, LXIX. 7. Varro R. R. iii. 17. 3 *Non mirum: uno tempore enim memini hunc Caesari sex milia muraenarum mutua dedisse in pondus*.

8. *Pulchre conquoquitis*, you have excellent digestions because you have so little to eat. Sen. Epist. 86. 11 *expectabat ut in balneo concoqueret*; De Benef. iv. 39 *Surgam quamvis non concoxerim*. See W. L. Newman's learned note on Arist. Pol. ii. 10. 'To them (Epimenides and Xenophon) scanty food meant scanty *περιττώματα*, and scanty *περιττώματα* meant freedom from disease. Thus the Persians of the Cyropaedia owed it, we are told, to the scantiness of their food that they rarely needed to spit or to blow their noses (Cyrop. i. 2. 16, viii. 8. 8-9). Cf. Plutarch de Sanitate Tuenda c. 14 μάλιστα δὲ τροφαῖς κεχημένους ἐμβριθείσι καὶ κρείδεσιν, ἢ ποικίλαις ὀλιγοσιτεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαπεῖν περιττώματος πλῆθος ἐν τῷ σώματι. *nihil timetis*, 'you have nothing to fear because you have nothing to lose.'

9. *Non incendio, non graues ruinas*, you have no city house to be burnt or fall with a heavy crash. Propertius' imitation ii. 27. 9, 10 *Praeterea domibus flammis domibusque ruinas Nec subeant labris pocula nigra tuis* seems to show that both *incendio* and *ruinas* are meant of a house catching fire or falling with a crash. Sen. de Vit. Beat. 26. 2 *nos domus formosa, tamquam nec ardere nec rueri possit [obstupescit]*, De Benef. iv. 6. 2 *ingens tibi domicilium sine ullo incendii aut ruinae metu struxit*, both passages quoted by Mayor on Iuven. iii. 6, 197. Sen.

Controu. p. 121 Bursian *anxii interdiu et nocte ruinam ignemque metuant*. Plut. Crass. ii *ἐμπρησμούς καὶ συνιζήσεις διὰ βάρους καὶ πλήθος οἰκοδομημάτων* (at Rome).

10. **facta impia**, a general expression of which **dolos ueneni** is a particular illustration. *Impius* in Catullus expresses the violation of some natural law or feeling. XXX. 3 *facta impia*, the ingratitude of a friend; LXIV. 403 *mater impia*, an incestuous mother; LXVII. 25 *impia mens*, of a father who violated his son's marriage bed; LXVIII. 123 *impia gentilis gaudia*, unnatural joy at the prospect of a kinsman's death; XC. 4 *Persarum impia religio*. So here **facta impia** seems to mean outrages committed by some relative or friend to get money which would only fall to them by the death of the possessor. Ovid F. ii. 623 *Procul impius esto Frater et in partus mater iniqua suos*. Poisoning being the most ready means for effecting such an object, it is added in **dolos ueneni**. Cf. Lucr. iii. 73 *Et consanguineum mensas odere timentque*. [Haupt conj. *furia* for *facta*. Cf. Hor. S. i. 1. 77 *Formidare malos fures incendia seruos Ne te compilent fugientes*. Munro approves this.]

11. **casus alios**, as theft, slaves running away or dying. Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 121 *Detrimenia fugas seruorum incendia ridet*. Servius on Aen. iv. 653, shows that *casus* is here technically the right word, *casus qui ad omnia pertinet quae extrinsecus sunt, ut ad ruinam incendia naufragia*. Mart. vi. 33. 3 *Furta fugae mortes seruorum incendia luctus*. **periculorum**. Döring quotes from Fam. vi. 4. 3 *Ad omnes casus subitorum periculorum magis obiecti sumus*.

12. **Atqui**, 'Nay, what is more.' This is one of the cases where '*additur per atqui confirmatio rei ex altera parte. Et potest oratio ita ad grauiora et ad ea quae magis in re probanda ualeant adscendere*,' Hand. Tursell. i. p. 517. Döring explains *atqui* in reference to *incendia*; 'and yet, though you are not afraid of fire, you might be; for your bodies are so thoroughly dried by spare diet and exposure to the sun, as to be inflammable.' This is flat. Stat.'s *Uique*, 'inasmuch as,' is prosaic, and after *bene nam ualetis omnes, Pulchre conquouitis*, a mere tautology. **sicciora**. Like *ξηρός*, *siccus* is applied to bodies free from phlegm and other unwholesome humours. Varro ap. Non. 395. fr. Logistoric. xxvii Riese *Persae propter exercitationes puerilis modicas eam sunt consecuti corporis siccitatem ut neque spuarent neque emungerentur sufflatoue corpore essent*. Mart. xii. 32. 7 *frigore et fame siccus*. **cornu**. Plin. xxxi. 102 *Cornea uidemus corpora piscatorum*. Petron. S. 43 *Corneolus fuit, actatem bene ferebat*. De N. D. ii. 57. 144 *duros et quasi corneolos introitus*. Varr. R. R. ii. 8. 4 *solo ne ut corneo, ne nimium duro*.

13. **Aut siquid magis aridum**, sc. *cornu*. See on XXII. 13. **aridum**. So Aquilius, or, as Varro thought, Plautus, in the play *Boeotia*, quoted by Gellius, iii. 3. 5 *Maior pars populi (populi pars Cobet) aridi reptant fame*.

14. **Sole** exposure to the sun. **esuritione**. Tusc. Disp. v. 34. 99 *Adde siccitatem quae consequitur hanc continentiam in uictu, adde ingratitude ualitudinis; confer sudantis, ructantis, refertos epulis tamquam opimos boues* (Vulp.).

15. **Quare non**, ironical. LXXXIX. 4 *quare is desinat esse macer et bene ac beate*. XIV. 10.

16. Victorius compares Antiphanes ap. Mein. Fragm. Com. iii. 133

τοιούτος ὁ βλος ἀπύρετος, φλέγμα' οὐκ ἔχων. Petron. 44 *nec sudauit unquam nec expuit, puto eum nescio quid asiadis habuisse.* **salina.** Priap. xxxii. 1. 7 *Vuis aridior puella passis, Quae suco caret<sup>1</sup> usque et usque pumex, Nemo uiderit hanc ut expuentem.*

17. **Mucus** is supposed by Voss and Scheller on Cels. iv. 18, to be the thicker, **pituita** the more liquid, discharge from the nose. But Anke in Philologus for 1873, pp. 394–396, shows that in Celsus, where *mucus* occurs three times, iv. 18 (25), v. 28. 3, viii. 9. 1 fin., it cannot mean anything coagulated or solid (*snof*), and the same thing seems indicated by Plautus' use of *mucidus*, Mil. G. iii. 1. 52, Epid. iii. 4. 58, = 'with a running at the nose.' Hence it seems safer to explain *Mucus* as the special word (snivel), *pituita* the general, here defined by *nasi*, 'tiresome running in the nose.' Thus Celsus speaks of the gum secreted by the eyes as *pituita oculorum*, and speaks of its thickness (*crassa*), as well as its whiteness and softness, or on the other hand its dryness (*arida*), yet this same discharge runs (*cursus pituitae*). Again in ii. 23 he speaks of a thicker or thinner phlegm (*pituita*); in iv. 5 he describes the *pituita nasi*. *Destillatumor de capite interdum in nares . . . Si in nares destillat, tenuis per has pituita profuit*, and speaks of its thickness or tenuity. Both *mucus* and *pituita* thus seem to express a secretion of variable consistency; but *mucus* is more strictly confined to the nose, *pituita* is mucus in the most general sense of the term, whether as discharged from the nose or eyes, or as phlegm. Aelius (perhaps Aelius Stilo) explained *pituita* as that which *petit uitam* (Quintil. i. 6. 36), an etymology which well agrees with Catullus' ironical congratulations.

18. **munditiem**, 'cleanliness,' a rather rare meaning. Cf. XCVII. 3 *munditiem mundiozem*, Plautine.

19. **purior salillo.** The Romans made it a point of honour to keep the salt-cellar, which was generally of silver and transmitted as an heirloom from sire to son, clean and bright. Hor. C. ii. 16. 14 *paternum Splendet in mensa tenui salinum.* Pers. iii. 25 *rure paterno Est tibi far modicum, purum et sine labe salinum.* Catullus perhaps introduces the word here in reference to the proverbial *ἀλίαν τροπῶν*; *salinum terebrare*, Pers. v. 138, 'to scrape and scrape till you drill a hole in your salt-cellar' (Conington), as a suggestion of poverty. Cf. Callim. Epig. I. Blomf. (xlvii Wilamowitz) *τὴν ἀλίην Εὐδημος ἀφ' ἧς ἀλα λιτὸν ἐπέσθων Χειμῶνας μεγάλους ἐξέφυγεν δανείων.* **salillo.** Trin. ii. 4. 91, where however the reading is not quite certain.

20. **decies**, here of a small number proportionally; in Mart. xii. 56. 1 *Aegrotas uno decies aut saepius anno*, of a large. Possibly at a time when July and August were still Quintilis and Sextilis, the reminiscence of the old Roman year of 10 months was sufficiently familiar to make *decies in anno* = once a month, a specialization by which the coarseness of the joke becomes more humorous. We might then compare Aristoph. Acharn. 857 *Ῥηγῶν τε καὶ πεινῶν ἀεὶ Πλεῖν ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου.* **cacas, χέεις.** Mart. i. 92. 11 *Non culum, neque enim est culus, qui non cacat olim.* Novius ap. Non. 507. **in anno.** With numeral adverbs or a distributive numeral, the ablative of the time within which anything happens regularly takes *in*. Dräger, p. 489, cites Bacch.

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of MS Corsini 43 F 21. See my article *De Codice Priepeorum Vaticano 2876*, in Rhein. Mus. xliii, pp. 258–267.

v. 2. 9 *ter in anno*; Rosc. Am. xlv. 132 *ter in anno*; Liu. xxxix. 13 *tres in anno*; Tusc. Disp. v. 35. 100 *bis in die*; Fin. v. 30. 92 *semel in uita risisse*; Fam. xv. 16. 1 *ternas in hora*; Hor. S. i. 4. 9 *in hora saepe ducentos*. But the prep. is often omitted, as Mart. xii. 56. 1.

21. *id*, sc. 'quod cacas' (Alex. Guarinus). On this view cf. Acharn. 1168 ὁ δὲ λίθον (*lapillis*) λαβεῖν βουλόμενος ἐν σκοτῶ λάβοι τῇ χειρὶ πέλεθον ἀρτίως κεχεσμένον. Otherwise *id* is euphem. for *mentula*, like τὸ δεινα, Acharn. 1149; cf. Mart. ix. 41. 10. The fact mentioned by Lucian Vitar. Auct. 6 ἦν ἀποδύσας κύαμον ἐπὶ χλωρὸν ἰόντα, εἶναι τοῖσιν ἀνδρητοῖσι μορτοῖσι ἐμφερὲς τὴν φύην, is perhaps in favour of this view. *durius*. Mart. iii. 89. 2 has *durum cacare*. *fabā*. Pliny mentions as a peculiarity of beans that *agua marina aliaue salsa non percoquitur*, xviii. 119; and the writers on agriculture recommend that beans should be steeped in order to boil more easily. (Conington on G. i. 196.) *lapillis*. Gulielmus ingeniously conjectured *lupillis*. Lupines and beans are constantly mentioned together. Stich. v. 4. 8 *nucibus fabulis ficulis Oleae trublio lupillo comminuto crustulo*. Plin. xviii. 57, xvii. 55, a quotation, *Cato: Stercus unde facias stramenta lupinum paleas fabalia ac frondis iligneae querneae*. Digest. 16. 77 *lupinum et fabam*. Cf. Alexis ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. ii. 456 (Kock ii. p. 356) κύαμος, θέρμος.

22. *si teras . . . Non posses*. See on VI. 3. Tibullus iv. 1. 197 *Nostri si paruula cura Sit tibi quanta libet, si sit modo, non mihi regna Lydia, non magni potior sit fama Gylippi, Posse Meleteas nec mallem uincere carlas*. [But *possis* seems almost inevitable.]

24. *tam beata*, 'of so wealthy a fortune,' cf. 27.

25. *Noli . . . neo*. Poen. v. 3. 10 *Mirari noli neque me contemplaner*. Att. ix. 7. 5. So after *nequire*, Eun. iii. 4. 9; *negare*, Poen. iii. 5. 32 (Holtze Synt. ii. 325).

26. *sestertia*. Centum, 100 sestertia = 100,000 sestertii, somewhat under £840. In Sall. Cat. 30 *centum sestertia* is the sum offered with freedom to any slave who gave information of the conspiracy; it constituted the qualification for voting in the first class, and subjected its possessor to the penalties of the Voconian law, which forbade the owner of this sum to make any woman his heir (see Sauppe on lex Voconia in Orelli's Cic. viii. 297, 8): hence it seems to represent the income of a man risen to respectability, no longer poor (Mommsen iv. p. 580, Eng. Trans.), but yet not rich; whence Martial contrasts the possessor of it with real wealth (ii. 63. 1). At a later period the same sum subjected a *libertus* to the penalties of the lex Papia, and obliged him, if he had fewer than three children, to leave a proportionate share of his property to his patron (Justin. Inst. iii. 7. 2); cf. Phaedr. iv. 5. 12, Suet. Vesp. 19.

27. *satis beatus*. Hor. C. ii. 18. 14 *satis beatus unctis Sabinis*. *Furius* was sufficiently prosperous in the possession of his poverty and his relations, as Plautus says, Truc. iv. 3. 34 *puer quidem beatiss, matres duas habet, auas duas*. I have followed Bergk in writing *beatus*, of which there is no other example in Catullus, as perhaps justified by the comic character of the poem. In LXVI. 27 *adeptus* of MSS represents *adepta's*, in XXXIV. 23 *sokitas es* of L is conceivably a relic of the older orthography *sokita's* surviving side by side with the new; but in XXXIV. 14 *notho es*, LXVI. 35 *pollicita es*, LXXXVII. 2 *Lesbia amata mea es*, where Lachm. would write *notho's*, *pollicita's*, *mea's* (Lucr. p. 66), the MSS give no

indication of this spelling. If these are doubtful, the case of *-us* before *est*, *es* is of course much more so; Lachm. himself denies *uisus*, which Fulvio Orsini introduced for *uisus* of MSS, in an epigram of Q. Catullus ap. Cic. de N. D. i. 28. 79; *sanus* in a fragm. of Varro ap. Non. 392 and 264; *a fortiori* in Catullus (Lucret. p. 122). So Munro (Elucid. p. 61), who observes that this elision of the vowel in *es* and *est* was unknown to Cic. and Lucret. even, who yet elide the final *s* so much more freely than Catullus. Ribbeck, however, Prolegomena to Vergil, p. 154, inclines to accept Bergk's *beatu's* here; and as the style of the poem is comic, it seems possible that Catullus may have allowed himself a comic licence, probably however writing *BEATVS*, and leaving it to his readers to choose whether they preferred the archaism or mentally supplied *es*. In any case it seems hazardous to write *sat es beatus*, by which the irony of the full form *satis* is much diminished: cf. Horace's *Satis beatus unicus Sabinis* C. ii. 18. 12.

## XXIV.

A PROTEST addressed to Iuuentius on the subject of his intimacy with Furius. That Furius is meant is I think the natural inference from the repetition of the words, 5, 8 *neque seruos est neque arca*; 10 *Nec seruum tamen ille habet neque arcam*, compared with XXIII. 1: and so B. Schmidt, p. xxix. Whether this is the Pisaurian mentioned in LXXXI, as Victorius, xxi. 11, thought, is doubtful: both are described as poor, perhaps as *belli homines*: for Victorius is wrong in arguing from the two poems, that Iuuentius, like the *ἐρώμενοι* in Ar. Eq. 734, attached himself by preference to his inferiors and not to the *καλοὶ καγαθοί*.

Which of the two poems was written first? It seems probable that the anger to which Catullus gives expression in XXIII was occasioned by jealousy of Furius. We might suppose then that XXIII was written in an explosion of rage, and was read or recited to Iuuentius at the time; then XXIV. 5, 8, 10 will be a sarcastic allusion to the earlier poem. On the other hand, it is hardly probable that Furius would have been called *homo bellus* after the vehement attack in XXIII: whilst the first line of XXIII, *Furei, qui neque seruos est neque arca*, might as easily be an allusion to XXIV. 5, 8, 10 as *uice uersa*.

This is the first poem in which Iuuentius is named. The gens Iuuentia came originally from Tusculum, and in the time of Cicero was distinguished. Planc. viii. 19 *Tu* (M. Iuuentius Laterensis, the prosecutor of Cn. Plancius, who was defended by Cicero) *es e municipio antiquissimo Tusculano, ex quo sunt plurimae familiae consulares in quibus est etiam Iuuentia*. In c. xxiv. 58 of the same speech Cicero mentions the assertion of L. Cassius that a Iuuentius was the first plebeian aedile, though he throws some doubt upon it himself. But, as B. Schmidt and Bruner before him have observed, the expostulatory tone of LXXXI. 5, 6 seems to point to some kind of right which friendship or vicinity had given to Catullus over Iuuentius; he may, therefore, have been a native of Verona or the Veronese district: inscriptions have been found there containing the name of the Iuventian gens, C. I. L. v. p. 1, nr. 3316, 3480, 4349, 4488, 4626.

From 1 *flosculus* it may be gathered that Iuuentius was at this time



quite young : it seems to belong to the same period as XLVIII. See above, Introduction to XV.

1. *flosculus*, 'tender flower.'

2, 3. See on XXI. 2, 3.

4. *diuitias Midas*. The wealth of Midas was proverbial. Tyrtaeus 12. 6 Bergk *πλουτοῖν δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον*, a line to which Plato alludes Legg. 660, cf. Rep. 408 οὐδὲ θεραπευτέον αὐτοὺς οὐδ' εἰ Μίδου πλουσιώτεροι εἴεν. Aristoph. Plut. 286 ὄντως γὰρ ἔστι πλουσίοις ἅπασιν ἡμῖν εἶναι ; K. ἢ τοὺς θεούς, Μίδας μὲν οὖν, ἦν ᾧτ' ὄνου λάβητε. Ovid M. xi. 100-145 ; Mart. vi. 86. 4 ; Aristaen. i. 10.

5. *Isti*, contemptuous, as in LXXXI. 3. *qui*, archaic for *cui*. See on I. 1.

6. *sineres amari*, not *amares*. Vulp. compares Heroid. xv. 96 *Non ulames oro, uerum ul amare sinas*. For the construction *Mallem dedisses Quam sineres* see Holtze ii. 167.

7. *Qui* ? 'how so ?' Pseud. i. 2. 21 *Qui nunc ? doletne ?* homo bellus, 'a well-bred man,' 'a fine gentleman.' Varro in his Satura called *Nescis quid uesper serus trahat*, ap. Gell. xiii. 11. 3 *Ipsum deinde conuiuium constat ex rebus quattuor et tum denique omnibus suis numeris absolutum est si belli homunculi conlecti sunt, si electus locus, si tempus lectum, si apparatus non neglectus*. Att. i. 1. 4 *Durius accipere hoc mihi uis est quam uellem et quam homines belli solent*. Fam. vii. 16. 2 *Mehercules extra iocum homo bellus est : uellem eum tecum abduxisses*. Fin. ii. 31. 102 *hominis quamuis et belli et urbani*. Iuuentius as a *puer bellus* seems to have prided himself on his friends being *belli homines*, LXXXI. 2 ; just as Stratophanes complains that the *bella puella* Phronesium favours a lover who is rough and uncouth, not a *bellus homo*, Truc. v. 30-40. Xenophon, Symp. viii. 11, speaks of the *καλὸς κάγαθός ἱραστής*.

8. Whereas *πατὴρ ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα* Menand. ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iv. 250.

9. *Hoo*, 'what I say,' viz. that he is a needy man. *quam lubet* = *quantumlubet*, though common with adjectives is rare with verbs. Phaedr. i. 25. 6 *quamlibet lambe otio*. *abiceo*, 'make little of,' 'make cheap,' Nettleship ; and so Key, who quotes Att. i. 18. 3 *Sic ille annus duo firmamenta rei publicae per me unum constituta euertit ; nam et senatus auctoritatem abiecit et ordinum concordiam distinxit*. *oleua*, 'slight.' Pers. i. 6.

## XXV.

SCHWABE, Quaest. p. 149, identifies the Thallus of this poem with Iuuentius. He finds in the name an allusion partly to the youth of the *flosculus Iuuentiorum*, partly to the cognomen of the gens Talna. Bruner, on the other hand, and Schulze, think that Marrucinus Asinius (XII) is meant. On either view Thallus would disguise a real name ; we know from Athen. 582. 587, that at Athens the name had allusive and meretricious associations, and these may have been known to Catullus. Athen. 587 *Ἀπὸ δὲ (Ναρρίων) ὅτι αἰξὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο προεῖπομεν διὰ τὸ Θαλλὸν τὸν κίτρινον ἐξωνάλειναι*.

Neither view is probable. (1) Thallus is a real name; a C. Iulius Thallus is mentioned as *superpositus numulariorum* Orelli Inscript. 4266, and the name occurs not only in two Spanish Inscriptt. 3333, 3905, but in several belonging to the Veronese district, C. I. L. V. 3127, 3467, 3780 (Riese), to which add *P. Aelius Thallus*, V. 2400 (Ferrara). It is also found in Apuleius de Magia xliii, xlv, where see Hildebrand, and as a Greek name Kaibel 350 and 529.

(2) Even if Thallus is a fictitious name, the circumstances of the poem are not such as to make any identification, whether with Iuventius or Asinius, probable. Catullus would hardly have threatened either with the servile punishment mentioned in 10, 11.

It seems more probable that Thallus is a real name, as indeed the description of him is realistic throughout. He may have been one of those professional dancers who attended at entertainments (Lucil. S. i. ap. Non. 5 *stulte saltatum te inter uenisse cinaedos*), especially in houses of bad repute, and who combined with their profession as dancers the trade of a *prostibulum*, which was its natural accompaniment. See Petron. S. 23, 24.

Bücheler (Index Scholarum Greifswald 1868, pp. 15-17) thinks that this poem, which is imitated in the Priapea lxiv. 1, lxxxiii. 30, is alluded to by Cicero in a letter to his brother Quintus, ii. 15. 4 *tu quemadmodum me censes oportere esse et in re publica et in nostris inimiciis ita et esse et fore auricula infuma scito molliorem*. Quintus, he thinks, had inserted it in the letter which he wrote to his brother from Gaul in the June of 700 | 54, and Marcus, who had been pleased with the expression, repeated it in his reply written shortly after. Bücheler concludes that Catullus' poems were published before the summer of 54 B.C. It can, indeed, hardly be accidental that so marked an expression (only found besides in Amm. Marc. xix. 12. 5) should occur in the two greatest writers of Rome at nearly the same time; but, as Munro observes, p. 72, Catullus' poem may well have been known in literary circles before it appeared in any complete or partially complete collection.

The metre is Iambic Tetrameter Catalectic, sometimes called *Hippomactian*, from Hipponax who used it largely (Hephaest. 33, Schol. Plut. 253). It is frequent in Aristophanes. In the best specimens, e.g. Plut. 253 sqq. Aristophanes generally, but not always, observes the rule which Catullus has followed throughout, of making the fourth foot terminate a word. Catullus has also preferred pure iambs in every foot, even the first and fifth: Aristophanes admits spondees and even trisyllabic feet. The careful rhythm somewhat obscures the multiplicity of diminutives, which otherwise detract from the generally artistic character of the poem.

1. *capillo*, of a rabbit's *fur*. Gell. N. A. xii. 1. 15 *si ouium lacte haedi aut caprarum agni alantur constat ferme in his lanam duriores, in illis capillum teneriores*. So *θρίξ* is used of wool, Anth. P. v. 205. 5 *πορφύρεης ἀμνῶυ μαλακῇ τριχί*.

2. *anseris medullula* seems to mean, as Voss suggests, the inner feathers of the goose, which are the softest. Plin. H. N. x. 53 *Candidorum alterum uectigal in pluma. mollior quae corpori proxima et e Germania laudatissima. candidi ibi, uerum minores, gantae uocantur*. Cf. Mart. xiv. 161. 1, 2 *Lassus Amyclaea poteris requiescere pluma Interior cycni quam tibi lana dedit*. Alex. Guarinus quotes *lanae medulla* from Pliny

as used similarly. In the case of geese the *whiteness* of the down would be an extra reason for the use of the word, *cumque albis ossa medullis* Ovid M. xiv. 208. It can scarcely be the pith or soft substance inside the feather, taken as a fit expression of softness, as being the centre from which the feather springs, cf. *medulla caulis, uitis*, etc.; nor again the fat or liver (Bährens), which is not especially mentioned as soft. The passage is imitated, Priap. lxiv. 1 *Quidam mollior anseris medulla. oricilla*, 'ear-lobe,' for *auricilla* as *oricula* for *auricula* in the Balliol MS of Cicero ad Q. Fr. ii. 15. 4. Bücheler quotes a second passage, Amm. Marcellinus xix. 12. 5 *ima quod aiunt auricula mollior, suspicax et minutus*, probably taken from Cicero. Pliny's remark *est in aure ima memoriae locus, quem tangentes antestamur* xi. 251, is interesting.

3. *situque araneoso*, 'mouldy cobwebs,' perhaps epexegetic of *pene l. senis*, as Voss suggested. Cf. Priap. lxxxiii. 30 (ascribed to Tibullus) *Araneosus obsidet forem situs*, lxxvii. 15 *At uos, ne peream situ senili*. Pliny, H. N. xi. 82, calls the *specus* or den of the spider *uillosior*.

5. This line is too corrupt to make any interpretation certain. See my Excursus on it in vol. I. The general use of *oscitantes* perhaps indicates the outline of the sense. 'And yet at the same time, Thallus, more greedy than a sweeping tornado, when some chance shows you your victims off their guard.' 'L'idée générale est que Thallus profite pour voler de l'occasion que lui offre le sommeil de ceux avec qui il se trouve. Cf. Mart. viii. 59.' Benoist. Possibly *diua* may be some special or local deity under whose protection Thallus considered himself to be, like the Dea Ataecina Turubrigensis Proserpina whom the author of a Spanish inscription (C. I. L. iv. 462) implores to avenge him on any one who may steal his articles of dress. DEA · ATAECINA TVRBRIG · PROSERPINA PERTVAM MAIESTATEM TE ROGO ORO OBSECO VTI VINDICES QVOT MIHI FVRTI FACTVM EST QVISQVIS MIHIIMVDAVIT INVOLAVIT MINVSVE FECITEAS . . . Q · I · S · S · TVNICAS · VI . . . AENULA LINTEA · II.<sup>1</sup> The rest is imperfect, but the verbal coincidence with our poem is interesting. Of other emendations (too numerous to be considered here) the most noteworthy is Lachmann's *munerarios*, which he explained 'munerarius est qui munera dat uel inuitus et oscitanti rapta.' If this sense could be established for *munerarius* (Juvenal uses *munera* of the presents sent to a cinaedus, ix. 53), it would be an easy change to substitute *laeua* for *diua*, *offendit* for *ostendit*, 'when your left hand (the hand of thieving, see on XII. 1) surprises your contributors napping.' But in all good writers *munerarius* means an exhibitor of shows; see my Excursus<sup>2</sup>.

6. *pallium*, the outer dress worn over the tunic, which might either be changed for a different dining-robe during the repast, and then be stolen (Petron. S. 21; Mart. x. 87. 12); or, if worn during the repast, slip off the person of the wearer and be abstracted unnoticed. This is certainly the meaning of Mart. viii. 59. 9, 10, of a dinner-thief, *Lapsa nec a cubito subducere pallia nescit Et lectus laenis saepe duabus abii*.

<sup>1</sup> That is, *cas res quae infra scriptae sunt, tunicas vi . . . paenula lintea ii* (Hübner.)

<sup>2</sup> I consider it certain that 5 is to be connected with 4, not with 6; for (a) the sectional divisions, which in this poem are exceptionally clear, point to this, 3 + 2. 3. 3 + 2; (b) the relation of *Idem* to *Cum* is parallel to that of *Idem* and *Simul* in XXII. 14. 15, a point to which A. Palmer rightly calls attention (Hermathena vi. p. 325).

Riese (reading *cum luna balnearios*) thinks Thallus was a bath-thief like Vibennius and his son (*cinaede fili*) in XXXIII; and the variety of articles stolen makes this, though not proved, plausible. **mihi meum**, a designed juxtaposition to emphasise the fact that Catullus was redemanding his own property. **inuolasti**, 'have pilfered,' as in Petron. 58 *nisi si me iudicas anulos buxeos curare quos amicae tuae inuolasti*; ib. 43. Servius on G. ii. 88, Aen. iii. 233, explains the word as *intra uolam tenere*, to hold within the palm of the hand. On the other hand, passages like Cic. de Orat. iii. 31. 122 *nostra est ista possessio in quam homines inuolauerunt* rather suggest the notion of *uolare*, 'to pounce upon.'

7. **Sudariumque Saetabum**, XII. 14. **catagraphos** is variously explained as (1) figured towels or napkins, like the *inscripta lintea* of Juvenal viii. 168; (2) tablets of stained or coloured parchment, the materials for which might all be found in Bithynia—box-wood, parchment, minium and ochre for dyeing—Voss, who, however, reads *catagraphonque Thynon*; (3) signet-rings, such as are mentioned in the verses by Maecenas ap. Isid. Origin. xix. 32 *De Anulis Thynnus purus est primum in Bithynia fabricatus, quam olim Thynniam uocabant. Flaccus. Lucentes mea uita nec smaragdos, Berillos mihi, Flacce, nec nitentes, Nec percardida margarita quaeso, Nec quos Thynnica lima perpoliuit Anellos, neque iaspis lapillos*; (Salmasius, who however reads *chirographos* or *cerographos*); (4) embossed knives, Varro Gerontodidasclus fr. vi. Riese, Non. 195 *Noctu cultro coquinari se traiecit. nondum enim inibi inuecti erant cultelli empaestati e Bithynia*; (5) Stat.'s view that *catagraphos* is adj. 'embroidered figures of Bithynians,' which would of course imply cloths or tapestries on which they were embroidered; cf. G. iii. 25 *Purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni*. The neuter plural *catagrapha* Plin. H. N. xxxv. 56, is used of figures painted obliquely, or *foreshortenings*, the invention of Cimon of Cleonae: the adj. *κατάγραφος* in Athen. 387, Lucian Alex. 12, Catapl. 28 *ὅλος πελιδνός καὶ κατάγραφος, μᾶλλον δὲ κίανός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν στιγμάτων*, seems to mean variegated or painted. Bährens, perhaps rightly, inclines to the view of Voss; 'figured tablets from Thynia.' The figures would be on the outer covering of box-wood, which was not only a special growth of the Bithynian Cyturus (iv. 13), but was a common material for wax-tablets (Prop. iii. 23. 8, *Vulgari buxo sordida cera fuit*), and (as I note from Plin. xxxv. 77) particularly adapted for sketching or painting: *Huius (Pamphili) auctoritate effectum est Sicyone primum deinde in tota Graecia ut pueri ingenui omnia ante (Hardouin ante omnia) graphicen hoc est picturam in buxo docerentur*. Such tablets might be carried about the person, and thus accompany their owner to a banquet; they would attract thieves by their small size and value.

8. **Inepte**, 'vain fool,' refers to *palam soles habere*. **palam habere**, 'to display,' Hor. S. i. 2. 84 *nec siquid honesti est lactat habetque palam, quaerit quo turpia celet*. **soles**, Verr. i. 22. 60 *solet haec quae rapuit et furatus est nonnunquam dicere se emisse*. **auita**, as if they were bequests from your ancestors of which you might be proud; not stolen goods which you ought to conceal. Hor. S. i. 6. 78 *uestem seruosque sequentes In magno ut populo siquis uidisset, auita Ex re praebere sumptus mihi crederet illos*.

9. **reglutina**. The thief's hand is regarded as having an adhesive

property, as if covered with glue, XXXIII. 3. Lucilius xxviii. ap. Non. 396 *Omnia uiscatis manibus leget, omnia sumet*, where L. Müller cites Rutil. Namatianus i. 609 *Harpyias quarum discerpitur unguibus orbis, Quae pede glutineo quod tetigere trahunt*.

10. **laneum**, 'downy' (F. Richards); softness, cf. Mart. v. 37. 2 *Agna Galaesi mollior Phalantini*, Iuven. viii. 15 *Euganea quantumvis mollior agna*, is the main idea; but Key may be right in suggesting Lat. Dict. s.v. the further idea of white, 'white and soft.' **latusculum**, 'delicate side,' a word also used by Lucretius iv. 311 (335). **mollicellas** seems to be *δλ. λεγ.*

11. **Inurere flagella** = *inurere notas flagellorum*; the word suggests the branding which was the punishment of the detected thief; hence **turpiter**. Aristoph. Vesp. 1296 *στυγόμενος βακτηρία*. **conscribillent**, 'scrawl.' Pseud. i. 5. 131, 2 *Quasi quom in libro scribuntur calamo literae, Stilis me totum usque ulmeis conscribito*. The word, which is not only found in a fragm. of Varro's Marciator (280 Bücheler) *Astrologi non sunt? qui conscribunt pingentes caelum*, but is in form and meaning well suited to the passage, must notwithstanding be pronounced doubtful here on metrical grounds. Lachmann indeed, on Lucret. i. 360, defends it, comparing *glōmere*, but *glōmus* Hor. Epist. i. 13. 14, *glōmerare glōmeramen, offa ofella, mamma māmilla, mūto moctinus* but *mūtoniatu*, *pūmili* but *pūmilones pūmilio, rūta* but *erūta rūtrum rūtellum*, etc. But the scruples which this elsewhere unexampled *conscribillent* raises are hardly removed by such instances, which were doubtless familiar to the early scholars who altered the word to *consigillenti*<sup>1</sup>, 'cover with seal-impressions,' as recorded by Muretus. The metre indeed is throughout remarkably strict; and it seems nearly certain that the MSS have not preserved the right word; equally certain from the fondness for diminutives which the poem exhibits throughout (cf. A. Funck in Archiv für Latein. Lexicographie iv. 222) that it ended in *-illenti*.

12. **insolenter**, 'in a way you are not accustomed to.' De Inuent. i. 28. 43 *deinde natura eius euenire uolgo soleat an insolenter et raro*. **aestues**, 'chafe' or 'fume,' less with mental agitation, Hor. Epist. i. 1. 99, than with the bodily wincing and uneasy motions occasioned by the cudgelling. But cf. Verr. ii. 30. 74 *aestuabat dubitatione, uersabat se in utramque partem non solum mente, uerum etiam corpore*, where agitation of mind expresses itself in restless motions of the body. **minuta**, for MSS *inimica*, is due to the Italian scholars of the 15th century; it is perhaps the finest emendation which has been made in Catullus. The smallness of the boat is of course in antithesis to the vastness of the sea. Prop. i. 11. 9, 10 *Atque utinam mage te remis confisa minutis, Paruula Lucrina cymba moretur aqua*. Cicero has *minuta nauigia* Att. xvi. 1. 3. **magno** is explained by the elder Dousa as 'stormy,' as we might say 'big.' Sall. Jug. 78 *ubi mare magnum esse et saeuire uentis coepit*, where Kritz quotes Lucr. ii. 1 *Suaue mari magno turbantibus aequora uentis*. The younger Dousa adds Ennius Sota 3 Vahlen *Aluis in mari uult magno tenere tonsam*; Aen. v. 628 *dum per mare magnum Italiam sequimur fugientem et uoluimur undis*, where Servius says *magnum procellosum*;

<sup>1</sup> *Dissigillare* is found in a Rhenish Inscript. Brambach C. I. Rhen. 161, quoted by Bücheler in his *Coniectanea Latina*, 1868, p. 14.

Aen. iii. 196 *uenti uoluunt mare, magnaue surgunt Aequeora*. This is not impossible, though in most of the passages *magno* is generally explained differently: yet the antithesis of *minuta magno* loses much of its force if *magno* simply repeats the idea of storms conveyed by *depressa* as well as *uesaniente uento*.

13. *Depressa*, 'overtaken by a storm,' as in Aen. v. 52 *Argolicou mari depressus et urbe Mycenae*. Lucr. vi. 429 *depressa tumultu Nauigia*.

## XXVI.

It is doubtful whether Catullus here alludes to the embarrassments of Furius or his own. *O* has *uost* in 1, and this would be strictly correct in allusion to the needy family of Furius, as described in XXIII. On the other hand, the pun which constitutes the point of the poem would seem more natural if Catullus is speaking of himself; he talks jokingly of his necessities in other poems, XIII. 7, XXVIII. 7-10, X, or implies that he is not too well off, XLI. 2, CIII, CX; such jokes too were part of the fashion of the time. Cicero, in a letter written to his brother Quintus early in 700 | 54, says of Caesar, *iocum illius de sua egestate ne sis aspernatus*. *Ad quem ego rescripsi nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret, lusique in eo genere et familiariter et cum dignitate*, ad Q. Fr. ii. 12. 5. And so A. Palmer, who well observes 'there is a difference between poverty and debt: debt implies a certain amount of riches; and if the description of the poverty of the family of Furius (in XXIII) was founded on fact it is probable they had no villa at all, and would not have been able to raise a loan of 15,200 sesterces.' On the other hand, how natural that Furius should appeal to Catullus' villa as a proof of his easy circumstances, and a plea for begging a loan: that Catullus should reply, 'The situation of my villa is not altogether enviable; it has to face a peculiar draught—a draft, I mean, of 15,200 sesterces, for which it is in pawn.' Similarly Riese.

A joke very like this epigram is in the ἱππός of the comic poet Pherecrates, fr. 58 Kock οὐχ ὄρεῖς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Πουλυτίωνος κεμένην ὑπὸ βόλον;

2. *opposita*, in the double sense of facing towards, and being mortgaged. In this last sense the full phrase was *opponere pignori*, 'to stake as a counter-pledge.' Curc. ii. 3. 76 *pono pallium, Ille suum amulum opposiuit*. Phorm. iv. 3. 56 *ager oppositust pignori, Ob decem minas*. Pseud. i. 1. 85 *CA. Actum hodie de mest. Set potes nunc mutuum Drachmam mihi unam dare, quam cras reddam tibi? PS. Vix hercle opino, etsi me opponam pignori*. The Christian poet Orientius imitates this passage of Catullus, Common. i. 122 *Ignoras uentos aedibus oppositis*.

3. *Apheliotae*, 'the East wind.' Plin. H. N. ii. 122 *Fauonio contrarius est quem subsolanum appellauimus; 119 sunt ergo bini in quattuor caeli partibus ab oriente aequinoctiali subsolanus, ab oriente brumali uoltumnus. Illum apelioten hunc Graeci Eurum uocant*. In the circular chart of the winds given in Reifferscheid's Suetonii Reliquiae, it is placed between Vultumnus the more N., and Eurum the more S. Lachm. writes here *Apeliotae*; but the MSS give *Apheliotae*, which, as Klotz observes, may be right, as the word was probably introduced into Latin by the Greek

seamen on the Adriatic, not by men to whom the Attic form was familiar. Lobeck on Aj. 803 shows that ἀπηλιώτης is the correct Attic form. The MSS of Gellius ii. 22. 9 also give ἀπηλιώτης. See Hertz' large edition i. p. 156.

4. Cicero, Cael. vii. 16, seems to show that 30,000 sesterces was thought high as the rent of a house in a good part of Rome, and he contrasts it with the *aediculae* which Caelius afterwards rented from Clodius, *decem, ut opinor, milibus*; cf. Paradox. 50 *pauper fuit: habuit aediculas in Carinis*. The 15,200 for which Catullus' villa was mortgaged is not then in itself a very considerable sum; and we may estimate his embarrassments accordingly. They were probably occasioned by his profligate life; cf. Tib. ii. 4. 54 *Quin etiam sedes iubeat si uendere auitas, Ille sub imperium sub titulumque Lares*. Ovid Rem. Am. 301-302 *Illud et illud habet, neque ea contenta rapina Sub titulum nostros misit auara lares*, where the house is put up for sale to pay for the extravagances of a mistress.

5. *pestilentem* perhaps alludes to the *healthiness* which the buyer of a house would naturally look for, and might think himself aggrieved by not finding. Cic. de Off. iii. 13. 54 shows that it was a question of casuistry whether the seller of a house *quae pestilentes sint et habeantur salubres* was bound to state its unhealthiness; as nothing could be more absurd than to expect the auctioneer to state *domum pestilentem uendo*.

## XXVII.

As the younger Dousa observes, these lines are little more than an expansion of some verses of Diphilus, Mein. Com. Frag. iv. 402 (ii. 560 Kock) Ἐγγεον σὺ δὴ πείν. Εὐζωρότερόν γε νῆ Δί, & παῖ, δός· τὸ γὰρ ὕδατος δῶκεν τοῖς ἰστέν τῇ ψυχῇ κακόν: cf. Antiphanes, Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. 77 (ii. 68 Kock) ὁ θεὸς ἰάπυξ, κέρασσον εὐζωρίστερον.

They have been imitated by Martial ix. 93, xi. 36, and commented upon by Gellius vi. (vii.) 20.

1. *uetuli Falerni*, as in Mart. xi. 26. 3; i. 18. 1; Macrob. S. vii. 12. 9 *Cur ita mel et uinum diuersis aetatibus habentur optima, mel quod recentissimum, uinum quod uetustissimum? Vnde est et illud proverbium quo uisuntur gulones: mulsum quod probe temperes miscendum esse nouo Hymettio et uetulo Falerno*. Pliny, H. N. xxiii. 34, says Falernian was most wholesome when neither too new nor too old; its *media aetas* began with its 15th year. The diminutival termination in *uetulus* has quite lost its force: Varro has *catuli et uetuli* R. R. ii. 9. 3.

2. *Inger*, for *ingere*, like *biber* for *bibere*, Charis. 124 Keil, *coger* or *conger* for *congere*, Mart. viii. 44. 9. Such abbreviations seem natural to drinkers: Meineke, Analect. Alexand. p. 131, mentions πίν for πίνειν, πῶ for πῶδι. *Ingerere* was specially used of pouring in liquids, generally in a considerable quantity. Pseud. i. 2. 24. *calices*, Eubulus ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. 268 (Kock ii. 214) πίνων τε πολλὰς κύλικας εὐζωρότεραι. *amariiores*, of harsher and stronger flavour, either as of older wine, or as no longer mixed with water. Martial, ix. 93. 1, 2 *Addere quid cessas, puer, immortale Falernum? Quadrantem duplica de seniore cado*; xi. 36. 5, 6 *immortale Falernum Funde, senem poscunt talia uota cadum*, is in

favour of the former view; cf. Sen. Ep. 63. 5, quoted by Alex. Guarinus, *in uino nimis ueteri ipsa nos amaritudo delectat*; Dioscor. v. 16 παλαιού οἶνον καὶ αὐστηροῦ. But, as Scaliger suggests, Catullus was probably thinking of the Homeric *ζωρότερον δὲ κέραε* Il. ix. 203, with the comic equivalents *εὐζωρον* or *εὐζωρότερον κέρασον* (see the index to Meineke's *Fragm. Com. s. v. εὐζωρος*), and if so *amariores* will probably be i. q. *meraciores*, since, in spite of the different explanations given in antiquity of *ζωρότερον* (Plut. *Symp. Prob. v. 4*), the common and most accepted view seems to have made it = *ἀκρατον*, as we may infer from Aristot. *Poet.* 25. 16; cf. Theocr. xiv. 18 Ἦδη δὲ προΐοντος ἔδοξ' ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἀκρατον Ὀϊνός ἤβελ' ἕκαστος, and Tib. iii. 6. 62 *Tu puer i liquidum fortius adde merum*.

3. 'According to the enactment of the law passed under the presidency of Postumia.' Postumia is obviously the symposiarch or mistress of the revels, as Plautus *Pers v. 1. 18* speaks of a *dictatrix* to arrange the details of the feast. Cicero speaks of such *magisteria* *De Sen. xiv. 46*. It is difficult to see how there can be any allusion to the lex Postumia of king Numa, which, according to Plin. H. N. xiv. 88, forbade wine to be sprinkled on the funeral-pyre or to make a libation of wine from an unpruned vine. *lex*, as Horace speaks of the *leges insanae* by which the guests at banquets were often bound, *S. ii. 6. 69*. Verr. *Act ii. 5. 11 Qui P. R. legibus nunquam paruisset, illis legibus quae in poculis ponebantur diligenter obtemperabat*<sup>1</sup>. The famous courtesan Gnathaena drew up a νόμος συσσιτικός for her lovers, which Callimachus included in his third *πίναξ νόμων*, with this introduction, *ὅδε δὲ νόμος ἴσος ἐγράφη καὶ ὁμοίος στίχων τριακοσίων εἴκοσι τριῶν* (323 lines of prose).

4. *Ebriosa*, 'full of liquor.' Anth. P. ix. 130 Παλλάδος εἰμὶ φυτόν. Βρομίου τί με θλίβετε κλώνες; Ἄρατε τοὺς βότρυας παρθίνος οὐ μεθύω, like you vine-branches. *acina*, which is generally interpreted 'grape-stone,' seems more correctly explained by Prof. Key, of the *berry* of the grape. Plin. H. N. xv. 96 *alia acinis* (grapes) *caro, alia moris, alia unedonibus*. The fem. *acina* is not found elsewhere, and is not certain here, as the MSS give *acino, acini, acine*, and the discussion in Gell. vi (vii). 20, leaves the reading doubtful. That however Cat. wrote not *Ebria acina*, but *Ebriosa acina*, or, as Delrio thought (Nov. Comment. in Sen. Trag. p. 256) *Ebriosa acino*, is nearly certain; for, as Riese excellently points out, such repetition of the same adj. as positive and comparative is part of Catullus' manner; IX. 9, 10 *beatiorum beatius*, XXII. 14 *infaceto infacetior*, XXXIX. 16 *inepto ineptior*, LXVIII. 117 *altus altior*, XCIX. 2 *dulci dulcius*, 14 *tristi tristius*.

5. *quo lubet abire*, as in Mil. Glor. iv. 1. 27 *Quin tu illam iube abs te abire quo lubet*, where, as here, the MSS give *quod iubet*. Martial ii. 55. 2 *quod iubes, colere* might justify the retention of the MS reading in the v. of Catullus, were it not for the certainty of its being wrong in the corresponding passage of the Mil. Glor. Cf. Menrad in *Archiv für Latein. Lexicographie* iv. p. 483. *abire*, XIV. 21. Petron. 52 *Aquam foras, uinum intro exclamauit*. *lymphæ*, Tib. iii. 6. 58.

6. *Vini pernicioes*, as Martial speaks of murdering Falernian (*singulare Falernum*) by mixing it with inferior wine, i. 18. 5. (Alex. Guarinus.)

<sup>1</sup> This passage is cited in illustration of Catullus' v. by Fulvio Orsini *Apom. Ciacconi Triclinium*, p. 173.



*seueros*, 'the austere,' nearly = 'the sober.' Hor. Epist. i. 19. 8, 9 *forum putealque Libonis Mandabo siccis, adimam cantare seueris*.

7. *Migrate*, 'find a new home.' Iuven. vii. 6, 7 *Cum desertis Aganippes Vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio*. *Hic merus est Thyonianus*, 'this is the unmixed liquor of the wine-god.' *Hic* seems to imply that he is holding a cup in his hand. The masc. *Thyonianus* is on the analogy of *Imolius*, *Phanaeus*, Georg. ii. 93, 98; cf. Lucilius' *Χῖος* *τε* *δυναστής*, sc. *οἶνος*. *Thyonianus*, with which cf. *Formianum Fundanum Nomentanum*, presupposes a form *Thyonius* = *Thyoneus*, as *Μελάνθιος* = *Μελανθεύς*, Od. xx. 255; cf. *Agrionius* a name of Bacchus mentioned by Plutarch Q. R. 112. Bacchus is called *Thyoneus* from *Thyone*, a name of Semele according to the Homeric Hymn xxxiv. 21, Schol. Apoll. R. I. 636, or of his nurse, according to a line of Panyasis, quoted by the scholiast on Pind. Pyth. iii. 177 *καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ κόλπου τροφῶν ἔλατ' ποσσὶ θυώης*. (Kinkel Fragm. Epic. Graec. p. 255.) Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 23. 58 *quintum (Dionysum) Niso natum et Thyone, a quo trieterides constitutae putantur*. Ausonius, Cent. Nupt. (p. 140 Schenkl) *ne aut Thyonianum mireris aut Virbium, illum de Dionysio, hunc de Hippolyto reformatum*, makes *Thyonianus* a proper name = Bacchus, which it can hardly be.

## XXVIII.

THIS poem and XLVII both refer to the same event, the association of the two friends Veranius and Fabullus as members of the cohort or staff of Piso. I have stated my belief above (Introd. to IX) that the Piso whom they attended was Cn. Piso, who was sent out to Spain as quaestor pro praetore 689 | 65, and that their sojourn there with him was contemporaneous with the journey of Catullus to Bithynia. The allusions in XXVIII, XLVII are at least compatible with this view, and it is more probable that Veranius and Fabullus made one journey, not two, together.

In modern times however, since Martyni-Laguna, it has been held, and recently by Schwabe, Westphal, Munro, Bährens, B. Schmidt, that the Piso of XXVIII, XLVII is L. Piso Caesoninus, the hero of Cicero's oration *In Pisonem*. Piso was consul with A. Gabinius in 696 | 58, and the next year went into Macedonia as proconsul. He remained there somewhat more than two years (Pis. xl. 97 *trinis aestiuis*, xxxv. 86 *per triennium*) plundering the provincials and abusing to the full extent the privilege of a Roman governor to enrich himself (Pis. xxxv). Cicero's oration represents him besides as (1) maltreating his officers, *Quid? legatorum tuorum optimus abs te quisque uiolatus? tribuni militares non recepti?* xxxvi. 88; (2) a gross sensualist, *nil scilote esse luxuriosius nil libidinosius nil posterius (proterbius*, Cod. Basilicae Vaticanae saec. viii) *nil nequius* xxvii. 66, *audis in praeseptibus, audis in stupris, audis in cibo et uino* xviii. 42, cf. De Prouinc. Cons. iii; (3) as not devoid of culture, an Epicurean (Pis. xxviii, xxix, Sest. x) and fond of having literary Greeks about him; Pis. xxvii. 67 *Graeci stipati, quini in lectulis saepe plures, ipse solus iacebat in suo Graecorum foetore atque uino*.

into agree very well with the description of Catullus (1) *cohors*

*inanis, Ecquidnam in tabulis patet lucelli?* XLVII. 3 *Vos Veraniolo meo et Fabullo praeposuit?* (2) *nihilō minore uerpa Farti estis*, XLVII. 4 *Verpus Priapus*; (3) Socraton (XLVII. 1) may have been one of the Greek underlings described by Cicero. Besides this general agreement, Schwabe has noticed two special points in which Cicero's words illustrate Catullus; (4) XXVIII. 5 *frigoraque et famem tulistis* is not only particularly applicable to a cold country like Macedonia, but closely resembles Cicero's description of the distress of Piso's army there, *exercitus nostri interitus ferro fame frigore pestilentia* Pis. xvii. 40, *Milites populi Romani capti necati deserti dissipati sunt, incuria fame morbo uastitate consumpti* De Prouinc. Cons. iii. 5; (5) XXVIII. 5 *Vappa*, as Vulpus long ago observed, seems to have been used by Catullus in designed allusion to the agnomen of one branch of the Pisos, *Frugi*. Now this is one of the taunts brought against L. Piso more than once by Cicero, Sest. ix. 21 *Quod erat eo nomine ut ingenerata familiae frugalitas uideretur*, Pis. fr. 2. Font. xvii (xiii). 39.

It is not to be denied that the description of L. Piso given by Cicero corresponds with the outline sketched by Catullus, especially in XLVII, which, compared with XXVIII, is the more particular of the two poems; cf. XLVII. 4 with Cicero's *admissarius iste* Pis. xxviii. 69, XLVIII. 5-7 with Cicero's *denial*, Pis. xxvii. 67 *Luxuriam autem nolite in isto hanc cogitare . . . nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans, nihil exquisitum—laudabo inimicum—quin ne magno opere quidem quidquam praefer libidines sumptuosum*, and on the other hand with an epigram ascribed to the Epicurean Philodemus, and probably addressed to L. Piso, Anth. P. xi. 44. But the two points singled out by Schwabe, (4) and (5), have very little force, for the words *frigoraque et famem* XXVIII. 5, apply to the cold and barren sierras of Spain no less accurately than to Macedonia, and the allusion in *Vappa* XXVIII. 4, if any is meant, would be directed with as much force against Cn. Piso as L. Piso Caesoninus who, in spite of the assertion of Asconius in *Pison*. p. 3, Orelli *hunc Pisonem ex ea familia esse quae Frugi appellata sit*, does not appear with this agnomen on any coin or inscription (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. p. 62). Besides, L. Piso was *proconsul* of Macedonia; whereas Catullus seems rather to imply that Veranius and Fabullus were in attendance on a *propraetor*, with whom he contrasts his own praetor Memmius, XXVIII. 7. 8.

1. *inanis*, 'empty-handed,' opposed to *cum onere*, Amph. i. 1. 174; here it is explained by the next line, *Aptis sarcinulis et expeditis*.

2. *Aptis*, 'easily adjusted,' 'handy.' Heroid. iv. 24 *Sarcinae haec animo non sedet apta meo*. *sarcinulis*, 'baggage.' Plin. Epist. iv. 1. 2 *Iam sarcinulas alligamus festinaturi quantum itineris ratio permiserit*. Petron. 99 *Itaque, quod bene eueniat, expedit sarcinulas et uel sequimini me, uel si nullis ducite*. *expeditis*, here of light luggage, which is easily got in hand; more often of the person who travels *expeditus*, without incumbrances, in which sense it seems to be used in Sen. Epist. 17. 3 *Paupertas expeditus est, securus est*.

4. *Quid rerum geritis?* a common form of greeting. Aul. i. 2. 39 *Rogitant me ut ualeam, quid agam, quid rerum geram*. It is frequent in Plautus (W. Wagner on Aul. i. 1. 15).

5. **Vappa**, originally wine which has lost its flavour and become insipid. Plin. H. N. xiv. 125 *Est natura vitiumque musto quibusdam in locis iterum sponte feruere, qua calamitate deperit sapor, uappaeque accipit nomen probrosum etiam hominum cum degenerauit animus.* In this latter sense of 'a good-for-nothing man,' cf. Hor. S. i. 1. 103 *Non ego auarum Cum ueto te fieri, uappam iubeo ac nebulonem. frigoraque et famem.* Liu. xxvii. 44 *maiores partem militum fame ac frigore quae miserrima mortis genera sunt amisisset.*

6-8. 'Do your accounts show any profits on the wrong side? as mine do, when in attending my praetor I enter my expenses as receipts.' **Expensum** is *παρ' ἐπένουαν* for *acceptum*, paid out by you, instead of paid in to you. 'Are the only entries you have made of moneys received by you entries of moneys paid away by you?' Cf. the joke in Plautus' Truc. i. 1. 54 *Accepta dico, expensa ne qui censeat.* A sarcasm, not unlike this in form, is to be found in Demosth. Androt. 61 *τίς δὲ ἀπορπάξας δόρα ὑπέδωκε ἐξ ἀρχῆς*, where the charge alleged is that the individual in question had made a return not of his property, but of the sums which he had stolen.

6. **patet**, 'stands entered.' Q. Rosc. ii. 5 *Non habere se hoc nomen in codice accepti et expensi relatum confitetur, sed in aduersariis patere contendit.* **lucelli**, similarly applied by Cicero to the gains made by Q. Apronius, the subordinate of Verres in Sicily. Verr. iii. 30. 71 *Imperat Agyrinensibus ut decumas ipsi publice accipiant, Apronio lucrum dent . . . Apronio, deliciis praetoris, lucelli aliquid iussi sunt dare. Putatote Apronio datum, si Apronianum lucellum ac non praetoria praeda uobis uidebitur.* Ib. 44. 106 *docuerunt uos quid lucelli fecerit homo non malus, familiaris praetoris, Apronius.*

7. **mihi**, sc. **patet in tabulis.**

8. **Praetorem**, C. Memmius. **refero** is generally explained as a historic present, 'entered.' In the uncertainty which hangs over the chronology of Catullus' life, it is safer to suppose the poem written at the close of his connexion with Memmius, and whilst it was still scarcely a thing of the past. **datum** is explained by Voss as = *expensum*; it seems to be the opposite of *acceptum*. 'I enter as gain, not what I received, but what I paid away,' cf. De Amic. xvi. 58 *Ad calculos reuocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum*; Sen. de Ira, iii. 31 *Falsas rationes conficis, data magno aestimas, accepta paruo.* A different interpretation is suggested by the use of *datum referre* with a dat. = 'to enter as advanced on the account of a person,' in Flacc. xix. 44 *Dicunt se Flacco . . . drachmarum xv milia dedisse . . . Cum illam pecuniam nominatim Flacco datam referant.* The object of *refero* will then be the following clause, *O Memmi . . . irrumasti*, i. e. as explained by Scaliger, 'I set down as advanced to the account of gain this entry. Completely fooled by Memmius; money promised and never forthcoming.' But the form in which the sentence is couched, *O Memmi* (see on 9), is rather against this. **refero** **lucello**, as Cicero says, *operi publico referunt* Flacc. xix. 44.

9, 10. See on X. 11, 12, and Introd. to XVI. Catullus means that Memmius has abused his patience grossly and with the greatest unconcern (*lentus*). So Lucilius, l. xiv. ap. Macrobi. vi. 4. 2 *Si mihi non praetor sis additus alque agilet me. Nam male sic ille ut dico me extenderat unus.*

9. O Memmi introduces a protest, as in Verr. iii. 68. 159 *O Timarchide, Metelli est filius in provincia non puer, adulescens pudens ac bonus, dignus illo loco ac nomine.*

10. *trabe*, τῷ αἰδοίῳ, so probably Sulpic. 36 of Domitian, *Non trabe sed tergo prolapsus*. *lentus*, 'unconcernedly,' 'coolly.' Statius compares a line of Afranius' Emancipatus, 87 Ribbeck *Quam lente tractat me atque inludit*; and so Laberius, 29 Ribbeck *Nunc tu lentus, nunc tu susque deque fers*; i. e. ἀδιαφορεῖς as explained by Gell. xvi. 9. 4; Mart. ii. 46. 7 *Tu spectas hiemem succincti lentus amici*. Cf. Schwabe, Quaestt. Catull. p. 171.

11-15. 'But for all I can see, you, my friends, have been as badly off as I was. Piso is as worthless as Memmius. This is what comes of courting the great. My curse upon them all!'

11. *pari Casu*, 'the same predicament.'

12. *uerpa*, a rather rare word = ψωλή, as *uerpus* = ψωλός. It occurs three times in the Pompeian Inscriptt., cf. Mart. xi. 46. 2, Priap. xxxiv. 5. Piso is called *uerpus Priapus* XLVII. 4.

13. *Peto*. Ironical apostrophe to the world at large, here represented by non-individualized imperative singular. So *Desine* LXXIII. 1. Generally *I* is prefixed, as in Prop. iii. 18. 17 *I nunc tolle animos*; Iuven. x. 310, *I nunc et iuuenis specie laetare tui*; xii. 57 *I nunc et uentis animam committe*. Riese aptly compares Theocr. v. 38 θρέψαι κύνας ὥς τε φυλάσσοντι. *nobiles*. Cicero often alludes to the high rank of the Pisos. Pis. i. 1 *commendatione fumosarum imaginum*; Sest. viii. 21 *nobilitate ipsa, blanda conciliatricula, commendatus*; Tac. H. iv. 11 *nomen insigne*; Ann. iii. 17 *nobilitatem domus*. The family was plebeian, but had been distinguished since the Second Punic War: they traced their origin to Calpus, a son of Numa, Paul. Diac. s. u. *Calpurni*, Plut. Numa xxi, whence Horace addresses the Pisos as *Pompilius sanguis* A. P. 292. The Memmii were also plebeian, and the C. Memmius of the Jurgurthine war, trib. pleb. 643 | 111 is called by Sallust *infestus potentiae nobilitatis* Jug. 27; cf. *odio potentiae nobilitatis* Jug. 30: in the last century of the republic they seem to have been ranked among the *nobiles*, and so Vergil speaks of *Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi* Aen. v. 117.

14. *At* introduces an imprecation, as in Hor. S. ii. 2. 40 *At uos Praesentes Austri, coquite horum obsonia*, cf. XXVII. 5. *mala multa di deaeque*. See on XIV. 6. *Di deaeque*, as in Sen. Epist. 95. 21 *di illas deaeque male perdant*; 96. 4 *Neque di neque deae faciant ut te fortuna in deliciis habeat*. Petron. 79, cf. 101 *iurat per deos deasque*.

15. *opprobria*, scandals to the Roman name. Tac. Ann. iii. 66. Cicero calls L. Piso *familiae non dicam Calpurniae sed Caluentiae, neque huius urbis sed Placentini municipii, neque paterni generis sed braccatae cognationis, dedecus* Pis. xxiii. 53. *Romulei Remique* perhaps expresses nobles and commons alike; cf. LVIII. 5 *magnanimis Remi nepotes*, and note; Iuven. x. 73 *Sed quid Turba Remi?* an interpretation not disproved by the fact that *regna Remi* Prop. ii. 1. 23, *Remuli alumni* Sulpic. 19, *domus alta Remi* Mart. xii. 3. 6, are used without any disparaging connotation<sup>1</sup>. The combination of the two words here is in

<sup>1</sup> It seems nearly certain that Catullus would not have called Cicero *disertissimus Remi nepotum*, nor spoken of Lesbia's low paramours as *Romuli nepotes*.

any case designed. It gives greater emphasis to Piso's and Memmius' infamy, as *di daeque* give greater emphasis to the imprecation.

## EXCURSUS ON XXVIII. 6-10.

THIS passage has been explained by Gronovius de Pecunia Veteri iii. 17 : 'Ista *Ecquidnam in tabulis* ita explicanda videntur : Numquid (quum in suis aeris accepti et expensi tabulis redeunt e provincia magistratuum contubernales soleant habere accepta relata lucello, seu notatas non paruas summas lucelli nomine a praetore concessas) in uestris tabulis, ubi lucellum patere debebat, ubi acceptum, nihil apparet, sed utramque paginam facit expensum? ut mihi accidit infelici, qui contubernalis Memmii in *lucello refero datum* : hoc est, quum et ipse in meis tabellis aliquid accepti lucello referre deberem, nihil in illis habeo, nisi quod dedi uel expendi de meo : in illis tabulis, in ea parte rationum, ubi patere debebat lucellum, quam dicaueram referendis acceptis lucello, refero et scriptum habeo etiam datum et expensum. Exclamationem, quae subiungitur, uidetur ei exprimere recordatio praeteriti doloris, quasi diceret : Cuius infelicitatis cum in mentem uenit, non possum non irasci tibi, Memmi, et iure exprobrare, quod me patientem hominem et usque obdurantem spe meliorum impudenti mora circumduxisti, et lactasti, tandemque inanem et inhonoratum dimisisti. Sequitur *Sed quantum uideo* : id est, solatio tamen est socios malorum habuisse, nihilo felicius uobis accidit. Illud Scaligeri *refero datum lucello*, et pro summa in tabulis scribo, *O Memmi, bene me* ; uereor ne sit facetius quam uerius. Nam *datum* (quod per Memmium Catullo donatum atque adeo Catullo acceptum intelligit Scaliger) uidetur potius positum pro ipso expenso Catulli : ita enim in suis tabulis ponit *datum*, ut in Pisonis tabulis *expensum* : *datum* igitur et *expensum* idem. Similiter Pisonis comitum in tabulis lucelli quaerit an *pateat expensum* quemadmodum sibi *referantur lucello data*. Ergo *tabulas lucelli* et *lucellum* hic idem, sensusque sunt unius *patere in tabulis lucelli* et *referri lucello*.'

## XXIX.

No poem of Catullus is more famous than this. Like LVII *Pulcre conuenit improbis cinaedis*, it is an attack on Mamurra, and through him on his patrons Caesar and Pompeius. Caesar himself considered the poem, perhaps with LVII, to have set an imperishable brand upon him (Suet. Iul. 73), and Catullus' words, LIV. 6, 7 *Irascere iterum meis iambis Inmerentibus, unice imperator*, show that it had made him really angry. It may be doubted whether he ever quite forgave an attack at once so unsparing and so polished, in spite of the story recorded by Suetonius of his inviting the poet to dinner as a token of reconciliation (Iul. 73). The incisive character of the metre stamps these iambs on the memory ; and Caesar's literary feeling would assure him that the indignation of Republican Rome had here found a voice which would be heard everywhere and leave an echo (Mommsen, iv. p. 320, Eng. Transl.).

The date is determined by 4, 20 : it must be later than the first invasion of Britain 699 | 55. Haupt and Mommsen agree in concluding

from *socer generque* 24, that it was written while Julia, the wife of Pompeius, was still living, i. e. before the second expedition in the summer of 700 | 54; and Munro, though doubting the legitimacy of this argument, fixes the period of composition to the winter of 55-54, when Caesar was in Cisalpine Gaul, and might have been entertained by Catullus' father at Verona, and effected his reconciliation with the poet (Criticisms and Elucidations, pp. 80, 81); cf. Bruner p. 642, Schwabe p. 237.

Mamurra is probably again alluded to in XLI. 4, XLIII. 5, as the bankrupt of Formiae, where he was born (Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 48), and which is called *urbs Mamurrarum* by Horace S. i. 5. 37; he is generally identified with the Mentula of the Epigrams, XCIV, CV, CXIV, CXV. Pliny, xxxvi. 48, tells us he was an eques and *praefectus fabrum*<sup>1</sup> to C. Caesar in Gaul, and that he was the first Roman who coated the walls of his house with marble, and used Carystian in the construction of his columns. It was this wealth which made him obnoxious: Cicero speaks of *Labieni diuitiae et Mamurrae* as one of the scandals of the Triumvirate (Att. vii. 7. 6); from Catullus we see that he got his riches not only from Caesar, but Pompeius (*uostre* 13; *Eone nomine . . . Socer generque, perdidistis omnia?* 24); that he was successful with women (6-8): and that he had literary tastes which brought him into close personal connexion with Caesar (LVII. 7). On the peculiar charge alleged against him in LVII. 1, 2, as against Caesar ib. and XXIX. 2, 9-10, see Munro's discussion, pp. 87-92. Whether XXIX was prompted by the poet's jealousy of his rival in the affections of Ammiana, XLI, XLIII, is very doubtful, though B. Schmidt rightly observes that the 'recens odium' which breathes through it may well have been caused by mortified love (Proleg. p. xxxi). Schmidt's view that it was written and published at Rome is equally uncertain: for as soon as ever it got into circulation it would be carried to the Capital.

1-10. 'Who but a man lost to all decency can help feeling indignant to see Mamurra enjoying the treasures of Gaul and Britain, and playing the successful wanton and corrupter of women? What name can be too strong for the mighty patron who winks at this? He is a catamite Romulus, a glutton, a gambler.'

11-20. 'Was it only to enrich this rake, Caesar, that you penetrated to Britain, and the farthest west? If ever generosity was misplaced, it was there. Mamurra has squandered everything, his patrimony, the spoils of Pontus and Iberia, the wealth of Gaul and Britain: all alike fear him.'

21-24. 'Pompeius, and you his father-in-law, Caesar, what possessed you both to fondle a rogue whose only ability is in wasting money? O shame to Rome! Just to gorge this rogue, all is lost.'

1. *uidere*. Theogn. 58 *τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀρέχουσ' ἑστιάων*; The combination *uidere, pati* is also Greek: Soph. O. C. 1676 *ἰδόντε καὶ παθούσα*. Antiph.

<sup>1</sup> 'Mamurra was Caesar's chief engineer in Gaul, where operations were on so gigantic a scale; he must therefore have been a man of distinguished professional merit; high too in Caesar's confidence, as he had served years before under him in Spain; nay, years before that he had served in some similar capacity under Rome's other great general, Pompey, when engineering works must have been on an equally great scale; and as Pompey had the whole of Lucullus' army handed over to him, it is more than probable that Mamurra was with Lucullus before.' Munro, p. 86.

fr. 219 Kock ἴδω τε καὶ παθόν. pati, Caesar B. G. i. 43 *quis pati posset?* Att. x. 8. 3 *Pati poterunt oculi me cum Gabinio sententiam dicere?* Tragicus ap. Cic. pro Scauro, ii. 3 *Victor insolens se uictum non potuit pati.* Riese adds Laberius 108 Ribb. *Etenim ipsi di negare cui nil potuerunt. Hominem me denegare quis posset pati?*

2. *impudicus=cinaedus.* See on XXI. 12; Catal. v. 9 *Quid impudice et improbande Caesari*, where the meaning is fixed by the rest of the poem. Catullus probably alludes to the stories connected with Nicomedes king of Bithynia. Suet. Iul. 49 *Pudicitiae eius famam nihil quidem praeter Nicomedis contubernium laesit graui tamen et perenni opprobrio et ad omnium conuicia exposito. Omitto Calui Licinii notissimos uersus Bithynia quidquid Et pedicator Caesaris unquam habuit. Praetereo actiones Dolabellae et Curionis patris in quibus eum Dolabella paelicem reginae, spondam interiorem regiae lecticae, ac Curio stabulum Nicomedis et Bithynicum fornicem dicunt... Gallico denique triumpho milites eius inter cetera carmina qualia currum persequentes ioculariter canunt, etiam uulgatissimum illud pronuntiauerunt Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem. Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias. Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Caesarem.* The charge, as stated by C. Memmius, was that Caesar *ad cyathum et unum Nicomedi stetit cum reliquis exoletis pleno conuiuio, accubantibus nonnullis urbicis negotiatoribus quorum refert nomina.* Suet. Iul. 49. *uorax.* Suetonius, Iul. 53, says Caesar was indifferent about his food; and as Munro shows, pp. 92, 93, nothing as to his gluttony is proved by his practice, probably dietetic, of taking emetics, Deiot. vii. 21, Att. xiii. 52. 1. *aleo*, an old word for *aleator*. Gambling was illegal at Rome and considered disreputable, Catil. ii. 10. 23. It was perhaps in gambling that Caesar incurred some part of his enormous debts; the celebrated *πᾶς ἀσπρόφθω κύβος, iacta esto alea*, was probably in character; yet it is remarkable that Suetonius, who mentions Augustus, Caligula, Claudius, Domitian, as fond of play, is silent when speaking of Caesar. The three charges here brought against Caesar are similarly combined by Aeschines in Timarch. 42 *ἐπραξε ταῦτα* (i. e. *ἡταίρει*) *δουλεύων ταῖς ἀσχίσταις ἡδοναῖς, ὀφθαλμίας καὶ πολυτελείαις δεῖπνων καὶ αὐληγρίαι καὶ ἐταίραις καὶ κύβοις.* Manilius v. 321 *lasciuuit amores In uarios, ponitque forum* (sets on the dice-board) *se datque Lyaeo.*

3. *Māmurrā* here, but *Māmurrarum* Hor. S. i. 5. 37, and so Mart. ix. 60. 1, x. 4. 11. Cf. the similar variation of quantity in *Lūceres*, *Māmūrius Cāllius Porsēna* (Lachm. Lucret. p. 36). *Comata Gallia*, the collective name of Transalpine Gaul. Cic. Phil. viii. 9. 27 *Galliam Togatam remitto, Comatam postulo.* Plin. H. N. iv. 105 *Gallia omnis Comata uno nomine appellata.* Suet. Iul. 22 *initio Galliam Cisalpinam accepit (Caesar), mox per senatum Comatam quoque.*

4. *uncti*, 'all that was fat,' i. e. rich: somewhat similarly *uncta patrimonio* 22. Pliny's omission of *uncti*, or any corresponding word in his quotation xxxvi. 48, makes it possible that Catullus wrote *ante*, as Lachmann and Munro prefer. But *cū te* is not *cō te*, and it is *co* which is corruptly written in our MSS for *a* in the words *inde cor* for *uidear*, *moenico* for *moenia*, *conciliis* for *ancillis* (XLVIII. 4, LXIV. 212, LXVII. 42). *ultima*, XI. 12. For the long *a* before two consonants, see IV. 9, 18. 'Gold and silver were reputed to exist in considerable quantities, and'

British pearls enjoyed a reputation, which was found to be beyond their merits when they came to be further known.' E. H. Bunbury, *Hist. of Ancient Geography*, ii. p. 339, quoting Strab. iv. 5. 2, Tac. Ann. xiv. 33. Pliny, H. N. xvii. 43, speaks of the *fertility* of Britain.

**5. Cinaede Romule.** It would doubtless give an extra point to this expression if it was written after the title of *pater patriae* had been conferred on Caesar, B.C. 45. Liu. i. 16 *Deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae uniuersi saluere Romulum iubent*; v. 49 *Inter iocos militares quos inconditos iaciunt Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud uanis laudibus appellabatur (Camillus)*. This at least seems to be partly the meaning of *Romule Arpinas*, the taunting name given to Cicero in the Declamatio against him ascribed to Sallust (iv. 7), and quoted by Quintil. ix. 3. 89. It is not improbable that Caesar himself liked to be compared with Romulus; and that it was in accordance with his known wish that the title of *parens patriae*, and the distinction of having his statue placed in front of the temple of Quirinus were conferred upon him in the last year of his life. It is not however necessary to suppose that this is the allusion in Catullus. Caesar might be called Romulus partly as a would-be king, partly in irony, to hint that he was a very poor imitation of the great founder of Rome. So Sulla is called *scaeuus iste Romulus* in a fragm. of Sallust's Histories, i. 4. 45, i.e. a Romulus in the wrong way, not the new founder of Rome, but the destroyer of its liberties (Kritz); and so Pompeius, when the Gabinian law was under discussion, was reminded by the Consul *ὅτι Ῥώμυλον ζῆλόν οὐ φεύξεται ταῦτόν ἐκείνῳ τέλος* Plut. Pomp. xxv, quoted by Schwabe. Caesar's aims at sovereignty were very early discernible (Suet. Jul. 9). Even in his first consulship, after the enforced retirement of Bibulus, *unus omnia in republica et ad arbitrium administrauit* (ib. 20).

**6. superbus et superfluens** are expegetic of each other, 'rioting in the arrogance of wealth.' *Superbus* of the pride of a man risen to wealth. Hor. Epod. iv. 5 *Licet superbus ambules pecunia*; and for *superfluens* cf. Sen. de Benef. i. 4 *Liberalitatem nec deesse oportet nec superfluere*. The elder Dousa explained *superfluens* in reference to the word following, 'brimming over with wantonness,' Shakespere's *superfluous and lust-dieled man*; but this idea, though suggested by the word, is at least not the main one here.

**7. Perambulabit**, 'stroll along,' as in Most. iii. 2. 122; Hor. C. iv. 5. 17; Epod. xvii. 41. The word very aptly describes the sedate and self-assured strutting of the dove. *cubilia*, peculiarly used of the marriage-bed, and therefore strictly correct in reference to the adulterer Mamurra. Mart. ix. 6. 8 *Qui nec cubili fuerat ante te quondam Pudor esse per te coepit et lupanari*.

**8. albulus columbus**, 'a dainty white dove.' Alexis ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. p. 481 (214 Kock) *Λευκὸς Ἀφροδίτης εἰμὶ γὰρ περιστέρως*. Pherecrates, ib. ii. p. 322 (135 K.) *Ἄλλ' ὃ περιστέριον ὁμοιον κλεισθῆναι Πέτρον, κόμισσον δέ μ' ἐς Κύθηρα καὶ Κύπρον*. Doves were sacred to Venus, Athen. 394, Apollon. R. iii. 550, where the schol. quotes Apollodorus 8 *ἡ περιστέρα ἱερὰ Ἀφροδίτης διὰ τὸ λάγνον*, cf. infr. LXVIII. 125-128, and kept in the precincts of her temples. Aelian, speaking of the large flocks of doves which frequented the temple of Aphrodite at Eryx in Sicily, says *ἀθύρματα γὰρ Ἀφροδίτης περιστέρως εἶναι ᾄδουσι τε ἐκείναι καὶ*



πεπιστεύκασι πάντες ἄνθρωποι (H. A. iv. 2). Elsewhere he states (x. 33) that *while* doves were sacred to Aphrodite and Demeter. A large dove stands on each of the wings of the temple of Venus at Paphos, and another within the balustraded enclosure in front of the temple, as figured in Donaldson's *Architectura Numismatica* No. xxxi: **Adoneus**, a rare form of *Adonis*, found also Menaechm. i. 2. 35, and in Ausonius, Ep. xxx. 6. Heussner quotes δ' Ἀδώνιος from Bekker Anecd. 346; cf. Kock *Fragm. Com. Graec.* i. 569; and this, rather than the archaic *Adoneus*, may have been the form preferred by Catullus. The two comparisons explain each other; Mamurra's success with women was so great that he might seem the favorite of Venus, a pet of the goddess like some snow-white dove or snow-white Adonis (*niueum Adonim* Prop. ii. 13. 53), as he is described in Theocritus' *Adoniazusae*, or Bion's *Lament*. [Munro objects to reading *Adoneus* here, on the ground that the ancient conception of him is a beautiful but chaste youth, not an effeminate pursuer of women; but cf. such passages as Luc. Dial. Meretr. καθεύδεις μετὰ τοῦ Ἀδωνίδος Χαυρίου, where Musarion calls her lover *smooth* (λείος), Aristaen. i. 8 ἴστω αὐτὸς περιπόδητος Ἀδωνίς ταῖς ἑταίραις. As however the MSS give *aut ydoneus*, it is possible that some other corruption is concealed, perhaps *aut Thyonius* = *Thyoneus*, see on XXVII. 7, here a title of Bacchus as the *phallic* god. Hesych. Θωνίδας ὁ Διώνυσος παρὰ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις τοὺς σκίνοὺς φάλητας.]

9. **haec uidebis et feres**, 'will you see this and yet endure?' Sen. de Vit. Beat. 21 *Quare opes contemnendas dicit et habet?*

11. **Et nomine**, 'on this account,' so *alio nomine, meo nomine* in Cicero. **imperator unice**, repeated LIV. 7. Liu. vi. 6 *Proinde quam opinionem de unico imperatore, eam spem de bello haberent*. Cicero, with equal irony, addresses Piso as *praeclare imperator* Pis. xxxvii. 91.

12. **ultima occidentis insula**, Britain, as Hor. C. i. 35. 29 *ultimos Orbis Britannos*.

13. **uestra**, 'of you and your son-in-law, Pompeius,' the *socer generque* of 24. Pis. xvii. 65 *Da te populo, committe ludis. Sibilum metuis? ubi sunt uestrae scholae?* i.e. the philosophical discussions held by you and your friends; ib. xi. 24 *Seplasia mehercule ut dici audiebam te ut primum aspexit Campanum consulem repudiavit . . . Gabinium denique si uidissent uestri illi unguentarii, citius agnouissent*, yours and your colleague's; ib. xii. 26 *An uero reliquo tempore consulem te quisquam duxit, quisquam tibi paruit, quisquam in curiam uenienti assurrexit, quisquam consulenti respondendum putauit? numerandus est ille annus denique in republica cum obmutuisset senatus, iudicia conticuissent, maererent boni, uis latrocinii uestri tota urbe uolaret, neque ciuis unus ex ciuitate sed ipsa ciuitas tuo et Gabinii sceleri furorique cessisset?* *Vester* never in Catullus = *tuus*. See on LXIV. 160, LXVIII. 151, XCIX. 6. **diffutula**, but *defutula* XLI. 1. *Diffutula* perhaps expresses the multiplicity of Mamurra's amours, *omnium cubilia*. The two forms may have coexisted, like *deslere differe* in Apuleius. See Koziol, *Styl des Apuleius*, p. 315. **mentula**, i.e. 'debauchee,' viz. Mamurra.

14. **comesset**, a very common metaphor for squandering. Sest. li. 110 *bona solus comesset*; Mart. v. 70. 5 *O quanta est gula centies comesse* (quoted by Vulp.). So *deuorare* in 22, Pis. xxxvii. 90; *abbigurrere* Enn. Sat. 29, Vahlen.

15. *Quid est alit*, 'what is perverted generosity if it is not this? 'What is this but —?' Halm on Phil. ii. 4. 7, who quotes Phil. i. 9. 22 *Quid est aliud hortari adulescentes, ut turbulenti . . . ciues uelint esse?* v. 2. 5 *Quid est aliud omnia ad bellum ciuile hosti arma largiri?* x. 2. 5 *Quid est aliud librium Bruti laudare, non Brutum?* *alit* = *aliut*, as in Lucr. i. 1115, v. 1305. Catullus has *alis* for *alius* LXVI. 28. *sinistra*, 'perverted,' as in Plin. Epist. vii. 28. 3 *sinistra diligentia*, of censorious busy-bodies. Sallust expresses the meaning Cat. 52 *Bona aliena largiri, liberalitas uocatur.* *liberalitas*. A word of Caesar's. Suet. Iul. 38 *parce neque pro liberalitate sua*. Cic. Fam. vii. 17, speaks of Caesar's *incredibilis liberalitas*, and calls him *liberalissimus*: cf. Phil. ii. 45. 116 *muneribus monumentis congiariis epulis multitudinem imperitiam delentat; suos praemiis, aduersarios clementiae specie deuinxerat*; ib. 20. 50 *Ad Caesarem cucurristi . . . ibi te cum illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis expleuisses*.

16. *expatruit*, 'lecher'd away,' 'spent in lechery' = *effutuisti*, Suet. Iul. 51. *elluatus*, 'wasted on gluttony.' Sest. lii. 111 *Quid? tu meo periculo gurgas ac uorago patrimonii helluabare?* De Prou. Cons. vi. 14 *iam in exostra helluabatur*. Cf. Antiphon's *κατηρίστηκεν*, 'has squandered on breakfasts,' Athen. 423.

17. *Paterna bona*, Novius 6 Ribbeck. Lucian (Dial. Meretric. vii. 1) makes the poor lover promise large presents to his mistress, *ἐὰν ὁ πατήρ*—(aposiopesis for *θάνη*) *καὶ κύριος γένομαι τῶν πατρῶων*. *lancinata*, as in Senec. Epist. 32. 2 *diducimus illam (uilam) in particulas ac lancinamus*, 'we fritter away our life.' The original idea may have been cutting a piece of meat into platefuls (*lances*). Symm. i. 64 *Quod auri, quod argenti direptione hostium lancinatum*.

18. *praeda Pontica*, according to Voss and Mommsen, Hist. Rom. iv. p. 321, Eng. Transl., the spoil of Mitylene, of which Caesar had a share as one of the officers serving under M. Thermus, praetor of Pontus and Bithynia, 674–5 | 80–79. But this occasion was hardly memorable enough to be alluded to as one of the richest of Caesar's military successes. It seems better with Haupt and Munro to refer it to the spoil taken by Pompeius in the Mithridatic war; in the triumph for this war, 693 | 61, Pompeius brought into the treasury in money, as well as in gold and silver vessels, 20,000 talents: the conquered peoples, as enumerated by Plutarch Pomp. 45, amounted to fourteen, Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine, Judaea, Arabia.

18–19. With this charge, which is really aimed at Caesar, cf. the words of Sallust, Hist. fr. i. 1 *Cimbricam praedam uenum aut dono datam*, spoken of Sulla.

19. *Hibera* cannot refer to the Spanish war carried on between Caesar and the legati of Pompeius, L. Afranius and M. Petreius, 705 | 49, or that between Caesar and Pompeius' sons, 709 | 45, both of which are far removed from the Tagus. It remains to explain it of the Lusitanian war, 693 | 61, conducted by Caesar as propraetor. Plutarch says of this war, Caes. 12 *ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτός τε πλούσιος γεγονὼς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφελήκως ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ προσαγορευόμενος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν*. (Haupt. Quaestt. Catull. p. 18; cf. Mommsen, Hist. Rom. iv. p. 321, Munro, Crit. and Elucid. p. 86.) *scit*, 'is witness,' Aen. xi. 259 *Scit*

*triste Minervae Sidus et Euboicae cautes ultorque Caphareus.* aurifer. Ovid Am. i. 15. 34 *Cedat et auriferi ripa beata Tagi*. Did Catullus know what Cicero had heard about Britain, when he wrote, Fam. vii. 7. 1 *In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti?* This would give rather more point to the contrasted *aurifer Tagus*.

20. *Neque una Gallia aut timent Britanniae*, 'It is not Gaul only nor the British isles that fear him,' i.e. they are the latest, not the only, sufferers by Mamurra's rapacity. This is my conjecture for the MS reading *Hunc Gallie timet et Britannie*; cf. Heroid. vii. 81 *Omnia mentiris, nec enim tua fallere lingua Incipit a nobis primaeque plector ego*. Val. Fl. v. 112 *deceptus amatae Fraude deae nec solus Halys nec solus Apollo*. Sinope had cajoled Jupiter as well as Halys and Apollo. Auson. Mosell. 386 *Nec sola antiquos ostentat Roma Catones Aut unus tantum iusti spectator et aequi Pollet Aristides*. In 2 Cat. has vented his indignation at seeing Mamurra in possession of the good things of Gaul and Britain; in 11-15 he expands this idea; in 16-19 he recapitulates the earlier largesses he had got from Pompeius and Caesar; in 20 he sums up by returning to Gaul and Britain, and so to the central point of the poem, indignation at Mamurra's patrons. But the reading is quite doubtful: see the Excursus. *Britanniae*. If Pliny, N. H. xvii. 42 *Alia est ratio quam Britanniae et Galliae inuenere*; 43 *Illam Gallias Britanniasque locupletantem*, could speak of Gaul and Britain in each case as plurals, seemingly with no reference to any non-Gaulish or non-British territory, —for surely he cannot be thinking of the other islands, Orcades, Hebrides, Mona, Vectis, &c., which he includes in the plural *Britanniae*, iv. 102,—it seems possible that Cat. might do the same; but the plural would also be possible as a vague and undefined expression for what was still a *terra incognita*.

21. *malum* was explained by most of the older commentators and lately by Munro, Benoist, and Martha in *Révue de Philologie* vii. p. 5, as an interjection, 'Why, the mischief, do you pamper him, both of you?' a Plautine and Terentian use, e.g. Phorm. v. 8. 55, Eun. iv. 7. 10, Heaut. iv. 3. 38, ii. 3. 77; and not uncommon in Cicero, Phil. x. 9. 18 *Quae malum est ista ratio?* Rosc. Com. xviii. 56 *qua malum stultitia fuit Roscius?* De Off. ii. 15. 53 *Quae te malum inquit ratio in istam spem induxit ut eos tibi fideles putares fore quos pecunia corrupisses?* where Cicero is speaking of *largitio*, as Catullus here of Caesar's *sinistra liberalitas*. To me this seems quite beneath the dignity and the indignation of the poem. *fouetis* includes Pompeius, like *uestra* in 13; unless indeed the corrupt v. 20 originally contained two vocatives, 'O Gaul and Britain,' to which *fouetis* might apply. See Excursus. *quid hio potest Nisi*, 'Is not his whole ability in —?'

22. *uncta* and *deuorare* are in relation to each other, the *patrimonia* being regarded as so many dainty morsels successively swallowed. Phil. ii. 27. 67 *non modo unius patrimonium quamuis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbes et regna celeriter tanta nequitia deuorare potuisset*; a passage which shows that *patrimonia* is strictly plural.

23. *urbis o pudet meae*, i.e. *Romae*. Catullus is ashamed that his name of Roman is disgraced by his country's submission to men like Mamurra and his patrons. This is my conjecture for the MS reading *urbis opulentissime*. But see the Excursus.

**24. Soccer generque**, J. Caesar and Pompeius who had married Caesar's daughter Julia, 695 | 59. The connexion is often alluded to, Catalept. iii. 6 *Gener socerque perdidistis omnia*, 'where the attack is primarily aimed at the son-in-law Nocturnus' (Benoist); Aen. vi. 831 *Aggeribus socer Alpinis et ab arce Monaeci Descendens, gener aduersis instructus Eois*; Lucan i. 114 *quod si tibi fata dedissent Maiores in luce moras, tu sola furentem Inde uirum poterat, atque hinc retinere parentem*; Flor. iv. 2. 13 *generi socerique concordiam*; Mart. ix. 70. 3 *Cum gener atque socer paribus concurreret armis. perdidistis omnia*, 'have ruined everything.' 'We can see from the letters to Atticus that this was a favourite phrase of the "boni" during the three-headed tyranny; thus, ii. 21. 1 *iracundiam atque intemperantiam illorum sumus experti, qui Catoni irati omnia perdiderunt*; i. 16. 5 *uel perire maluerint quam perdere omnia*; xiv. 1. 1 *quid quaeris? perisse omnia aiebat*; 14. 3 *nonne meministi clamare te omnia perire, si ille funere elatus esset*.' Munro. Cf. Liu. Praef. *desiderium pereundi perdendique omnia*; Corn. Nep. Eum. 8 *sua intemperantia nimisque licentia ut omnia perdant*. These passages are enough to show that *perdidistis omnia* cannot be connected with *urbis* in the sense of 'wasted everything Rome possessed.' **perdidistis**. The apostrophe to the two triumvirs instead of Caesar alone is like Dem. Androt. 74.

## EXCURSUS ON XXIX. 20 AND 23.

BEFORE considering these two verses separately it is necessary (1) to determine whether the poem is written throughout in pure iambi, (2) whether there is reason to suspect a transposition of verses, such as Mommsen (followed by Bährens), Schwabe and Ribbeck assume.

It is strange enough that there should still be any question as to the metre. It was practically settled by the Italians as early as the Pontificate of Paul III. The unique copy, now in the Bodleian, of the edition of Catullus which Avancius dedicated (circ. 1534-1540) to the youthful Cardinal Farnese, already assumes the poem to be in pure iambi by the conjectural restoration of 20 *Timentque Galliae hunc, timent Britanniae*, and both Turnebus and the elder Dousa, as well as Hermann, Lachmann, and Haupt did but modify Avancius' emendation. More recently, L. Müller, Bergk, Munro and Bährens follow the same line. On the other hand, Fröhlich, Schwabe, Ribbeck and Schöll treat the poem as mainly written in pure iambi, but admitting an occasional spondee.

The only traces of such a licence in any verse not obviously corrupt are *Mamurram* in 2, *primum* in 17. Of these *primum* is a mere error for *prima*, like *aiunt* for *ail* in the similar poem IV, and was corrected by Avancius before 1500. The first *a* of *Mamurra* is long in Horace S. i. 5. 37, and twice in Martial ix. 60. 1, x. 4. 11: and so *Māmūri* Prop. iv. 2. 61, *Māmūrius* Ovid Fast. iii. 389, *Māmūrium* ib. 260, 392, *Māmercorum* Iuven. viii. 192, *Māmerce* Mart. ii. 88. 1, *Māmertina* xiii. 117. 1. But the fluctuation of quantity in proper names is a thing of constant recurrence; thus Vergil has *Cātillus*, Horace *Cātilus*, Statius *Cātillus*, and Propertius admits *Māmūri*.

Catullus indeed does not allow himself the Lucretian licence of alternately lengthening and shortening the same syllable, e.g. *liquidus flumidus*

*uacillo* (see Munro on Lucr. i. 360), yet the double *m* which the MSS of Catullus XXIX. 3 exhibit under various corruptions (*Nam murram*, *Manu murram*, &c.) perhaps points to the same lightness in the vowel sound of *Māmurra* or *Māmmurra* which made *māmilla*, *ōfella*, *quāter*, possible by the side of *offa*, *mamma*, *quattuor*, in which the naturally short syllable is positionally long.

Accepting then *Māmurram* in 2 as not deviating from the iambus which is the norm of the poem, we may proceed to consider 20 and 23, first pausing to examine Mommsen's transposition of 21-24.

Mommsen would place 21-24 after 10:

21. *Quid hunc malum fouetis? aut quid hic potest*  
*Nisi uncta deuorare patrimonia?*  
*Eone nomine urbis opulentissime*  
 24. *Socer generque perdidistis omnia?*  
 11. *Eone nomine imperator unice,*  
*Fuisti in ultima Occidentis insula,*  
*Vt ista uostra diffututa mentula*  
*Ducenties comesset aut trecenties?*

This by placing *fouetis* 21, *socer generque* 24, before the sentence introduced in 11, supplies the two vocatives which *uostra* demands; whereas in the received order Pompeius, to whom Mamurra owes a large share of the Pontic spoil (18), is only mentioned in the very last verse (24), six lines later (Bährens). Motives of a similar kind suggested Schwabe's transposition of 23, 24 before 11, and Otto Jahn's notion that 1-10 belongs to a different poem from 11-24.

1. The juxtaposition of *Eone nomine* in 23 and 11 thus obtained is no gain to the symmetry of the poem. It is noticeable in the MS arrangement of the verses that the first *Eone nomine* (11) stands nearly midway, as the beginning of a fresh burst of invective. That invective is carried on in detail to 22, and is then again enforced by the indignant resumption *Eone nomine* of 23. This return to the primary motif was doubtless intended to produce a rhetorical effect; and it appears to me to do so. It might be compared with the musical artifice of repeating a melodious phrase, either entirely or in part, at intervals: a sort of *da capo* effect.

2. There is a gradation and an ascent in the existing order which is marred by any of the proposed transpositions. The attack is at first on Caesar alone, 11; in 13 Pompeius is introduced allusively by *uostra*, without which the mention of the Pontic spoils which Pompeius had lavished on Mamurra might seem abrupt; in *fouetis* (21) both Caesar and Pompeius seem to be addressed (this however is not certain, see below); but still only allusively; not till 23, 24 *Eone nomine . . . Socer generque* are the two patrons of Mamurra finally associated, not as combining to enrich their favorite, but as leagued to ruin the world (*perdidistis omnia*).

3. The emphatic line *Socer generque perdidistis omnia*, which is repeated in one of the Catalepta (iii. 6), with the introduction *Vt iste uersus usquequaque pertinet* but in the more usual order *Gener socerque*, loses its distinctness if removed from the prominent position it holds in the MSS as the last line of the poem.

4. In the days of the triumvirate could anyone misunderstand *uostra*? Caesar's name would suffice to recall Pompeius, much more after

marriage with Caesar's daughter, Julia : and particularly in a poem where the same profligate favorite had been enriched by both.

Rejecting then the proposed transposition, and adhering to the MS order, we may proceed to examine 20 and 23 :

16. *Parum expatruuit an parum helluatus est ?*  
*Paterna prima lacinata sunt bona,*  
*Secunda praeda Pontica, inde tertia*  
*Hibera, quam scit amnis aurifer Tagus.*
20. *Hunc gallie timet et britannie.*  
*Quid hunc malum fouetis ? aut quid hic potest*  
*Nisi uncta deuorare patrimonia ?*  
*Eone nomine urbis opulentissime*
24. *Socer generque perdidistis omnia ?*

We may at once eliminate two whole classes of conjecture on 20: (a) those which admit a spondee, e. g. Schwabe's otherwise plausible *Nunc Galliae timetur et Britaniae*, Ribbeck's *Nunc Galliae tenentur et Britanniae*; (b) those which retain *hunc* in any form. It is certain that Catullus would not have allowed this word to be repeated in two consecutive lines. Hence Spengel's *Et hunc Galliae et timent Britanniae* is inadmissible.

Nor can I profess to believe Munro's *Et huicne Gallia et metet Britannia ?* to be right though accepted by W. Wagner and considered by B. Schmidt far superior to all other emendations of the verse, and this in spite of Pliny's remark, H. N. xvii. 43 *illam Gallias Britanniasque locupletantem*, which shows beyond a doubt that in his time Britain no less than Gaul was famous for its rich crops. For (1) *huicne* is only a degree less objectionable than *huncne*; (2) the position of *ne*, which Munro defends from the every-day diction of Plautus and Terence, or the loose style of Horace's Satires (Crit. and Elucid. p. 110), is quite unsuited to the indignant rhetoric of this elaborately finished invective; a remark which seems equally decisive against *malum* as an interjection in 21; (3) the insertion of *metet* after *et* and before *Britannia* is awkward; a criticism which can hardly be said to apply to *aut*; (4) the MSS persistently exhibit not *Gallia Britannia* but *Galliae Britanniae*.

Bährens' *Ecine Galliae optima et Britanniae*, accepted by Riese, but in itself not probable, has the merit of pointing out what seems more than likely, that *Hunc* is a truncated relic of something so different as to be no longer with certainty discoverable. If the verse was meant to form an epigrammatic close to the list of Mamurra's unlawful gains, it seems clear that none of the conjectures mentioned above or displayed at length in vol. I (most of them contain *hunc*) are sufficiently pointed to be worthy of Catullus.

A different line was opened up by Bergk. Placing a full stop at *Hibera*, and altering *quam* to *quem*, he wrote the passage as follows:

*inde tertia*  
*Hibera. Quem scit amnis aurifer Tagus,*  
*Et uncta Gallia, ultima et Britannia,*  
*Quid hunc malum fouetis ? aut quid hic potest*  
*Nisi uncta deuorare patrimonia ?*

This view is open to many objections of detail, the repetition of *uncta*, the weak collocation of *et* after *ultima*, &c. : but the line which it started

has not been followed out, so far as I know, by any critic since, and may be worth considering. For instance, without changing *quam* of all MSS to *quem*, or introducing a very violent pause after *Hibera*, unexampled in the rest of the poem, it is perfectly possible to suppose 20 to have contained in its original form two vocatives to which *fouetis* directly referred. In his other poem written in pure iambics Catullus makes, *more Callimacheo*, a sudden apostrophe to the town Amastris and the hill Cytorus (IV. 13 *Amastris Pontica et Cytore buxifer*): he may have done the same thing here. If he did, it is not unlikely he would repeat *ultima*, applied to Britain in 4, 12, in 20 (so Postgate): at the same time in so doing he would not weakly spoil his line by inserting *et* after *ultima*; the two halves of the verse, we may be sure, would correspond closely, probably with an even number of words. Retaining then *Britanniae* of MSS the verse would end with *ultima Britanniae*, or possibly *ultima* (neuter) *Britanniae*; of the former half *Galliae* alone remains; what preceded can only be conjecture, *Opima*, *Propinqua* or the like. We cannot indeed be sure that *Gallie* of MSS was not corrupted from *Gallia* by assimilation to *Britanniae*; then the two vocatives would answer exactly to each other, the first in the singular, the second in the plural:

*Opima*  
*Propinqua* } *Gallia, ultima Britanniae,*  
*Quid hunc malum fouetis?*

## v. 23.

Hermann was the first to emend the almost desperate *opulentissime*. His conj. *aditissima* is only valuable as showing his conviction that the poem was written in pure iambi throughout. Lachmann in his edition of 1829 suggested *o piissime*, which Haupt has defended at length in his *Quaestiones Catullianae*, p. 20 sqq., himself modifying it with *orbis* for *urbis* into

*Eone nomine orbis o piissimei*  
*Socer generique perdidistis omnia?*

There is much in this conj. that is attractive, for it would not only easily explain the corruption *opulentissime*—we might suppose *o piissime* first became *o pientissime*, then *opulentissime*, as Mr. J. L. G. Mowat has suggested, but would be, as a piece of irony, highly effective as applied to the loving father and son-in-law<sup>1</sup> who were ready to support each other in the worst schemes to secure domination. Yet the arguments against it (summarized by Munro, pp. 102, 103) are so cogent as to have determined its rejection by most recent editors except Riese. They are as follows:

- (1) It necessitates making *urbis* depend on *omnia*, or altering it to *orbis*, which itself could only awkwardly be so constructed. We have thus *two* changes, one in a word which seems genuine (Munro).
- (2) The force of *Socer generique* is diminished by having an epithet attached (Munro).

<sup>1</sup> Lucan, speaking of Caesar fighting with Pompeius, says, vi. 303 *doleat hunc semperque dolebit Quod scelerum, Caesar, prodest tibi summa tuorum, Cum genero pugnavisse pio.*

(3) *perdidistis omnia* is greatly weakened by *orbis* being joined with it, as Munro shows by numerous citations. See note on the verse.

(4) *piissimus* was bad Latin. Cicero Phil. xiii. 19. 43 taunts Antonius for using it: *Tu porro ne pios quidem, sed piissimos quaeris; et quod uerbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam diuinam pietatem nouum inducis*. It is not found in Cicero, even in his Letters as now extant: though the grammarian Pompeius asserts that Caper, the master of Augustus, had collected instances from them in which Cicero had used it. The case of *nouissimus* is no parallel, for both Catullus and Cicero wrote *nouissimus*, and the word, partly no doubt from their adoption, became classical. *Piissimus* was in all periods of the language suspect. The only motive which Catullus could have for introducing the word in this highly-finished piece of Latin would be a sarcastic one. The triumvirs may have tried to make it fashionable; a little later Antonius did actually introduce *piissimus*, perhaps in some public speech, since Cicero would hardly ridicule a merely conversational expression; and as a sarcasm it would have its point. But would not the learned Catullus, in this as in all his more finished writings, have been careful to avoid a word which at the time he wrote was at best an experiment, and which a few years later the greatest master of Latinity pronounced to be not even Latin?

The suggestion of Munro, *urbis ob luem ipsimae*, may, I think, go near to a solution of the difficulty. Dropping *ipsimae*, which is metrically all but impossible, and, as diction, quite, we might substitute *suae*: *opluemsue*, then *opulentsue*, then *opulentissime*.

*Eone nomine, urbis ob luem suae,*

*Socer generque, perdidistis omnia?*

'Was it for this, to please the abomination of his native Formiae, father and son-in-law, that ye ruined all?' Then *urbis suae* = Formiarum, cf. *Decotoris amica Formiani* XLI. 4, XLIII. 5, Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 48 *Mamurram Formiis natum*, words seemingly quoted from Corn. Nepos, Hor. S. i. 5. 37 *In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe* (= Formiis) *manemus*. This at any rate would form a highly effective antithesis: the triumvirs lavish on the bankrupt adventurer of a petty Italian town the collective wealth of the world.

### XXX.

LIPSIUS, Var. Lectt. iii. 5, maintained that this poem is allegorical. In the person of Catullus, Cicero, just then exiled, upbraids his friend Pompeius, under the name of Alfenus, for not coming to his rescue: a theory as ingenious as some of the allegorical interpretations of Shakespeare's sonnets, and as probable.

But is the passion of which the poem speaks for Alfenus, or for some one else whom Alfenus had urged Catullus to love, and who betrayed the poet's affection? The latter view is suggested by 5 *me miserum deseris in malis*, and 8 *Inducens in amorem, quasi tula omnia mi forent*, which might well refer to Catullus' amour with Lesbia, dangerous at the outset (see LXVIII. 52), and miserable in its termination. That Catullus was ill-



treated by his friends in this very matter is clear from LXXVII, XCI, though there is no hint in the present poem of such a breach of confidence as is there mentioned. Alfenus had certainly not betrayed the poet by making love to his mistress. But if he had concealed the dangers in which an amour with such a woman might well result and refused to do anything when Catullus found himself in them, e. g. in removing the suspicions of Lesbia's husband or others concerned to prevent a scandal, the language of the poem would find an adequate explanation. And so B. Schmidt *Prolegom.* pp. ix and xxiv.

On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the ordinary view, according to which Alfenus is himself the object of the friendship here described, is, on the whole, more consistent with the general scope of the poem. Cf. *sure* with Hor. C. iv. 1. 40; the emphatic *animam tradere*, and especially the tone of vv. 9, 10 which recall the passionate complaint of Ariadne, LXIV. 141. The plaintive character of the remonstrance is Theognidean.

Voss thought it certain that Alfenus is the Alfenus Varus, who, according to Porphyry on Hor. S. i. 3. 130, was originally a barber or shoemaker at Cremona<sup>1</sup>, came to Rome, studied law under the celebrated jurist Servius Sulpicius, and finally became consul. An Alfenus was *Consul Suffectus* with Cocceius 715 | 39, another was consul in 755 | 2 A. D. Those who delight in what Mr. Roby calls the 'romantic story' of his origin (Introduction to Justinian, p. cxiii) will find little difficulty in carrying the romance a step farther, and believing that the exclusive Catullus could place himself on terms of familiarity with a man who, if he was consul in 39 B. C., may have been still following a plebeian craft in 60-50 B. C. We might as well suppose that Alfenus displayed some part of his lawyer's *shyness* (*uaser* Hor. S. i. 3. 130) in duping Catullus. On the other hand Muretus may be right in thinking that LXXIII is written on the perfidy of the Alfenus addressed in the present poem.

The metre, which is choriambic, and is called by Hephaestion ἀκατάληκτος Σαπφικὸν ἐκκαίδεκασύλλαβον, is frequently found in Greek poetry. The whole of Sappho's third book and many odes of Alcaeus were composed in it; it was used by Phrynichus in his *Pleuroniae* (fr. 6 Nauck), by Theocritus, Eid. 28, and Callimachus, fr. 114; and it was a favorite metre for σκάλια, e. g. the distich assigned to Praxilla in Aristoph. Vesp. 1239, and those quoted by Athen. xv. 695, Bergk Poet. Lyr. Graec. p. 1293. One of these may have suggested the form of the poem:

δοῖς ἄνδρα φίλον μὴ προδίδωσιν, μεγάλην ἔχει

τιμὴν ἐν τε βροτοῖς ἐν τε θεοῖσιν κατ' ἐμὸν νόον.

It is expressly stated by Hephaestion that the third book of Sappho was written in distichs, and this is also true of the σκάλια: I therefore follow Lachmann in supposing Catullus to have written this poem κατὰ δύο. The unintelligible *Nec* in 4 makes it probable that something is lost before it; I have indicated a lacuna of two verses.

1. *immemor*, 'false to your word,' as in LXIV. 58. *unanimis*, IX. 4.

<sup>1</sup> B. Schmidt, pp. ix and xxiv, thinks Alfenus, who, if he lived at Cremona, was a near neighbour of the Veronese poet, may have introduced Catullus to Clodia and her husband Q. Metellus at the time when Metellus was proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul, 69/68.

2. *Iam nil miseret*, 'Do you cease to pity?' *Iam non dubitas*, 'Do you cease to have any scruples?' In each case *iām* expresses the point from which a new line of conduct begins, and an old one ends. *dulcis*, 'loved,' XLV. 11. *amiculi*, ὑποκοριστικῶς, Verr. iii. 34. 79.

3. *prodere*, particularly used of treachery to a friend, like προδίδνας Theogn. 529 Οὐδένα πω προδῶκα φίλον καὶ πιστὸν ἐταῖρον: cf. 813. That something is lost after 3 is probable partly from the unintelligible *Nec*, partly from *Quae*, which seems to refer to several considerations, perhaps the sense of shame, as well as the vengeance of the celestials. I cannot see how *nec* can mean 'not at all,' as Munro states: certainly none of his instances on Lucr. ii. 23 prove this meaning.

4. Almost a translation of Od. xiv. 83, 4, as Muretus observed, Οὐ μὲν σχέτλια ἔργα θεοὶ μάκαρες φιλέουσι, ἄλλὰ δίκην τίουσι καὶ αἴσιμα ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.

5. *Quae*, if no verses are lost, must mean, 'your perfidy and heaven's vengeance;' a very harsh alternative. *negligis*, 'make no account of,' Theocr. xi. 29 τὴν δ' οὐ μέλει, οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐδέν. in *malis*. Heaut. ii. 3. 17 *me in his deseruisti malis*. Cic. Lael. xvii. 64 *aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt aut in malis deserunt*. Hegesias ap. Rutil. Lup. i. 11 *me in malis deseruerunt*.

6. *dice*, a solemn appeal. Hor. C. i. 8. 1 *Lydia dic per omnes Te deos oro*. I write *dice* for *dic* of most edd., (1) as most nearly representing *dico* of MSS, (2) as an archaism justified by Charis. 349 Keil (cf. 256 and 563), and not disproved by the statement of Quintilian i. 6. 21, who places it on a par with *calfacere* and *conseruauisse* for *calfacere* and *conseruasse*, (3) as considered probable by Munro. The longer form might be in keeping with the dignity of the appeal. *cuius habeant fidem?* Andr. ii. 5. 14 *Nullane in re esse homini quoiquam fidem?*

7. *Certe*, 'at any rate, whatever your conduct now, you led me on at first,' LXIV. 149. *animam tradere*, 'to make over my life,' i. e. to place myself wholly in another's disposal. Rosc. Amer. l. 146 *si tibi omnia praeter animam tradidit*. *inique*, 'cruel one,' the *Crudehis* of Aen. iv. 311.

8. *Inducens*, 'leading on,' as it were into a country which he knew to be safe. The word is a military one, and is very common in Livy; xlv. 20 *maiore periculo quam emolumento exercitum per inuios saltus in Macedoniam inductum*. *tuta omnia*, as if there were no dangers, such as are to be apprehended in a strange country. Vergil perhaps borrows the expression, Aen. iv. 298 *Omnia tuta timens*.

9. *retrahis te*, 'withdraw.' Hor. Epist. i. 18. 58 *Ac ne te retrahas et inexcusabilis absis*. Seneca illustrates the idea, Epist. 16. 9 *Retrahe te a uanis, et cum uoles scire quod peles utrum naturalem habeat an caecam cupiditatem, considera num possit alicubi consistere; si longe progresso semper aliquid longius restat, scito id naturale non esse*. *dicta factaque*, Fam. xiii. 24. 2 *omnia mihi tua et facta et dicta laudabat*. Sen. de Clementia 3 *etiam inter illos quorum omnia dicta factaque ad utilitatem suam spectant*. Petron. 1 *omnia dicta factaque quasi papauere et sesamo sparsa*. Tac. A. ii. 28 *cuncta eius dicta factaque*. Suet. Vesp. 19 *imitans facta ac dicta uiani*. The combination is of course a common one, like the Greek ἔργον τε καὶ ἔπος τε Od. ii. 304, λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ. Catullus has *dictaque factaque sunt* as participles, LXXVI. 8.

10. *Ventos*, LXIV. 59, 142; LXV. 17. *irrita ferre*, 'bear away

into nullity:’ Theocr. xxix. 35 ταῦτα φέρειν ἀνέμοισιν ἐπιτρέπει. *nebulae*, they are dispersed in vapour.

11. *at*, ‘yet be sure,’ solemnly. Aen. i. 542 *Si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma At sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi*; vi. 405 *Si te nulla mouet . . . At ramum hunc . . . Agnoscas. meminerunt, meminit*. The rhythm of this line would doubtless be improved by reading with Muretus *meminere at meminit*; as a rule the second choriambus in this metre ends with the last syllable of a word, even in the σκόλια, and Horace only once violates it, C. i. 18. 16 *prodiga per|lucidior*; yet, as Catullus repeats the licence in 12 *postmodo fac|ti*, and with the first choriambus in 7 and 8, I have thought it safer to leave the reading of all good MSS unchanged. It is noticeable that the second choriambus similarly ends after the first syllable of a word in the two Greek verses quoted in the introduction.

12. *postmodo*. Hor. C. i. 28. 31; Tib. ii. 5. 102; Prop. ii. 10. 18. Riese well observes that in the passage of Horace, as also in Ib. 53 *Postmodo, si perges, in te mihi liber iambus Tincta Lycamdeo sanguine tela dabit*, 645 *Postmodo plura leges et nomen habentia uerum Et pede quo debent fortia bella geri*, the word is used with a threatening connotation. *facti faciet* confirms the similar juxtaposition *meminerunt, meminit*; in each case the repetition of the word conveys extra solemnity.

### XXXI.

CATULLUS tells us in 5 that he had just returned from Bithynia when he wrote these lines. This, on the ordinary hypothesis that Memmius was propraetor of Bithynia in 57 B.C., the year which followed his praetorship at Rome, and held his province for not more than a year, would fix the date of the poem at 56 B.C.: if, as I have suggested, Catullus was with Memmius in 65–64 B.C., in this latter year. C. IV, the dedication of the *Phasellus*, was no doubt written at the same time.

Sirmio, now Sermione, is at the present day planted with olives; but at the northern extremity the remains of a villa are still to be seen, which have been identified with the house of Catullus. Orti, however, under whose superintendence they were excavated some years ago, has shown that they belong to a much later period, probably the reign of Constantine. Persico, *Descrizione di Verona*, ii. p. 218, describing Sermione, says it is joined to the Lugana by an isthmus of 1½ miles, more or less narrow, and that the island itself is about 3 miles in circumference. He adds a curious fact about it which may interest historians. In 774 the peninsula was presented by Charlemagne to the chapter of S. Martin of Tours, to provide the members of the chapter with clothing<sup>1</sup>. Sickel *Acta Caroli R. 774*, 16 iul. *K. et Hildegard regina ecclesiae S. Martini in ciuitate Turomica, in qua idem confessor Christi requiescit et cui Gulsardus abbas praest, uel eiusdem congregationi uestimentorum causa donant insulam in lacu Minciadae cum castello Sermionensi*.

The lacus Benacus (*Garda*) was in *Veronensi agro* Plin. H. N. ix. 75: but Cluverius *Ital. Antiq.* p. 259, Maffei *Verona Illustrata* iii. 27, and

<sup>1</sup> *Regesten der Urkunden der ersten Karolinger*. Wien, 1867.

Schwabe Quaestj. Catull. p. 29, rightly combat the view of Bährens and others that Catullus was born in Sirmio, of which there is no evidence in this poem or elsewhere: for this is more than can be fairly inferred from the mention of the *lar* in 9, in spite of such passages as Liu. i. 29, quoted by Conr. de Allio, *Larem ac Penales lectaque in quibus natus quisque educatusque fuisset*.

1. **Paene insularum insularumque.** Sirmio is connected with the mainland by a narrow strip of land which is at times submerged, and then gives the peninsula the appearance of an island. See Cluverius Ital. Antiq. p. 259. **Sirmio**, a projection from the South shore of Garda, which it divides into two nearly equal halves, the easternmost of which terminates at *Peschiera*, the western at *Desenzano*.

2. **Ocelle**, of anything particularly precious or beautiful, as we might say 'jewel.' Att. xvi. 6. 2 *Cur ocellos Italiae uillulas meas non uideo?* So *ἄμμα*, Eur. Phoen. 802, quoted by Mr. Johnson in Bristed's Catullus, *Ἀρτέμιδος χιονοσρόφον ἄμμα Κιθαίων*. Aristides the rhetor in his panegyric of Smyrna calls that city *the eye of Asia*. **stagnis**, according to Voss, not only lakes but mediterranean seas, as opposed to the great circumambient Ocean, **Mari uasto**. He quotes a fragment of Varro's Chorographia, ap. Priscian. p. 100 *Ergo inter solis stationem et sidera septem Exporrecta iacet tellus; huic extima fluctu Oceani, interior Neptuno cingitur ora*, and Colum. x. 200, where *pater Oceanus* is opposed to *regnator aquarum*, Neptune. It seems more natural to explain **stagnis** of lakes or inland sheets of water, **mari** of any sea, mediterranean or other. This distinction of sea and lake is juristic, e.g. Dig. l. 18. 112 *Litus publicum est eatenus qua maxime fluctus exaestuat; idemque iuris est in lacu, nisi is totus priuatus est*. **liquentibus** defines **stagnis**, which in itself might be applied to any piece of water not river or sea, as sheets of flowing, and therefore more or less clear, water. The two ideas seem to pass into each other, 'liquid' and 'clear'; Catullus has *liquidas undas* LXIV. 2, 'flowing waves'; Vergil, *liquentia flumina, campi liquentes*, 'clear flowing rivers,' 'plains of clear flowing water:' it seems to me certain that neither *liquens* nor *liquidus* ever mean simply 'clear,' but always convey the idea of fluidity in some form.

3. **uterque Neptunus**, either Neptune, i.e. the water-god in either capacity, as ruler of lakes or sea, the sense of *uterque* being in fact determined by *stagnis* and *mari*. According to Servius on G. i. 13, Neptune was the god of water generally, presiding over rivers and springs as well as the sea. So Mart. vii. 40. 2 *Pectore non humili passus utrumque deum*, where *utrumque* is under both aspects, mild or stern. Lib. Spectac. xiii. 5 *Experta est numen moriens utriusque Dianae*, of a sow killed by a spear while giving birth to a pig, and thus the victim of Diana, (1) as goddess of childbirth, and (2) as huntress and slayer of wild beasts. Anth. P. ix. 268, 2 *ἀμφοτέρην Ἀρτεμιν*, similarly. Aristoph. Plut. 396, quoted in Tozer's Geog. of Greece, p. 101, *ἡ τὸν Ποσειδά, βα. τὸν θαλάττιον λέγεις; ἡ δ' ἐστὶν ἑτέρος τις Ποσειδῶν, τὸν ἕτερον*. This is the view of Turnebus Aduers. xxiv. 44; others make *uterque Neptunus*, 'either sea,' the *mare superum* or *inferum*; as Lucan ii. 399 speaks of the Apennines dividing the *geminae undae* of the lower and upper sea. But the objection of Voss is fatal; Catullus does not mean that Sirmio is

the fairest island in the two seas that wash Italy, but of all that he has seen anywhere. A more tenable view is that of K. P. Schulze *Catullforschungen* p. 19: he explains *uterque Neptunus* to mean the sea of the Eastern and Western divisions of the world, as if Catullus, recalling the Bithynian journey, from which he had just returned, carried his mind backward to the farthest point he had reached east, and then again westward to the Adriatic where he had left the sea for Sirmio. Schulze supports his view by Aen. vii. 100 *qua sol utrumque recurrens Adspicit Oceanum*, vii. 223 *uterque Europae atque Asiae orbis*, Geo. iii. 33 *utroque ab litore gentes*, Prop. iii. 9. 53 *carrus utroque ab litore ouantes*, Ovid M. xv. 829 *barbariam gentesque ab utroque iacentes Oceano*, Liu. v. 33 *in utrumque mare uergentes terras*, and specially Cul. 101 *Dum iacit Oceanum flammis in utrumque rapaces*. This interpretation which in a less defined form was held by Passerat (on Prop. iii. 9. 53) and Schrader (Emend. p. 84) is open to two objections. (a) It suggests a fourfold grouping, sea and lake, east and west; thus taking from the plain directness which marks Catullus. (b) The passages cited by Schulze are not really parallel: *uterque oceanus, orbis*; *utrumque litus, mare*, not *uterque Neptunus*. The one real parallel which he cites, Met. i. 338 *sub utroque iacentia Phoebus*, is a mere poetical variation of *sub utroque sole*, much as Rutil. Namatianus ii. 28 *Qua fert atque refert Phoebus uterque diem* means by *Phoebus uterque* the rising and setting sun<sup>1</sup>.

5. **Thuniam atque Bithynos.** Domitius Callistratus, a writer seemingly contemporary with Catullus, and Arrian, agree in making the river Psilion the boundary between the Thynian and Bithynian territory. Sieph. B. Ψίλιον ποταμός μεταξύ Θυνίας καὶ Βιθυνίας, where Domitius is quoted. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 793, cited by Müller, Fragm. Hist. Graec. iii. 594 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ Βοσπόρου γῆν ἕως ἐπὶ Ῥήβαντα Βιθυνοὶ ποτε κατείχον τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα ἐπὶ Πόντον ὀρεινὴν οἱ Θυνοὶ ἔσχον ἄχρι ποταμοῦ Κάλητος, ὡς εἶναι ὁμόρους τοὺς τε Θυνοὺς καὶ τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς, οὕτω καλουμένους ἀπὸ τινων ἀδελφῶν Θυνοῦ καὶ Βιθυνοῦ, καθά φησιν Ἀρριανός, δε καὶ γνησίους παῖδας Φινίως Ἰστορεί Παφλαγόνος, ἐξ οὗ χώρα Παφλαγονία. Καὶ γῆν λέγει Ῥηβαντίαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ψιλίῳ ποταμῷ. . . . Λέγει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀρριανός καὶ ὅτι ἄλλοι Ὀδρόσου παῖδας φασὶ τὸν Θυνὸν καὶ τὸν Βιθυνόν, ὃν ἡ χώρα ὁμώνυμος.

6. **campos**, XLVI. 4, 5. From these two passages we may perhaps infer that, for at least part of his sojourn in Bithynia, Catullus was stationed in the level district west of the Sangarius, the only part of this generally mountainous region to which the word *campi* could properly be applied. in tuto, ἐν ἀσφαλεί, Merc. ii. 3. 45; Fam. xii. 2, 3; Varro, R. R. ii. 9. 15: the expression belongs to the same class as *in promptu in dubio in mundo in medio*, Holtze Synt. i. p. 82.

7. **solutis curis**, 'than putting off the burden of care.' The ordinary prose use, *solvere curis animum* is here varied by the more poetical *solvere curas animo*, as in Aen. i. 562 *Solvite corde metum*. Martial, x. 30. 3 *inquietas fessus exuil curas*, gives the idea more definitely: cares are

<sup>1</sup> Schulze's view is however accepted by Bährens, as well as by Magnus, Harnacker, and Jacoby. It is controverted by Monse in his Waldenburg Dissertation, 1884, pp. 7, 8. Schulze had laid much stress on Neptunus being god of the sea (Cic. de N. D. ii. 20. 66), not of waters generally. Monse shows from Ovid M. i. 274 sqq. that he is represented as god of rivers also, therefore of waters in general. He however merely modifies Schulze's view, translating 'which in clear lakes and in the wide Ocean belong to Neptune's realm in East or West.'

script. All like so many encountering trappings. Part of the felicity of this well-known line lies in its suggesting, by the form of the expression, that the cases were past as if past an actual pleasure; cf. Soph. *Frags.* 344 *Narek alon peraindybortan al alon pamea*.

8. *peregrino Labore*, ' toil abroad,' including the actual toil of travelling. Munro compares Mart. xiii. 29. 1 *peregrinae senectae*, 'age acquired in foreign parts.' Liv. iii. 16 *peregrinae terror*, 'terror arising from foreigners.'

9. *larum*. The first thing a Roman would do on returning from a lengthened absence would be to salute the household God, as the *paterfamilias* is enjoined to do on entering a new farm. Caio, R. R. ii. 1, Colum. i. 8. 20. *nostrum*, by its position is emphasized, 'our own.'

10. *acquiescimus*, Cic. de Orat. ii. 71. 290 *decurso libenter acquiescitur*.

11. 'It is this that is the one perfect compensation for all that load of toil;' i.e. thus to find oneself at home is payment in full for all the fatigues of the journey. With *Hoc est quod unum est* cf. Rosc. Am. xvii. 40 *Hoc vero est quod ferri non potest*.

12. *uenusta*, rarely of places. Key, s.v. quotes no instance. Cf. however Plin. iv. 5. 34 *uenustis hortulis* = *delicatis hortulis*. The epithet, like our 'lovely,' falls short, at least to a modern eye, of the actual beauty of Sirmio, with its high cliffs descending into the transparent blue water, and the exquisite colour of the surrounding land and sky. Persico speaks of 'the amenity of the situation, the buoyancy (*letizia*) of the air, the variety of the views' at Sermione (p. 218). *hero gaude*, 'rejoice in thy master' = 'welcome thy master with rejoicing;' Catullus has already expressed in *Salve* his own joy at returning; in *hero gaude* he expresses the joy of his house and household to see their master again. *hero* is abl., the invariable construction with *gaudere* in Catullus; cf. LV. 20, LXVIII. 103, 125, XCIV. 10, XCVI. 6. It is very doubtful whether *hero gaude* can mean, as Stat. suggested, 'take thy master's welcome,' *hero* thus being dat. as in *salve alicuius mihi* Aen. xi. 97; perhaps *uale mihi* Prop. iii. 21. 16: cf. *re meum salve* Soph. O. T. 596, although Horace's use of *gaudere* as a form of greeting, Epist. i. 8. 1 *Celsus gaudere et bene rem gerere*, 'greeting and good wishes' (A. S. Wilkins), might seem to give a colour to that interpretation.

13. *nonqua*, 'ye alas,' as in Prop. iii. 21. 16 *Qualiscunque mihi laque parva uale*. In both passages the *par*, out of its proper place, repeats the verb of the former line, *gaude*, *gaudent usque*; *maius amari*. *Qualiscunque* *parva uale*. *Lydiae* is explained as referring to the Tuscan settlement in the plains of the Po mentioned by Liv. v. 33 *Tuscanum*

*etiam Romanorum imperium loci extra mare ipsi parant. Mox agere*  
*effugium pariter Italia insulari unde regeret quatuordecim annos*  
*non argumentis: quia aliam Tuscani civitatem unquam gentis aliam*  
*habuerunt nisi ad Hadriae Tuscanum nomen unquam Italiae gentes*  
*videtur: unde etiam aliam Hadriaticam unquam. It: et adramum mare*  
*ingressis inchoant archibus duabus et: prius et Romanorum ad*  
*Hadriae mare, prius prius Romanorum Hadriae mare cepit ingressus etiam*  
*adramum mare: quia prius Hadriae mare loci adramum Tuscanum ingressus*

*qui sinum circumcolunt maris, usque ad Alpes tenuere.* Tac. A. iv. 55 *Tyrrhenum Lydumque Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem diuississe gentem, Lydum patriis in terris resedisse, Tyrrheno datum nouas ut conderet sedes et ducum e nominibus indita uocabula illis per Asiam, his in Italia.* Appian. Pun. 66 *Λυδοὺς αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι, ὅτι οἶμαι Τυρρηνοὶ Λυδῶν ἀποικοί.* The original source of this statement is Herod. i. 94. Pliny mentions Bononia, formerly called Felsina, *cum princeps Etruriae esset* (H. N. iii. 115), Atria (iii. 120), and Mantua (iii. 130), as of Tuscan origin (cf. Verg. Aen. x. 199–203, with the comments of Servius and the Veronese Scholia), and speaks of a trench, of which they were the first constructors, connecting the river Sagis with the marshes of Atria (iii. 120). All these places are in the vicinity of Lake Benacus, which indeed at its Northern extremity abuts on the Raetian Alps, according to some ethnologists the cradle of the Etruscan race. Hence there would be no greater violence in Catullus calling the Benacus *Lydian*, than in Cicero's speaking of a *Lydius haruspex* of Tyrrhenian race, Carm. de Consul. Suo 34 in De Diuin. i. 12. 19; Vergil's *Lydius Tiberis* Aen. ii. 782, cf. Stat. S. i. 2. 190; Horace's *Lydorum quidquid Etruscos Incoluit fines* S. i. 6. 1; Statius' *Lydia ripa* S. iv. 4. 6, of the Etruscan side of the Tiber. *undae* attracts the adj. *Lydiae* into its own gender, the natural construction would be *Lydi lacus undae*. See on XVII. 19, and cf. Aesch. Eum. 292 *χάρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικοῖς*: Prop. i. 20. 9 *Gigantea litoris ora*. Of the proposed emendations the least improbable are Avancius' *limpidae* (IV. 24) or *lucidae* (B. Guarinus and, later, Bergk).

14. 'Laugh out all hearty laughter at my home,' as in III. 1, 2 *Lugele . . . quantum est hominum*. Each of the three verses, 12–14, begins with an imperative, and each has a distinct vocative; hence the interpretation of Stat., 'laugh out, ye waves, with all of ringing laughter that is at home,' is less probable<sup>1</sup>. *cachinni* is used of the plashing of waves, LXIV. 273; but here *domi* defines the word in its literal sense: cf. XIII. 5.

## XXXII.

If *Ipsithilla* (*Ipsitilla*) is rightly elicited from the various spellings of the MSS of this poem, it is doubtful whether the name is an actual one, or coined, on the analogy of actual names, from a word that might suggest the woman's profession. Bücheler on Petron. S. 63, comparing *Ipsa* = *domina*, *ipsimus ipsima* = *dominus domina*, *Issa issulus*, names of endearment in Inscript., *Issa* name of a pet-dog in Mart. i. 109, considers *Ipsithilla* a diminutive of *Ipsa*, expressive of fondness, 'my darling mistress.' Names in *-illa* are common in Inscript. *Lupercilla*, Grut. 1147. 3, quoted by Key, L. D.; *Inuitilla* in an Illyrian inscription printed in A. J. Evans' *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum* p. 16; several occur in Martial, *Maronilla* i. 10. 1, *Vetustilla* iii. 93. 1, *Chrestilla* viii. 43. 1, *Telesilla* xi. 47. 2, cf. Anth. Pal. xi. 239. 5, *Atticilla* xii. 79. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Tyrrell, *Hermathena* for 1875, p. 110, prefers to punctuate *Gaudete, usque Lydiae lacus undae Ridete quidquid e. d. c.*, making *undae* refer to both imperatives, *gaudete* and *ridete*. This inversion can hardly be paralleled in Catullus.

This seems a more probable view than that which makes it the diminutive of an actual name, e.g. *Hypsaea* Hor. S. i. 2. 91, or as Scaliger thought *Hypsithea*. Bährens conj. *Ipsimilla*, which would be properly formed from *Ipsimus*, but is against MSS.

1. **Amabo**, 'pray' or 'please,' a constantly recurring form of entreaty in Plautus and Terence. Lindemann on Mil. G. iii. 3. 26, quoted by Holtze Synt. ii. 160, explains it as originally used with some clause such as 'if you do what I wish,' which was afterwards dropped, and *amabo* used simply as=*obsecro, oro, &c.* The correlative *si me amas* is also not unfrequent. Merc. iii. 1. 41 *Amabo, an maritust?* Eun. i. 2. 56 *Hoc agile amabo.* Att. ii. 2. 1 *Cura, amabo te, Ciceronem nostrum;* xvi. 2. 2 *Sed amabo te, mi Attice, (uidesne quam blande?),* which shows it was used *coaxingly*. Mart. viii. 76. 1 *Dic uerum mihi, Marce, dū amabo.*

2. **leporos**, 'charmer.' Plautus similarly, Cas. i. 1. 46 *Mea uita, mea mellilla, mea festiuitas;* ii. 3. 18 *Respice, o mi lepos.*

3. **Iube . . . ueniam**, a less frequent construction than the infin. Eun. iv. 4. 24, Ovid Am. i. 11. 19 *perlectis rescribat multa iubeto.* **meridiatum**, supine of *meridio* or *meridior*, μεσημβρίειν or μεσημβρίαειν, 'to take a siesta or noon-day nap.' Suet. Calig. 38 *Gloriatuque est expergefactae Caesoniae quantum egisset dum ea meridiaret.* In what sense Catullus here uses the word is explained by LXI. 111, Am. i. 5. **ueniam**, Prop. iii. 23. 15 *Aut dixit 'uenies, hodie cessabimus una.'*

4. **illud adiuuato**, cognate accus. 'help me so far.' Eun. i. 2. 70 *Id amabo adiutes me quo id fiat facilius.* The *illud* refers to what follows; to connect it, as Lachmann, with *iusseris*, emphasizes an unemphatic word and spoils the rhythm of the line. If any change is required, *adleuato*, 'relieve me so far,' would be the nearest emendation. In Plaut Pers. ii. 5. 3 *adluat* of MSS is for *adleuat*.

5. **tabellam**. The house-door (*ianua*) contained two leaves or valves (*fores*), which, as made of wooden boards or planks (*σανίδες*), might naturally be called *tabulae*. So Voss, and Rich Companion p. 638. One *tabula* is mentioned here as Horace mentions one *foris* S. i. 2. 67, or, as Bährens suggests, *tabellam* may express the single wooden panel of which the 'aedicula meretricia' consisted. When no admittance could be given to any but the favored lover, it was usual to write on the door notice that the lady was engaged, Asin. iv. 1. 15, or send a message that somebody else was within, Ένδον ἕτερος Lucian Dial. Meretr. 12. 1.

9. **si quid ages**, euphemistic, like *fac si facis* Mart. i. 46. 1. **statim iubeto**, 'give instant orders to that effect': we are not to understand *ueniam* after *iubeto*, but the general meaning is to be elicited from *si quid ages*. The future imperative *iubeto* like *adiuato* seems intended to emphasize the message, 'be sure you order.' Anth. P. v. 46. 8 εὐθὺ θέλω.

10. **pransus**, and so *paratus*. Varro called one of his Menippean Satires *Pransus paratus*, cf. *pransum ac paratum* in a fragm. of his *Flax-tabula*, ap. Non. 458. **iaceo**. The Romans seem often to have slept after their *prandium*; cf. Most. iii. 2. 4-9, Pseud. ii. 2. 69 *ubi prandero, dabo operam somno*: hence it is clear that the *prandium* was not an English breakfast, but a continental *déjeuner*.

11. Eur. Cycl. 328 περίλον Κρούω Διὸς βροταῖσιν εἰς ἔρω κτυπῶν (Scaliger).



Mart. xi. 16. 5. **pallium**, the outer garment, *tunica* the inner: Conr. de Allio aptly quotes the proverb *tunica pallio propior*.

## XXXIII.

NOTHING is more constantly mentioned in antiquity than the thefts practised in baths. Aristotle discusses the subject in his Problems, **xxix.** 14, and a *rubrica* in the Digest **xlvi.** 17, *de furibus balneariis*, mentions the penalties of this kind of robbery. Plautus assigns a reason for its frequency, Rud. ii. 3. 51 Schöll:

*Qui it lauatum*

*In balineas quom ibi sedulo sua uestimenta seruat,*

*Tamen subrupiuntur; quippe qui, quem illorum obseruet, falsust:*

*Fur facile quem obseruet, uidet: custos, qui fur sit, nescit.*

Seneca Epist. 56. 1-3 describing the incidents of a bath, *Adice nunc scordalum, et furem deprehensum, et illum cui uox sua in balneo placet*, mentions the thief as a phenomenon sure to recur. Cf. Hesych. *λαποδύται κλέπτει, ἀποδύοντες, ἐν λουτροῖς κλέπτοντες*. Petron. 30 *Seruus nobis despoliatus procubuit ad pedes ac rogare coepit ut se poenae eriperemus; nec magnum esse peccatum suum, propter quod periclitaretur; subducta enim sibi uestimenta dispensatoris in balneo, quae uix fuissent decem sestertiorum*. A special class of slaves, *capsarii*, took charge of the clothes of the bathers, Dig. i. 15. 5, and were often themselves guilty of purloining them: *Aduersus capsarios quoque qui mercede seruanda in balineis uestimenta suscipiunt, index est constitutus, ut siquid in seruandis uestimentis fraudulenter admiserint, ipse cognoscat*. Cf. A. A. iii. 639. Marcilius quotes Acron's remark on Hor. Ep. i. 16. 60 *fures lauatores dicuntur*, which Acron connects with *Lauerna*.

1. **optime**, 'most skilful,' as we might say 'prince.' So *ἀριος* is used in *malam partem*, Thuc. iii. 38; Vergil has *Boni calamos inflare* Ecl. v. 1, *pedibus, lingua melior* Aen. ix. 556, xi. 338, Plautus *probus praestrigiator* (Poen. v. 3. 6), *proba lena* (Truc. ii. 1. 14).

3. **dextra**, the hand less distinctly associated with thieving: possibly Catullus implies that Vibennius took no trouble to conceal his thefts. **inquinatiore**, as we talk of *dirty hands*: see however on XXV. 9.

4. **uoraciore**, 'that swallows more,' Mart. ii. 51. 5, 6, possibly with some idea of *uorago*, a bottomless deep. The MSS have a strange variant, *uolantiore*, which may possibly be a real adj. = 'more thievish;' cf. *inuolare* and note on XXV. 6; so we say 'an itching palm.' This would give a more exact balance to the two lines, the epithet in each case being transferred from its proper noun to that which it only suits metaphorically; strictly we should expect *dextra uolantiore*, *culo inquinatiore*, as Carrión and Hand each independently suggested in proposing to write *Nam dextra pater est uoraciore, Culo filius inquinatiore*.

5. **Cur non Itis?** = *ite actutum*. Poen. v. 4. 55 *Cur non agimus?* Eun. iii. 2. 12 *Quid stamus?* *Cur non imus hinc?* **exilium** depends on *in* referred backwards from *in oras*, as Pers. i. 131 *Nec qui abaco numeros et secto in puluere metas Scit risisse uaser*; Hor. C. iii. 25. 2 *Qu-*

*nemora aut quos agor in specus?* **malas in oras**, 'shores of perdition'; cf. *i in malam crucem, malum cruciatum, malam rem*. Very similarly, Phorm. v. 7. 85 *Non hoc publicitus scelus hinc deportarier In solas terras?* The MSS read *horas*, a spelling frequently found in good codices.

6. **quandoquidem**, a distinct quadrisyllable as in XL. 7. **rapinae**, Mart. viii. 64. 15.

7. **populo**, 'to everybody,' so *proferre in populum* Petron. 17. **pilosas**, Pers. iv. 39-41, Iuven. ix. 15.

8. **uenditare**, frequentative, 'make trade of.'

### XXXIV.

THAT this poem was not composed for any performance of *ludi saeculares*, as Scaliger and Voss thought, is clear, (1) from the absence of any such title in the MSS, where it is called *Carmen Dianae*, (2) from the fact that Censorinus, who gives the supposed dates of the secular games (De Die Natali xvii), mentions none between the fourth celebration, variously dated in 605, 608, or 628 A.V.C., and those solemnized by Augustus in 737 | 17, for which Horace wrote his *Carmen Saeculare*, (3) from the express statement of Suetonius Claud. 21 that they had been long dropped when Augustus restored them, (4) from the hymn being addressed to Diana, not to Dis and Proserpina, the deities specially worshipped in the celebration of the Republican *ludi*; (5) from the poem itself, which contains no hint of such a purpose.

It was however, I think, written for a public occasion, as otherwise there is little force in 22-24. Catullus may have been commissioned to write it as Livius Andronicus (Liu. xxvii. 37), P. Licinius Tegula (xxxii. 12), and at a later time Horace were (Schwabe Quaest. p. 356), perhaps when the Sibylline books were consulted (Marcilius Asterism. in loc.) or on the Ides of August, a day sacred to Diana (Bentley, Preface to Horace), or on the last day of March, which was consecrated to her as the goddess Luna of the Aventine (Ovid F. iii. 883, Preller Röm. Mythol. p. 289).

The poem may be compared with Horace's Ode to Apollo and Diana (i. 21), the occasion of which is equally unknown. Both poems were sung by a mixed chorus of boys and girls. Strophes 2, 4 were perhaps sung by girls; 3 and 5 by boys; 1 and 6 by both together.

The metre, three Glyconics followed by a Pherecratean, is found in Anacreon fr. 4, 6, 8, 14; cf. Aristoph. Eq. 969-992. The actual hymn of Anacreon to Artemis fr. 1 Bergk seems to have consisted of two systems of 3 and 5 verses respectively; the first, two Glyconics and a Pherecratean; the second, four Glyconics and a Pherecratean.

1. **in fide**, i.e. Diana is pledged to guard us: 'clients of Diana are we.' | Lex Repetundarum, § x in C. I. L. i. p. 58. *quoique in fide is erit, maioresue in maiorum fide fuerint*. Rosc. Am. xxxiii. 93 *quaere in cuius fide sint et clientela*, xxxvii. 106 *cum multos ueteres a maioribus Roscii patronos hospitesque haberent, omnes eos colere atque obseruare destiterunt ac se in Chrysogoni fidem et clientelam contulerunt*, Planc. xli. 97 *cum omnia illa municipia*

*quae sunt a Vibone Brundisium in fide mea essent*, Fam. xiii. 65, *2 ea societas uniuersa in mea fide est*.

2. **integri**, 'chaste,' XV. 4, as becomes the singers of a hymn to the goddess of chastity, Aen. xi. 583. The careful repetition of **integri** with **pueri**, in neither case with **Puellae**, is obviously intentional, like Horace's *Virgines lectas puerosque castos* C. S. 6. 'Great Diana protecteth us, Maids and boyhood in innocence.' Metrical Translation.

5-8. This strophe shows that Catullus is not confining himself to the purely Roman conception of Diana, which otherwise he might seem to have done. Horace is more definitely Greek; he speaks of Diana in connexion not only with Algidus, but Erymanthus and Cragus, i. 21. 7-9.

5. **Latonia**, child of Latona by Jupiter. Od. vi. 106, H. Hom. xxvii. 19, 21, Hes. Theog. 918. **maximi Magna**. Ovid Pont. iv. 2. 1 *uates magnorum maxime regum*, Manil. i. 768 *Magno maxima Pella*, 'Throned daughter of enthroniz'd Jove.' Metric. Transl.

7. According to the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo 16, Artemis was not born with Apollo in Delos, but in Ortygia, and Theognis 5-10, as well as Callimachus Del. fin. seem to speak of Delos as the birthplace of Apollo only. But Pindar in a *προσώδιον* to Delos, fr. 64, 65 Bergk cited by Strabo 485 *μυθεύεται ἐνταῦθα ἡ Λητὼ τὰς ὠδίνας ἀποθίσσθαι τοῦ τε Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*, and Arrian ap. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 525 *Δῆλος ἡ πάλας πλωτὴ οὔσα ἔσται ὅτε ἡ Λητὼ ἐπέβη αὐτῆς διδύμους ἔχουσα παῖδας* (cf. Ennius ap. Varr. L. L. vii. 16), show that the other version which represented Leto as giving birth to twins in Delos was equally accredited, though perhaps of later origin. Catullus may have visited Delos during his Bithynian journey, perhaps in returning from it.

8. **Deposuit**, an archaic form. The word seems to translate Callimachus' *φύλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπων* H. Dian. 25. Phaedrus uses it of a dog dropping her young i. 19. 4, of a woman giving birth to a child i. 18. 5. **oliuam**. The legend was that Leto lightened the pangs of parturition by grasping either a palm tree (Hom. H. Apoll. 117, Theogn. 5-10, Callim. Del. 210) or an olive (Hyg. 53, 140, Tac. Ann. iii. 61) or a bay. Euripides Hec. 458-461, Ion 919-920 mentions the palm and bay, I. T. 1099-1102 the palm, bay, and olive together. Aelian V. H. v. 4 following a *λόγος Δῆλιος* asserts that an olive and palm sprang up to assist Leto in her travail; and so Ovid M. vi. 335, xiii. 635. Catullus leaves it doubtful what part he assigns to the tree. Callimachus H. Dian. 24, 25 makes the birth of Artemis *ἀμογήν*, and this would quite accord with the use of *deposuit*; but, as noticed above, Callimachus does not seem to have connected the birth of Artemis with Delos, consequently with the attendant tree, at all.

9. **Montium domina**, a Greek more than Roman attribute. Od. vi. 102 *οἷ δ' Ἀρτεμις εἰσὶ κατ' οὐρεος λοχίαῖρα ἢ κατὰ Τηέγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον*, Hom. H. xxvii. 4 *κατ' ὄρη σκιδέντα καὶ ἀκρίας ἠνεμοίσσας Ἀγρῇ τερμοσίῃ*. Callim. Dian. 18 *Δὸς δέ μοι οὐρεα πάντα*, 20 *Οὐρεσιν οἰκήσω*.

10. **Siluarumque**, *λαχεῖ δ' ἔπι δάσκιος ὕλη* Hom. H. xxvii. 7. The Roman Diana was particularly associated with woods, Aen. iii. 679; Servius on G. iii. 332 *omnis quercus Ioui est consecrata, et omnis lucus Dianae*: hence her name *Nemorensis* at Aricia, and her connexion with *Virtius*, the demon-god of the forest. Vergil calls her *nemorum cultrix* Aen. xi. 557, Horace *siluarum potens* C. S. 1.

11. **Saluumque reconditorum**, 'retired pasture grounds,' here combined with rivers as in Verg. G. iii. 143. Nemesianus Cyn. 48, describing the huntsman's haunts, *Nos saltus uiridesque plagas camposque patentes Scrutamur*, 53 *nos flumineas errare per umbras Malumus*; again 86 he invokes the huntress-goddess Diana as *quae saltus placidos siluasque pererras, Latonae, Phoebe, magnum decus*, and summons to attend her the Naiads, Dryads, and Nymphs *unde amnibus umor*.

12. **Amniumque sonantum**. Hor. C. i. 21. 5. The epithet expresses the loud roar of a full and rushing stream ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες Theocr. xvii. 92, Apoll. R. i. 501, ποταμούς κελαιδυνά ῥέοντας Apoll. R. iii. 532.

13. Diana was identified with Iuno Lucina as the goddess of childbirth. Varro L. L. v. 69 *Quae (Diana) ideo quoque uidetur ab Latinis Iuno Lucina dicta uel quod et ea terra, ut Physici dicunt, et lucet; uel quod ab luce eius qua quis conceptus est usque ad eam qua partus quis in lucem, luna (codd. una) iuuat, donec mensibus actis produxit in lucem, ficta a iuuando et luce Iuno Lucina: a quo parientes eam inuocant, luna enim nascentium dux quod menses huius*. Cic. N. D. ii. 67 *Dianam et Lunam eandem esse putant . . . quia Luna a lucendo nominata sit; eadem est enim Lucina. Itaque ut apud Graecos Dianam eamque Luciferam, sic apud nos Iunonem Lucinam in pariendo inuocant, quae eadem Diana omniuaga dicitur. Adhibetur autem ad partus, quod ii maturescunt aut vii nonnumquam aut ut plerumque ix lunae cursibus*. Plut. Q. R. 77 Λούκων Ἦραν καλοῦσιν οἷον φαιήν ἢ φωτίζουσαν καὶ νομίζουσαν ἐν ταῖς λοχείαις καὶ ὧδισι βοηθεῖν ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν σελήνην διὰ κύνεον πόλον ἀστρῶν διὰ τ' ὠκυτόκοιο σελάνας, a quotation from the Artemis of the lyric poet Timotheus fr. 2 Bergk. The moon's moisture, according to Macrobius S. vii. 16. 26-28, was supposed to distend the pores and passages of the body, and thus accelerate parturition. The identification of Diana with Lucina has its counterpart in Greek mythology: Artemis is also goddess of childbirth, Theocr. xxvii. 29, 30, Plut. p. 658. In this capacity, as relieving the pangs of maternity, she is *μογοστόκος Λοχεία* or *Ὀκυλόχεια*: Callimachus connects this with her own easy birth from Leto, H. Dian. 21-25.

14. **dicta** followed by **es Dicta** in 16 raises a question whether Cat. is here trying an experiment of language. We should expect *diceris*. He seems to avail himself of the participle to give greater prominence to the idea of calling (Diana was *πολυώνυμος*, see on 21), 'thou art she that art named,' not 'thou art named,' still less 'thou hast been named,' which is alien to the religious simplicity of the hymn. Somewhat similar is *fuerant exlantia* LXIV. 317.

15. **potens**, probably in reference to magic rites with which as Hecate she was invoked at the *triuia*, or places where three roads meet. Aen. iv. 609, Tib. i. 5. 16. Ovid Her. xii. 167 *Ipsi me cantus herbaeque artesque relinunt. Nil dea, nil Hecates sacra potentis agunt*. Aen. vi. 247 *Voce uocans Hecaten coeloque Ereboque potentem*. So Hecate, from her power in the under-world, is called *δασπλήτης* Theocr. ii. 14. **triuia**, *τριόδους* Chariclides Comic. in Mein. Com. Fragm. iv. p. 556, Varro L. L. vii. 16 *Titanis Triuia Diana est, ab eo dicta Triuia, quod in triuio ponitur fere in oppidis Graecis, uel quod luna dicitur esse, quae in caelo tribus uis mouetur in altitudinem et latitudinem et longitudinem*. Macrobius S. i. 9. 6 *Dianae ut Triuiae uiarum omnium tribuunt potestatem*. **notho**, 'cough-

terfeit,' i.e. borrowed from the sun. Lucr. v. 575 *Lunaque siue notho fertur loca lumine lustrans Siue suam proprio iaculat de corpore lucem*; Philo used νόθον φέγγος of the moon's light in opposition to γήσιον the genuine light of the sun (Liddell and Scott s. v.). Plut. Q. R. 76 προσέχων ἰδέσθαι τῷ κρείττονι καὶ δευτερεύειν, ἀεὶ παπταίνουσα πρὸς αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο, κατὰ τὸν Παρμενίδην. Muretus quotes Festus s. u. *Mulus*. *Mulus uehiculo lunae adhibetur, quod ut mulus non suo genere sed equis ortus, sic ea solis non suo fulgore luceat*: Delrio, on Sen. Hipp. 742, a line of Parmenides ap. Plut. contra Coloten xv, Νυκτὶ φάος περὶ γαίαν ἀλώμενον, ἀλλότριον φῶς.

17-20. 'Thou, goddess, as thy monthly progress metes out thy circuit year by year, fillest the farmer's grange with goodly fruits abundantly.' For the moon makes the months, and the months make up the year.

17. *dea*. The moon seems to have been sometimes called *Iana* by country people (Varro R. R. i. 37. 3), perhaps merely another form of *Diana* as explained by Macrobius i. 9. 8. *menstruo*. Varro R. R. i. 5. 4 quoted by Vulp. contrasts the monthly circuit of the moon with the yearly circuit of the sun, *quae ad solis circumitum annuum sint referenda et quae ad Lunae menstruum cursum*. Catullus regards the year as determined by the moon only.

18. *Metiens*. Both *μήνη*, moon, and *μήν*, mensis, month, are from the root *ma*, to measure. (Max Müller, Science of Language, i. p. 7, ed. 1880.) *iter annuum*, 'thy yearly circuit,' i.e. the circuit which the moon makes every year, rather than 'the year's circuit,' though this, as the year's circuit is periodical and recurs in a cycle, might also be called *annuum*.

19. *bonis frugibus*, a thoroughly Roman combination, as shown by *bonae frugis*.

20. *exple*, 'fillest to the brim.'

21-24. It was customary to allude to the different names of the god invoked. Aesch. Ag. 160 Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ- | τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ, where Klausen quotes Plat. Crat. 400 δεύτερος δ' αὖ τῷ τρόπος ὀρθότητος, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς νόμος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν εὐχεσθαι οἵτινές τε καὶ ὁπόθεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι. Callimachus assigns to Artemis πολυνυνμή Dian. 7, where Spanheim cites Aristoph. Thesmoph. 320 πολυνυνμε, Θηροφόνῃ παῖ, Λατοῦς χρυσόπιδος ἕρνος. So Horace C. S. 16.

22. *Sancta*, 'hallowed,' participial: unless indeed Catullus here takes one of *Diana's* titles (cf. Orelli Inscript. 1444 *Dianae Sanctae*), and gives it a general meaning. *nomine*, e. g. *Genitalis* (Hor. C. S. 16 *Siue tu Lucina probas uocari Seu Genitalis*) *Lucifera Segelia* (Spanheim l. c.), *Triplex Triplex Montana Siluestris Nemorensis Patrona*.

23. *Antique*, Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 66, 'in the old way,' in close connexion with *solita es*. Scaliger proposed to read *Ancique* (a reading actually found in my MS *h*), interpreting *Romuli Ancique gentem* as = *populum Romanum*. Ancus is called *bonus* by Ennius (Ann. 150) and is mentioned with Numa and Tullus as a type of the early Roman kings by Horace C. iv. 7. 15, Ep. i. 6. 27, by Vergil Aen. vi. 816, as traditionally ingratiating himself with the people. Grialus on Isid. de Nat. Rerum iv, where it is stated that most authorities assigned the division of the year into months to Ancus<sup>1</sup> king of the Sabines, explains the *Romuli Ancique gentem* to

<sup>1</sup> De Brul's MSS seem to give the name as *Cignus* or *Cingus*. Two Bodleian MSS, Auct. F. 3. 14 of xii or early xiii cent., and a later Ashmole codex 393, both agree in *Cingum*. MS 178 in the library of S. John Baptist of xiii cent. gives *Ciginim* (1 *Cignum*).

mean the Romano-Sabine stocks, which made up the collective Roman people<sup>1</sup>. Niebuhr supposed that Ancus in transporting to Rome the Latins whom he had conquered in his wars, and giving them settlements on the Aventine, laid the foundation of the plebs: on this view *Romuli Ancique gentem* would = *populum plebemque* (Lectures on Rom. Hist. i. p. 81, Eng. Transl.). Some theory of this kind was doubtless in the mind of the original author of the reading *Ancique*, whether Merula or an earlier Italian: but *Antique* is obviously preferable (1) as bringing into isolated prominence the true founder of Rome, Romulus, (2) as suggesting the *mores antiqui* (Ennius ap. Cic. de Rep. v. 1. 1) of which Diana as goddess of chastity and childbirth was in a particular sense the conservatrix. **bona ope**, LXVII. 2.

**24. Sospites**, an old word peculiar to prayers. Liuv. i. 16 *pacem precibus exposcunt uti uolens propitius suam semper sospilet progeniem*. It occurs in the fragments of Ennius and Pacuvius.

### XXXV.

CATULLUS here invites his friend Caecilius perhaps an ancestor of C. Caecilius Plinius Secundus, the younger Pliny, (see Rendell in J. E. B. Mayor's Pliny's Letters, Book iii) to leave Comum and visit him at Verona, where he will hear something he will be interested to know. These 'thoughts of a friend of Caecilius and Catullus' are supposed by Schwabe to mean a poem or poems by Catullus himself; a view quite in accordance with the poetical attempts ascribed to Caecilius in 13, 18; though *cogitationes* is too indefinite to make it more than probable.

The poem is interesting, as showing, what we know from Catullus' *Attis*, from Lucretius, and from the remains of Varro's *Eumenides*, the growing interest which the worship of the Great Mother was exciting; and also as exhibiting the interchange of literary ideas which marks the epoch, and the increasing cultivation of women.

The date is fixed as not earlier than 695 | 59, in which year Caesar, in accordance with a clause of the Vatinian law, took out 5000 new colonists to Comum, thenceforth called Nouum Comum, *Νεόκωμον* Strabo, 213; cf. Appian, B. C. ii. 26 *Πόλιν δὲ Νεόκωμον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων ᾤκεικε, ὃν ὅσοι κατ' ἔτος ἤρχον ἐγίνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται· τότε γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ Λάτιον*. Cicero mentions a C. Avianius Philoxenus whom Caesar had enrolled as a citizen of Nouum Comum as a favor to himself, *Fam.* xiii. 35. 1.

**1. Poetae.** The first line takes the form of an epistolary address, as in Hor. Epist. i. 8. 1. This is carried out in other details; cf. *Amici sui meique* with Cicero's *Quintus tuus meusque* Q. Fr. ii. 6. 1, *Lentuli tui nostrique* *Fam.* i. 9. 29. **tenero.** Ovid applies the word to those who, like himself, had written on love. Rem. Am. 757 *teneros ne tange poetas*. *Summoueo doles impius ipse meas*, where he mentions Callimachus,

<sup>1</sup> I quote the passage entire: '*Respexit Catullus in Hymno Dianae Sis quocumque . . . ope gentem. Quod mirum non uidisse virum eruditissimum qui veram scripturam ex libris antiquis restituit. Non enim Romanos tantum indicare voluit Catullus cum Romuliq. Anciq. dixit, sed Romanos, qui paternum genus ad Romulum, maternum vero ad Ancum, hoc est, Sabinas referrent* (Isidori Opera ed. de Breul Coloniae 1616, p. 590).

Philetas, Sappho, Anacreon, Tibullus, Propertius: A. A. iii. 329-340 Propertius is called in a similar enumeration *tener* 333; in A. A. ii. 273 *teneri uersus* are verses speaking of love; Am. ii. 1. 4 *teneri modi*, elegiac verses, the metre specially devoted to love. Catullus is himself called by Martial vii. 14. 3, xii. 44. 5 *tener Catullus*; and Ovid by Apollinaris Sidonius xxiii. 18 *Naso tener*. Hence Vulp. seems right in supposing that Caecilius had written on amatory subjects, perhaps in the very poem spoken of in 13, where he might describe the love of Cybele for the beautiful youth Attis, as Ovid has done F. iv. 223.

2. *Velim dicas*, a common construction in Cicero's letters: *uelim iuues*, and *scribas ad me uelim*, both in one short letter, Att. xii. 52. 1.

3. *ueniat . . . relinquens*, a rare use of the pres. part. Holtze Synt. ii. 233, quotes Phorm. v. 1. 31 *offendi adueniens*, which Sanctius (Minerva p. 131) seems rightly to explain 'I found on (i.e. after) my arrival,' where a Greek would have used an aor. part., as here *relinquens* seems = *λαβών*. Vergil similarly, Aen. iii. 300 *Progredior portu classes et litora linquens*.

4. *Comum*, at the S. E. extremity of the western branch of the lacus Larii, was included in the territory of the Insubrian Gauls till 558 | 196, when it was taken by the Roman general Marcellus (Liu. xxxiii. 36); its subsequent history is summarized by Strabo 213 *αὕτη δ' ἦν μὲν κατοικία μετρία, Πομπήιος δὲ Στράβων ὁ Μάγνου πατὴρ κακωθείσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων 'Ραιτῶν συνήκισεν· εἰτα Γαῖος Σκιπίων τρισχιλίους προσέθηκεν· εἰτα ὁ θεδς Καῖσαρ πεντακισχιλίους ἐπισυνήκισεν ὧν οἱ πεντακόσιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρξαν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι· τοῖς τε καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδωκε καὶ ἐνέγραψεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς συνοίκους· οὐ μόντοι φῆσαν αὐτόθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομά γε τῷ κτίσματι ἐκείνοι κατέλιπον· Νεοκωμῖται γὰρ ἐκλήθησαν ἅπαντες, τοῦτο δὲ μεθερμηνευθὲν Νοβουκώμου λέγεται.* *Larium litus*, i. q. *Larii litus*: so *Trasimena litora* Ovid F. vi. 765; *Metaurum flumen* Hor. C. iv. 4. 38; *Baiæ aquae* Prop. i. 11. 30.

5. *cogitationes*, if Schwabe's conj. is right, are Catullus' own poems, either as 'ideas,' in which sense it seems to be used Phaedr. Prol. iv. 7 *Sua cuique cum sit animi cogitatio Colorque proprius* (of the ideas and style of rival authors), or simply as *compositions*. So Q. Fr. iii. 3 *Quidquid conficio aut cogito in ambulationis fere tempus confero*. If we may suppose these *compositions* to be the *Attis*, or some of the more elaborate poems of Catullus, we should have a new reason for his inviting Caecilius, himself the author of a poem on the Magna Mater. But Cicero, in a passage curiously like this (Att. iv. 2. 5 *Tu modo ad nos ueni, quod uereor ne tardius interuentu Varronis tui nostrique facias. Quoniam acta quae sint habes, de reliqua nostra cogitatione cognosce*), rather confirms the common interpretation, according to which Catullus wishes to communicate to Caecilius the views of some common friend, whose name is not mentioned, perhaps from a motive of secrecy, which may also have determined the choice of so vague a word as *cogitationes*. Possibly something political is meant, as often in Cicero's letters, e.g. Att. x. 6. 1, In Vatin. viii. 19. 20.

6. If *Amici sui meique* is Catullus himself, cf. the use of *noster* = *ego*, Bentley on Hor. S. ii. 6. 48. Schwabe cites as parallel the somewhat frigid joking of Plautus Bacch. iv. 1, in which Mnesilochus wishing to describe himself in a vague way to Pistoclerus calls himself *hic qu*

*amicum ratus sum atque ipse sum mihi*; then 24 as *benevolens uiuit tibi*; still not understood, as 28 *nequam homost, uerum hercle amicus est tibi*, ending at last with confessing *perdidisti me sodalem funditus* 31. This is an exaggerated instance probably suggested by some Greek comedy; yet it may have this common point with Catullus' *amici sui meique* that neither poet wishes to speak out.

7. *si sapiet uorabit*. The fut. *sapiet* is determined by *uorabit*. *Si sapiet* is common: Eun. iv. 4. 53; Mart. ii. 41. 1, 23. *uorabit*, 'will hurry over.' 'Metaphora ab his sumpta quae deglutuntur et non dentibus conteruntur,' Alex. Guarinus. Mr. Clayton quotes Shakespere, Henry IV. Part. ii. 1. 1 *He seem'd in running to devour the way*. Benoist says, 'nous disons en français dévorer l'espace.'

8. *milies*, Att. ii. 19. 3, 9.

9. *Euntem reuocet*, ἀποστρέψαιεν τοῦσαν Hom. H. Ap. Del. 106.

11. *si mihi uera nuntiantur*. Stat. compares Fam. x. 33. 1 *Nam et robur et suboles militum interiit, si quidem quae nuntiantur ulla ex parte uera sunt*.

12. *deperit*, 'loves to desperation:' *deperire*, with an accus. of the person loved, is frequent in Plautus and Terence. So *perire*, *demori*, *ardere*. Holtze i. 244. *impotente*, 'violent,' 'ungovernable.' Plin. Epist. ii. 2. 1 *Scis quam sit amor iniquus interdum, impotens saepe, μωπαιστος semper*.

13. *Nam quo tempore*, imitated by Mart. xi. 18. 26. For the emphatic inversion of the relative and antecedent *quo tempore... ex eo*, 'from the first moment she read,' see Holtze Synt. i. p. 385. *legit* in its ordinary sense of *perusing*. Benoist, followed by Riese and Bährens, explains 'read aloud, recited,' and makes Caecilius the subject to *legit*. This is against the use of *legere* at this time, and against Catullus' own use of it in XLIV. 12, 21. In the verses perhaps by Bibaculus ap. Suet. Gramm. xi *Cato Grammaticus, Latina Siren, Qui solus legit ac facit poetas*, Key is no doubt right in explaining *legit* of 'reading and explaining, lecturing upon,' L. D. s. v. *incohatam*, a poem on Cybele which Caecilius had begun, but left in an unfinished state. Arch. xi. 28 *Quas res nos gessimus... attigit his uersibus et incohauit, quibus auditis hunc ad perficiendum hortatus sum*. The use of the word on religious and solemn occasions (Verg. G. iii. 42, Aen. vi. 252) suggests that a formal *prelude* may be meant.

14. *Dindymi dominam*, see Introduction to LXIII. *misellae*, 'love-sick,' XLV. 21.

15. *interiorem medullam*, a particularizing singular; in XLV. 16, LXIV. 93, LXVI. 23, Catullus prefers the plural. The elision *interiorem edunt* is unusually harsh; but cf. XL. 8 *uoluisti amare*.

16. *Sapphica Musa*. Sappho was called the tenth Muse. Anth. P. vii. 14. 1 *Σαπφώ τοι κεύθει, χθών Αἰολί, τὰν μετὰ Μούσαις Ἀθανάταις θανάτῳ Μούσαν ἀειδομένην*; ix. 506, ascribed to Plato, *Ἐννία τὰς Μούσας φασὶν τέρας ὡς ὀλιγώρως*. *Ἦνιδε καὶ Σαπφώ Λεσβόθεν ἡ δέμιτη*. An epigram in the Greek Anthology ix. 26, after mentioning the nine Greek poetesses, calls them the nine earthly Muses, *Ἐννία μὲν Μούσας μέγας οὐρανός, ἐννία δ' αὐτὰς Γαῖα τέκεν*: this suggests a slightly different interpretation, the nine poetesses formed a cycle, in which each represented a Muse; the Muse of Sappho, Erinna, etc., *Μούσα Σαπφική*, &c. Plut. Erotikos 18. 5 *ἄξιον*



δὲ Σαπφούς παρὰ ταῖς Μούσαις μνημονεύσαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἡφαίστου παῖδα Ῥωμαῖοι Κάκον ἱστοροῦσι πῦρ καὶ φλόγας ἀφίεναι διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἔξω ρεούσας. αὕτη δ' ἀληθῶς μεμιγμένα πυρὶ φθέγγεται καὶ διὰ τῶν μελῶν ἀναφέρει τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας θερμότητα, μούσαις εὐφώνοις λωμένη τὸν ἔρωτα, κατὰ Φιλόξενον. *puella*, vocative, not ablative, as the similarly interrupted order of the words *Noui relinquens Comi moenia, manusque collo Ambas iniciens* seems to indicate. *Ignosco tibi*. Ironical in Cic. Balb. xiv. 32.

17. *doctior*, not as Parthenius and Conr. de Allio thought, in choosing a poet as her lover, whereas Sappho loved a man engaged in trade, Phaon; but 'a poetess beyond Sappho herself,' whether as merely trained to understand poetry, or to write poems of her own, like Sempronia (Catil. 25) and Cynthia (Prop. ii. 3. 21). This is the regular and recurring meaning of *doctus* in the Roman poets. Thus Propertius calls Cynthia *docta puella* (i. 7. 11, cf. i. 2. 27, ii. 11. 6, ii. 13. 11), as able to write and understand poetry; the Muses are *doctae sorores* Lygdam. iii. 4. 45; infr. LXV. 2. Horace speaks of *doctae frontes*, 'the brows of poets,' C. i. 1. 29; Theocritus is *Trinacriae doctus iuuenis* Catalept. xi. 20. Statius speaks of *docti furor arduus Lucreti* S. ii. 7. 76; *docto oestro*, 'poetic frenzy,' ib. 3, *docti amnes*, the springs of which poets drank, ib. 12, and i. 2. 259. Martial calls Naples *docta*, from its connexion with poets, v. 78. 14, and praises the poetess Sulpicia, *Hac condiscipula uel hac magistra esses doctior et pudica Sappho* x. 35. 15, 16.

## XXXVI.

LESBIA, perhaps parodying the vow of Pandarus to burn his useless bow if he returned to see with his own eyes his wife and country (Il. v. 212-216), had made a vow that if Catullus was reconciled to her, and in pledge of his sincerity ceased to attack her in scurrilous verses, she would burn the choicest passages the worst of poets had written. Catullus here takes up Lesbia's words 'the worst of poets' which she had used in reference to himself, and applies them to Volusius, a bad poet who had written a historical work called here and in XCV. 7-10 *Annales*. Volusius shall be Lesbia's *pessimus poeta*, and we will burn his *Annales* in token of the reconciliation which we pray Venus to effect between us.

The *truces iambi* were no doubt occasioned by some infidelity of Lesbia's; they may be VIII *Miser Catulle* or XXXVII *Salax taberna*; but no hendecasyllabic poem except LVIII, which obviously refers to Lesbia's last stage, could be described by the words, even if we concede, what is doubtful, that Catullus includes in the term *iambi* hendecasyllabic poems (see on XL. 2). Mommsen's view (Hist. Rom. iv. p. 583, Eng. Transl.) that Lesbia had tried to induce Catullus to cease his satirical attacks upon Caesar and Pompeius and devote himself to her society, is hardly disproved by chronological considerations, for we cannot fix with certainty the time when Catullus either attacked Caesar or attached himself to Lesbia: but it seems improbable that the object of the fierce *iambics* should be left undetermined, as we must then assume; and the connexion of 4, 5 is simpler on the ordinary hypothesis of a quarrel, an attack, and a reconciliation; cf. Hor. C. i. 16. 2, 3.

From XCV. 7-10 we may infer that the Annals of Volusius were

a lengthy work in verse, and that the author was a native of the country near the mouth of the Po. Muretus suggested that this Volusius was the person mentioned by Seneca Epist. 93. 9 *Non tam multis uixit (Metronax philosophus) annis quam potuit. Paucorum uersuum liber est et quidem laudandus atque utilis. Annales Tanusii* (Bücheler's two MSS, A of saec. ix (Argentoratensis), B of ix or x (Bambergensis), give *Annale est anusii B m. pr.*, but the second *e* has been deleted, *anale est anusii A) scis quam ponderosi* (*ponderosi A, non derosi B*) *sint et quid uocentur. Hoc est uita quorundam longa et quod Tanusii sequitur annales.* The allusion in *quid uocentur* and *quod Tanusii sequitur annales* is probably to the words of Catullus 1, 20 *cacata carta*. This view was accepted by Turnebus Aduers. xv. 22, Lipsius on Sen. Ep. 93. 9, Voss on Catull. XXXVI, and in modern times has been restated with considerable force by Haupt Quaestt. Catull. 1837, pp. 98-100. Haupt shows that Tanusius Geminus, who is mentioned by Sueton. Iul. 9 as the author of a *Historia* (cf. Plut. Caesar 22), was, like the other writers quoted in that biography, probably a contemporary of Catullus. He may have written *Annales* in verse before he wrote his *Historia*; the name is just sufficiently disguised to be intelligible; it has the agreement in number of syllables and quantity prescribed by Bentley. To these arguments Schwabe adds a plausible motive for the change of name from Tanusius to Volusius; Catullus may have wished to spare a countryman, perhaps an acquaintance of his own (Quaestt. Catull. p. 281).

Tartara, in his *Animaduersiones in locos nonnullos Valeri Catulli et Titi Livii* (Rome, 1882, 2nd edition), was the first to combat this view. He shows (pp. 41, 42) that Haupt has not *proved* Tanusius Geminus to be contemporary with Catullus and Cicero, and that the identification of the prose *Historia* of Tanusius with the versified *Annales* of Volusius is a mere assumption. Again, if Tanusius could record (Plut. Caes. 22) Cato's absurd proposal in the senate (55 B.C.) to give up Caesar to the Usipetes and Tencteri as an expiatory offering for violating truce, on the occasion of their voting him a *supplicatio* for his successes against these very barbarians, Tanusius would seem to have been an enemy of Caesar's, and therefore (if he *was* contemporary) a *friend* of Catullus. Nor is it easy to imagine a reason for disguising the name of an insignificant scribbler; Cat. attacks Caesar, Pompeius, Mamurra by name.

Volusius was therefore a *real* name; and if Seneca alludes to Catullus' poem, the Tanusius whose *Annales* he mentions may have been called Volusius Tanusius or Tanusius Volusius.

Sonnenburg (*Der Historiker Tanusius Geminus und die Annales Volusi*, Bonn, 1882), after Tartara, but without having seen his discussion, also combats Haupt's view. His arguments, which turn on nearly the same points as Tartara's treatise, are, (1) *Tanusius Geminus in historia* stands on a level with *M. Bibulus in edictis* and *C. Curio pater in orationibus*: each was a *prose* work. (2) The Tanusius of Plut. Caes. 22 is not likely to have published the work containing such a reflection on Caesar before the death of the latter. It must belong to a later period; therefore it cannot be alluded to by Catullus. (3) When Haupt writes '*uidetur autem Tanusius primum aliorum poetarum exemplo annales edidisse, carmen inelegans et quod placere non posset, deinde post Caesaris mortem historiam scripsisse,*' he is in effect propping a doubtful hypothesis

by another as doubtful. An unbiassed judgment would more naturally combine the three mentions of Tanusius as a historian by Seneca, Suetonius, Plutarch, and suppose them to refer to a *prose* history. (4) The words of Seneca in no way prove a work in verse. He compares life with a book: Metronax' life was a short book (*liber paucorum uersuum*), containing only a few lines (of writing, not of verse), and a good one: the protracted lives of some men are like big and worthless books: think of Tanusius' voluminous Annals, and the contemptuous name by which they are popularly known. (5) It is not likely that Catullus would choose as a pseudonym for Tanusius a real and respectable name like Volusius, which is found several times in the consular Fasti of the first cent. A.D. Volusius must have been an actual person, a *conterraneus*, perhaps an acquaintance, of the poet: a nonentity of the same kind as Suffenus Aquinus Caesius, but brought, it would seem, by some accident into a more personal antagonism.

The combined weight of these independently advanced objections is of great force<sup>1</sup> against the identification of Catullus' Volusius with Tanusius Geminus. But there is a neatness in the adaptation of the words *cacata carta* to the passage of Seneca which clings to the mind in spite of all arguments. I suggest a possible explanation. Seneca *does* refer to the verse of Catullus, but has changed the name, just as he has changed Horace's *Rufillus* to *Buccillus* in Epist. 86. 13.

1-10. 'Annals of Volusius, discharge a vow made by Lesbia. She promised Venus "if Catullus returns to amity and gives up writing ribald verses upon me, I will burn in her honour the choicest passages the worst of poets has written." What could her witty vow mean? It could mean, as she saw, only this: she must burn the *Annals of Volusius*.'

11-20. 'Venus, acknowledge my love's amusing vow, and reconcile us to each other. Meanwhile, in anticipation, we burn Volusius' Annals.'

I now agree with the interpretation, which, first suggested by Muretus, has lately been revived by Mr. Raper, Bährens (Analect. Catull. p. 15), K. P. Schulze, and more recently expanded by Arlt (Wohlau, 1883), and Monse (Waldenburg, 1884). It is also approved by Benoist and Riese. On this view, the words *pessimi poetae* contain a *double entendre*. Lesbia meant them to apply to Catullus, whom she might well call *pessimi poetae*, (1) as having attacked her in abusive poems; (2) as so styling himself XLIX. 5, 6 *Catullus Agit pessimus omnium poeta, Tanto pessimus omnium poeta, Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus*. Catullus, ignoring their intended application to himself, turns them humorously upon Volusius, and ingeniously represents this as a designed pleasantry of Lesbia's own (*Et hoc pessima se puella uidit Iocose lepide uouere diuis*).

1. *Annales*, perhaps a metrical chronicle, like the *Annales* of Ennius, in Catullus' time still the most popular poem in the Latin language: Accius and Furius had also written *Annales* in hexameters, Macrobi. i. 7. 36, vi. 1. 31 sqq. *cacata*, in conjunction with *carta*

<sup>1</sup> I see however that Peter still supports Haupt's view, *Fragm. Hist. Rom.* p. xxi, ed. min.

would seem = *concacata*, *κατακεχασμένη*. Volusius' Annals were so vile that the paper on which they were written was consigned to the privy. Cf. *conmixtilis* in Pomponius 138 Ribbeck. This seems less violent than to make *cacata* = *non minus uilis quam si ipsius stercus esses*, 'foul enough to be the droppings of his own dung:' an exaggeration which would have little humour<sup>1</sup>.

2. *solute*, by being burnt: he perhaps intended to convey to Lesbia the assurance that they were actually burnt when the poem reached her.

3. This vow to Venus would be more in character if Lesbia is Clodia, who possessed a statue of Venus, which she decked with the spoils of her lovers (Cael. xxi. 52), and probably considered herself under the special protection of the goddess. *sanctae*, 'divine,' as *sancte puer* LXIV. 95, and as Lucretius addressing Venus says, *Diua tuo corpore sancto* i. 38.

4. *restitutus*, of reconciliation. CVII. 4 *Quod te restituis, Lesbia, mi cupido* (Schwabe). Vows for the return of lovers were of course common. So Mart. ix. 40.

5. *truces*, Quintil. xi. 1. 3. *uibrare* aptly expresses the sharpness and speed of the iambus which made it so useful a weapon for launching (*ἰάπτειν*) upon an enemy. Quintilian x. 1. 60, of Archilochus, *Summa in hoc uis elocutionis, cum ualidae tum breues uibrantesque sententiae*. Cic. Orat. lxx. 234 *Cuius (Demosthenis) non tam uibrarent fulmina illa, nisi numeris contorta ferrentur*. Brut. xc. 326 *Oratio incitata et uibrans*. Proclus Chrestom. 7, quoted in Reifferscheid's Sueton. Reliq. p. 19 'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἱαμβὸν τάπτεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ λαιδορίας τὸ παλαιόν καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἱαμβίζειν κατὰ τινα γλῶσσαν λαιδορεῖν ἔλεγον. Quintil. x. 1. 96 speaks of the *acerbity* of the iambus in Catullus, Bibaculus, Horace.

6. *Electissima*, 'choicest.' Ironical. This superlative is found in Cic. Fin. iii. 7. 26, Petron. 36. It belongs to the same class of participial adjectives as *auersissimus*, Att. xi. 5. 3. *pessimi poetae*, generally, 'the worst poet,' as explained in the Introduction. In ed.<sup>1</sup> I followed the early commentators (and so Couat, Étude, p. 58) in referring the words *specially* to Volusius. But in connexion with the *truces iambi* which Cat. had written against Lesbia, and his own self-depreciatory words *pessimus omnium poeta* XLIX. 5, 6, it seems more likely that Lesbia would have Catullus in view. Priap. lxi. 14, 15 *Sed quod carmina pessimi poetae Ramis sustineo laboriosis* hardly determines the question.

7. *tardipedi deo*, (cf. Colum. x. 419), 'the halting god of fire,' perhaps in allusion to the halting rhythm of Volusius' verse. There is another reason for personifying fire here; Vulcan is the husband of Venus. So Horace C. i. 16. 2, 3 *Quem crinosis cunque uoles modum Pones iambis, sine flamma Sine mari libet Hadriano*, Tib. i. 9. 49 *Illa uelim rapida Vulcanus carmina flamma Torreat*, Iuuen. vii. 25 *quae Con-*

<sup>1</sup> If Martial took the idea of xii. 61. 9, 10 from this passage, he has used it quite differently. Unger (de Tanusio Gemino, p. 19) explains *cacata carta* as *carmen cacando compositum*, comparing *cantatas turres* Sil. xi. 448, towers (of Thebes) raised by song, *latratos cibos* Mart. iv. 53. 6, 'food asked by barking,' *uigilatum carmen*, &c. But this, in altering the meaning of *carta*, robs the expression, as a whole, of its point. The idea is obviously that the verses of Volusius were so bad, that the paper on which they were written was *dirtied* and only fit to be consigned to the privy.

*ponis dona Veneris Telesine marito.* Isocr. Panath. 281 πολλὰκις ὁμήσας ἐξαλείψω αὐτὸν ἢ κατακάειν μετεγίγνωσκον. Bywater adds Galen T. vii. p. 507 Kuhn εἰ δ' ἀχρηστον, καλείωσαν ἐπὶ τὰς βίβλους τὸν Ἡφαιστον ἢ κὰν αὐτοὶ μὴ καλίσωσιν ὁ χρόνος αὐτὰς διαφθερεῖ. *datum* with *se* omitted after *Vouit*, as in a vow quoted by Macrobius. S. iii. 9. 8 *Si ita feceritis uobis templa ludosque facturum*, Pomponius 51 Ribbeck *Mars tibi uoueo facturum, si unquam redierit, Bidenti uerre.*

8. *Infelicibus lignis* adds to the solemnity of the vow. The verses are to be not only burnt, but, like something monstrous, with logs from an *arbor infelix*. Macrobius. S. iii. 20 *Ait Veranius de uerbis pontificalibus: Felices arbores putantur esse quercus aesculus ilex suberis fagus corylus sorbus, ficus alba, pirus malus uitis prunus cornus lotus. Tarquilius autem Priscus in Ostentatio arborario sic ait: Arbores quae inferum deorum auertentiumque in tutela sunt, eas infelices nominant; alternum sanguinem filicem ficum atram quaeque bacam nigram nigrosque fructus ferunt, ilemque acrifolium, pirum silualicam, pruscum rubum sentesque quibus portenta prodigiaque mala comburi iubere oportet.* So Turnebus Aduers. xviii. 11, who compares Theocr. xxiv. 87-90. Paley there cites Bekk. Anecd. i. p. 10 ἀγρίους κατακάυσαι ξύλοις· τὰ τερατώδη τὴν φύσιν ἐπ' ἀγρίοις ἔκαιον ξύλοις. The word *infelix* in this connexion descended from very early times. Cic. pro C. Rabir. iv. 13 *arbori infelici suspendilo.* *ustulanda*, Mil. xiii. 32 *infelicissimis lignis semustulatum*, of Clodius' body.

9. 'And this was the thing (sc. Volusius' Annals) which the wanton saw herself to be devoting with so charming a humour (so very humourously) to the gods;' i. e. *et hoc esse uidit illud quod diuīs uoueret.* *Hoc* is strongly emphasized. Mr. Raper prefers *haec*, agreeing with *pessima*, 'this was what she saw herself devoting as vilest to the gods:' but all MSS give *hoc*. To make *Et hoc . . . diuīs* a mere re-statement of 3-8, 'This, I say, was the vow which the wanton found herself offering with a charming humour to the gods' is weak, unless it can be shown that *se uidit* = had the assurance: cf. the use of *Vidimus uidit* in recording *monstra*, or things out of the common: Hor. C. i. 2. 13, Tib. ii. 5. 75, 6 *Ipsū etiam solem defectum lumine uidit Iungere pallentes nubibus annus equos*<sup>1</sup>. Colum. x. 367 *Sic quondam magicis sopitum cantibus anguem Vellere Phrixeo delapsū uidit Iolcos.* *pessima puella*, playful, 'the naughty creature;' 'quella ribaldella,' Alex. Guarinus. So LV. 10.

10. *Iocose lepide*, asyndeton in words of the same meaning, as in XLVI. 11 *Diuersae uariae*, where see note. 'Wittily and charmingly' = 'with a charming wit.' I see no reason for the conj. *Iocosis* (A. Palmer, Riese). *diuīs*, generally, though Venus is meant.

11. *creata ponto.* Hes. Theog. 195 τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην Κικλήσκουσι θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι, ὥντες ἐν ἀφρῷ Θρέφθη: the foam formed round the genitals of Uranos, which his son Kronos had cut off and thrown into the sea, and from this the goddess sprang.

12-15. This long enumeration of places connected with the worship of Venus was probably suggested by Sappho or Alcman. Menander ap. Walzii Rhet. ix. 135 (quoted in Bergk's Poet. Lyr. Graeci on Alcman fr.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that for *uidit* we should write *uicit*. Cf. Peiper's critical note on Sen. H. O. 1070, where *uidit* has ousted *uicit* in some MSS. Thus the stress would fall on *Iocose lepide*: 'and this, the wretch protested, was a right humorous vow she was making to the gods.'

23) Μέτρον μέντοι τῶν κλητικῶν ὕμνων ἐν μὲν ποιήσει ἐπιμηκέστερον· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων ἔξεστιν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖν ὥς παρὰ Σαπφοί καὶ τῷ Ἀλεμάκῃ πολλαχοῦ εὐρίσκομεν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν ἐκ μυρίων ὀρέων, μυρίων δὲ πῶλεων, ἔτι δὲ ποταμῶν ἀνακαλεῖ· τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην Κύπρου Κνίδου Συρίας πολλαχόθεν ἀνακαλεῖ. The list begins with Idalium, because Cyprus was the first land to which Venus swam after birth, Callim. Del. 22, and hence her name Κύπρις, as Σαλαμῖνος εὐκτιμένης μεδέουσα Καὶ πάσης Κύπρου Hom. H. x. 4.

12. **Idalium**, a grove in Cyprus consecrated to Aphrodite, with a town of the same name. Hence Catullus calls it *frondosum* LXIV. 96, Vergil Aen. i. 692 speaks of *altos Idaliae lucos*, cf. 681, Theocr. xv. 100. Steph. B. s. u. **Vriosque apertos** seems to describe 'the round knolls of *Oria*, a central point between *Taranto* and *Brindisi*, where there are few risings high enough to prevent the eye from commanding a view as far as the sea in each direction.' Swinburn's Travels i. p. 211. This is Strabo's πόλις Οὐρία μεταξύ Τάραντος καὶ Βρεντεσίου 283, which seems to be identical with ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ μέσῳ Οὐρία 282. The name *Vrios*, which appears in the double form *Οὐριοι* and Ὑριοι, is perhaps a dialectical variety of *εὐρέες*; *apertos* would then be a definition, see on XI. 9. It is not however quite certain that these are the *Urii* meant: for Strabo 284 mentions a quite distinct *πολισμάτιον Οὐρειον*, near the projection of Mt. Garganus, and not far from the *Diomedae Insulae*. His description of the adjacent region ἔστι δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα αὕτη πᾶμφορος τε καὶ πολυφόρος, ἵπποις δὲ καὶ προβάτοις ἀρίστη· ἡ δὲ χώρα εὐδινή διὰ τὴν κοιλότητα τῶν πεδίων (cf. App. B. C. i. 89 τὴν Οὐριτάνην χώραν πεδιάδα καὶ πολυφόρον οὖσαν) would excellently suit Catullus' *Vrios apertos*. Whichever *Urii*<sup>1</sup> is meant, the ascription of a cultus of Venus to the district is easily explained by its traditional association with *Diomedes*. The anger of Venus for the wound he had dealt her as recorded Il. v. 335, pursued *Diomedes* to the end of his life; and it was to appease her that he is said to have founded *Venusia* or *Aphrodisias*. Serv. on Aen. xi. 246 *sane Diomedes multas condidisse per Apuliam dicitur ciuitates, ut Venusiam, quam in satisfactionem Veneris, quod eius ira sedes patrias inuenire non poterat, condidit, quae Aphrodisias dicta est*. It is observable that Strabo 283 (speaking of the *first* *Oria*, between *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*) combines it with *Venusia*, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πόλις Οὐρία τε καὶ Οὐρενοσία. Many emendations have been suggested, (1) *Erios*, the *Herian* or *Heraean* mountains in the N. of Sicily, which *Diodorus* iv. 84 mentions immediately after his description of *Eryx*, one of the most famous seats of the worship of Venus. Catullus would then follow the example of Sappho (fr. 6 ἢ σε Κύπρος ἢ Πάφος ἢ Πάνορμος) and Theocritus (xv. 100 Δέσποινα δὲ Γολγῶς τε καὶ Ἰδαλίον ἐφίλησας Αἰπεινὸν τ' Ἐρυκα) in combining Cyprus with Sicily, in connexion with the worship of Venus. (2) *Suros* (Voss) could hardly have been corrupted into *Vrios* or *Vrios*. (3) Bergk's *Chyros*, one of the fifteen Cyprian towns mentioned by Plin. xvi. 130 (cf. Steph. B. Χίτρος Κύπρου πόλις), if written *Chyros* would be near the MS reading; its name *Κυθέρεια* seems to connect it with Venus; and Meineke may be right in concluding from Steph. B. that it was near *Golgi*. (4) Unger from Ptol. v. 14.

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that Livy combines the two names the *Urites* and *Dyrrhachium* in one sentence, xlii. 48 *ad Dyrrhachium situmque nunc ad Dyrrhachium, ad Uritibus quattuor, praeter eam Italiam septentrionalis Calabriae situmque Dyrrhachium in Ionio mari Thuriis situm situm*.

2, 3 Θρόνοι πόλεις καὶ ἄκρα. . . Μετὰ τοὺς Θρόνους τὴν ἄκραν Ἀμμόχωστος, Strab. 683 εἶτα Κουριάς Χερρονησιώδης, εἰς ἣν ἀπὸ Θρόνων στάδιοι ἐπτακόσιοι, conjectures *Thronos*, the name of a Cyprian *promontory* not far from Curium, therefore in that part of the island which was specially connected with Venus. As Unger observes, *idaliūtriosque* might be the explanation of the corruption, since in Liu. xxxv. 37. 6 *Thronium* has become *trionium* or *thryonium*. *Apertos* would then be 'open to the wind;' cf. *aperta cacumina* Stat. Theb. vii. 626, *Zephyro semper apertus Eryx* Ovid F. iv. 478. **Ancona.** Ancona or Ancon (cf. Cremona or Cremon in Strabo) a city of Picenum on the Adriatic. It was situated on a promontory which forms a remarkable curve or elbow so as to protect and almost enclose its port, from which circumstance it derived its Greek name of ἀγκών, 'the elbow,' Dict. Geog. Mel. ii. 4 *Et illa in angusto illorum duorum promuntiorum ex diverso coeuntium inflexi cubiti imagine sedens, et ideo a Graeis dicta Ancon, inter Gallicas Italicasque gentes quasi terminus interest. Haec enim praegressos Piceni litora excipiunt.* It was founded by Syracusan exiles (Strab. 241 πόλις δ' Ἀγκών μὲν Ἑλληνίς, Συρακοσίων κτίσμα τῶν φυγόντων τοῦ Διονυσίου τυραννίδα), hence Juvenal's *Ante domum Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon* iv. 40. Venus was the tutelary deity of the place, and her head appears on its coins. **Cnidum**, a city on the S.W. coast of Caria, built partly on the mainland, partly on the peninsula whose western point was called the Triopian promontory. Pausanias mentions three temples of Aphrodite at Cnidos, i. 1. 3; Praxiteles' celebrated statue of the goddess here drew visitors from every part of the world, Luc. *Epores* 11; Plin. xxxvi. 20. It was said to have been modelled on the sculptor's mistress Cratina, and to have inspired an actual passion in a youth; so Poseidippus quoted by Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 46 sqq. Sylb. *harundinosam*. Auson. Epist. vii. 50. The reeds of Cnidos were the best for making paper (Plin. xvi. 157). As the material of which pipes (*fistulae*), and flutes (*sibiae*) were made, they suggest another reason for being mentioned in the service of Venus, *etiam deliciis gratiae* (Plin. xvi. 156).

14. **Colis.** A rare pause after the disyllabic first foot of the hendecasyllable. **Amathunta**, Strab. 683 εἶτ' (after Citium) Ἀμαθοῦς πόλις. Tac. Ann. iii. 62 *Exin Cyprii tribus delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aérias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathustiae, et Ioui Salaminio Teucer . . . posuissent.* Paus. ix. 41. 2 Ἔστι δὲ Ἀμαθοῦς ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλις Ἀδωνίδος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον. Steph. B. s. v. Verg. Aen. x. 51, Ovid M. x. 220, 531. There was a famous statue of Venus as a Hermaphrodite here; see on LXVIII. 61. **Golgos.** Paus. viii. 5. 2 Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλούσης ὁ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τῶν οἰκαδὲ ἐπιγενόμενος χεიმὼν Ἀγαπήνορα καὶ τὸ Ἀρκάδων ναυτικὸν κατήνεγκεν ἐς Κύπρον, καὶ Πάφου τε Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κατασκευάσατο ἐν Παλαιπάφῳ τὸ ἱερόν· τῶς δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Κυπρίων τιμὰς εἶχεν ἐν Γολγοῖς καλουμένῃ χωρίῳ. Steph. B. Γολγοῖ πόλις Κύπρου, ἀπὸ Γόλγου τοῦ ἡγεσάμενου τῆς Σικωνίων ἀποικίας· λέγεται καὶ Γόλγιον οὐδετέρως· ἀφ' οὗ Γολγία ἢ Ἀφροδίτη. Theocr. xv. 100 Δέσποιν' ἃ Γολγῶς τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφίλασας, Lycophron Al. 588 γαῖαν ἵζονται θεὸς Γόλγων ἀνάσσης. Two short inscriptions τῇ θεῇ τῇ Γολγίᾳ, have been found, one at Idalium, the other seemingly at Amathus. General Cesnola thought he had found the site of Golgi at *Atienis*, in the district known as Jorgos, where extensive remains of buildings have been discovered; but this view has been combated by

R. Neubauer (Comment. in honorem Mommseni, pp. 673 sqq.), who shows that Pausanias says nothing of any temple, or indeed of any city, at Golgi; that the remains at Atienu are not of a temple, but a *τίμενος*; and that more probably Golgi occupied the site of what was later Palaeapaphos, whose present name *Kouklia* is perhaps a modernization of Golgi<sup>1</sup>.

**15. Durrachium.** Strab. 316 'Επίδαμνος Κερκυραίων κτίσμα (Thuc. i. 24), ἡ νῦν Δυρράχιον ὀμωνύμως τῇ Χερρονήσῳ λεγομένη, ἐφ' ἣ ἱδρύεται. It was in the territory of the Taulantii, Thuc. i. 24, Euphorion ap. Steph. Byz. s. v. The name seems to express the high and craggy ridge on which the town was built (Cramer, Ancient Greece, i. p. 50). Plautus still knew it as Epidamnus, and describes it as a famous haunt of vicious characters: Men. ii. 1. 34 *Voluptarii atque potatores maxumi. Tum sycophantae et palatores plurimi In urbe hac habitant: tum meretrices mulieres Nusquam perhibentur blandiores gentium.* Cic. speaks of the *loci celebritas*, Fam. xiv. 1. 7. **tabernam.** The inn or hostel, as the common receiver of passengers from Greece to Italy, or *vice versa*. Such a name well describes a place in the highway of trade. So Strabo 283 calls Egnatia κοινὴ καταγωγὴ πλείοντί τε καὶ πεζεύοντι εἰς Βάριον (Voss), and 577 Apamea τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινὸν ὑποδοχεῖον.

**16.** 'Acknowledge the receipt of the vow and pay it back.' Lesbia's vow is here regarded as a debt incurred by Venus, which she is to discharge by fulfilling the condition on which it was made, the reconciliation of Catullus and Lesbia. The language is taken from accounts. Another interpretation is suggested by Dig. xlv. 4. 7, where one of the formulae of *acceptilatio*, a fictitious payment by which two parties to a verbal contract agreed to cancel their agreement, is '*Accepta facis decem?*' ille (the creditor who consents to be released) *respondit: 'facio.'* Venus will then be asked to acknowledge the receipt and payment (i.e. the payment and receipt) of Lesbia's vow, i.e. to cancel it as virtually discharged.

**17. Si,** 'as truly as it is a witty and charming one,' Aen. vi. 121 sqq. **non** with *illegitimum*, X. 4. **neque inuennustum** (ἀκύθηρον), as becomes a vow to Venus. Xen. Symp. viii. 15 σαφῶς ἀποτελεῖται ἡ εὐχή, ἐν ᾗ αἰτούμεθα τὴν θεὸν ἐπαφρόδιτα καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα διδόναι.

**18. interea.** The order of ideas seems to be this: 'Paper on which Volusius' Annals are written, burn, and so fulfil a vow of Lesbia's. She promised, if I were reconciled to her and in token of sincerity consented to write no more against her, to burn the choicest things the worst of poets had written. So now, Venus, accept the vow, (in this sense) so witty and charming; and reconcile us to each other. Meanwhile, on our part, we burn Volusius' Annals.'

**19. Pleni ruris,** 'full of rusticity.' Sillig quotes Hesych. ἄγρου πλήως ἀγρουκίας πλήρης. **infictiarum**, XXII. 14.

**20.** The poem ends with the same line with which it began, just as the poet begins and ends with declaring his determination to burn Volusius' Annals: *Volum soluile, uenile in ignem.*

<sup>1</sup> Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Classical Review for June, 1888, p. 187, speaks of the site of Golgi as still problematical.



## XXXVII.

THIS is the first of a series of poems in which Catullus ridicules the *personal* peculiarities of rivals or others who had incurred his hostility: XXXIX describes Egnatius' eternal smile and unsavoury teeth; XLI, XLIII, and probably XLII, the affected gait and airs of a woman called Amiana; XL, though not directed against anything in the personal appearance of Ravidus, attacks him as a rival. The present poem is also prompted by jealousy; it is aimed at Lesbia's lovers *en masse*, and the scene is laid, not very inappropriately, in a brothel. That this is so is clear from the whole language of the poem; 1 *Salax taberna*, 3 *Solis licere quicquid est puellarum Confutuere*, 6 *continenter quod sedetis insulsi Centum an ducenti*, 14 *Consedit istic* which we may compare with the *hic fuit* of the Pompeian Inscriptions, as *Hanc Omnes amatis* 15, recalls the *Multi te amant* of the same inscriptions, and the *amica omnium* of Cicero. It is not necessary to suppose that Lesbia had already descended to the condition described in LVIII; but the poem must be much later than LXVIII. 136 *Rara uerecundae furta feremus herae*.

It is an ingenious theory of Bruner's that the *taberna* of 1, 10 is Clodia's house, which, from Cicero's oration *pro Caelio* (vii, viii, xx), we know to have been not only a resort of bad characters (Cael. xx. 48 *si quae non nupta mulier domum suam patefecerit omnium cupiditati, palamque sese in meretricia uita collocarit*), but on the Palatine, and therefore sufficiently near the temple of Castor and Pollux on the south side of the Forum to be described as in 2. *Pila* he explains of the projecting columns, or perhaps of the door-posts, of Clodia's house. But from 14 it is clear that Lesbia's presence in the *taberna* was an occasional, perhaps a single act: there could be no point in the words *Consedit istic* if Catullus were speaking of her habitual residence. Equally shadowy is B. Schmidt's view (Proleg. p. xxi) that the *Salax taberna* is the house of P. Clodius, and that the *contubernales* are the friends of P. Clodius himself.

1. *taberna* seems rightly explained by Westphal of a wine- or eating-shop used for immoral purposes, like the *ganeae* (Liu. xxvi. 2, Adelp. iii. 3. 5), in which Clodius (Pro Sest. ix. 20) and Gabinius (Pison. vi. 13) were fond of spending their time. Cf. the *famosa taberna* of Copa 3, and Prop. iv. 8. 19, 62 where two such *tabernae* are mentioned as the resorts of the meretrices, Phyllis and Teia. Similarly *καπηλείον*, as shown by Athen. 567 Σὺ δέ, ὁ σοφιστὰ, ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις συναναφύρη οὐ μετὰ ἑταιρῶν ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἑταιρῶν, μαστροπενούσας περὶ σαυτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἔχων. *contubernales*, 'brothers in the service,' with an allusion to the military sense of *contubernium*. Caelius ap. Quintil. iv. 2. 123 *praeclaras contubernales ab omnibus spondis transuersas incubare*.

2. *A pileatis*, i.e. where stands the pillar ninth in order from the temple of Castor and Pollux, here called *fratres pileati*, from the round caps in the shape of a half egg with which they were usually represented, and which, sometimes surmounted by a star, are often found on coins. Paul. Diac. *Pilka Castori et Polluci dederunt antiqui quia Lacones fuerunt, quibus pilleatis pugnare mos est*. The *aedes Castoris* (Liu. ii. 42) was on

the south side of the Forum near the fountain of Juturna, and therefore in the most crowded quarter of Rome. Verr. Act. ii. 1. 49, 129 *In aede Castoris, celeberrimo clarissimoque monumento, quod templum in oculis quotidianoque aspectu populi Romani positum est, quo saepenumero senatus conuocatur, quo maximarum rerum frequentissimae quotidie aduocationes fiunt.* Ovid F. i. 705-8 *At quae uenturas praecedet sexta Calendas, Hac sunt Ledaëis templa dicata Deis. Fratribus illa Deis fratres de gente Deorum Circa Iuturnae composuere lacus.* **pila**, the pillar or column in front of the *taberna*, used to indicate the occupation of the possessor, in Hor. S. i. 4. 71 *Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos*, a book-seller, here, as in Mart. vii. 61. 5 *Nulla catenatis pila est praecincta lagonis*, probably a *caupo*.

4. **quicquid est puellarum.** Mart. ix. 27. 7 *quicquid unquam legimus pilosorum.*

5. **Confutuere**, i. q. *constuprare*, a less downright word. The preposition gives the idea of completeness or intensity. **hircos.** The clause **Solis putatis esse mentulas uobis** points to the opposite notion in **hircos** of *male mentulati*, and this idea, I think, is at least connoted by the word. Most edd. however, including Alex. Guarinus and Munro, consider the rank odour of the he-goat to be the dominant idea; cf. Most. i. 39 *fu oboluiisti allium, Germana inluuies, rusticus (?)*, *hircus, hara suis*, Merc. iii. 3. 13 *Ieiunitatis plenus, anima foetida, Senex hircosus, tu auscultare mulierem?* Plin. xxxvii. 60 *foedissimum animalium*, Mart. iii. 93. 11 *Et illud oleas quod uiri capellarum:* and so Munro, citing Suet. Tib. 45 *hirsuto atque olido seni*, ib. *hircum uetulum capreis naturam ligurrare.* Ramirez del Prado on Mart. iii. 93. 11 thought that as he-goats lick the *natura* of the female, **hircos** might be used for *fellatores*; and this idea may possibly be included. In any case the general notion of the words **et putare ceteros hircos** will be, 'and hold all others to stink in the nostrils of the fair.' My earlier view, emphasizing **ceteros** and explaining **hircos** as = *salaces*, 'and yet damn for lewdness all the world beside,' is less in accordance with the prevailing use of *hircus*. Yet cf. Merc. ii. 2. 1 *Profecto ego illunc hircum castrari uolo*, 4 *Quasi hircum mcluo ne uxor me castret mea.*

6. **An . . . quod . . . non putatis?** The form of the sentence is Plautine, Mil. ii. 6. 19, 20 *An quia latrocinamini, arbitramini Quiduis licere facere uobis, uerbero.* **continenter**, 'in an unbroken line:' elsewhere of time. So *ἐφεξῆς* in Athen. 568 in two passages speaking of *ἐταῖραι*.

7. **Centum an ducenti**, 'one hundred, or it may be, two.' This elliptical use of *an* is found, according to Hand Turs. i. p. 300, in Cicero's letters, but not in the orations<sup>1</sup>. Fam. vii. 9. 3 *Cn. Octavius, an Cornelius quidam est; is me crebro ad cenam inuitat, contemptuosus;* xiii. 29. 4 *neque possum negare adfuisse, sed non plus duobus an tribus mensibus.* Plin. Epist. vi. 13. 5 *Acilius tantum Rufus et cum eo septem an octo, septem immo in priore sententia persecuerunt.* Vatican Palimpsest of Cic. de Rep. i. 18 *uno an altero spatio.* It is particularly used where there is a doubt as to the exact number.

8. **sessores** and **sedetis** perhaps allude to the custom of courtesans sitting in front of their *cellae*. Poen. i. 2. 54 *Prosedas pistorum amicas,*

<sup>1</sup> Dräger, however, ii. 463, cites one instance, Fin. ii. 32. 104.

*reliquias alicarias. . . . Quae tibi dant stabulum statumque, sellam et sessibulum merum?* Aeschin. in Timarch. 40 quoted by Vulp. οὗτος γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν πάντων ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ ἀπλάγῃ ἐκ παίδων, ἐκάθητο ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐθυδίου ἱατροῦ, προφάσει μὲν τῆς τέχνης μαθητῆς, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ πωλεῖν ἑαυτὸν προσηγμένους. The meaning will then be, 'I will treat you like so many unchaste women, seated as you are like a number of prostitutes one after another, in empty self-complacency (*insulsi*).' This would agree with the above-expressed view of *hircos*. Cat. says, 'You suppose yourselves the only true viriles; everyone else to be wanting in manly attractiveness and vigour. I will show you that my virility is a match for the whole of your prostituted crew.' If Ramirez del Prado's view that *hircos* = *fellatores* is right, *irrumare* would take up and retort this *ex parte Catulli*. 'Putatis uobis solis licere puellas confutuere, ceteros tamquam fellatores damnare? Quid si ego omnia contra demonstram? uos pro prostibulis habeam, ipse tamquam male mares et quidem uniuersos irrumem?'

9-10. 'And yet you may think so, if you will; for I will scrawl the whole of your brothel-front with signs that declare its character unmistakably.'

10. *Frontem* (Nux 139 *prima de fronte tabernae*), to be seen by the passer-by. As Stat. saw, there is an allusion to branding the foreheads of slaves convicted of thieving, running away, &c. Petron. 103, 105, Quintil. vii. 4. 14, Sen. de Benef. iv. 37: and cf. J. E. B. Mayor's erudite note on Iuven. xiv. 24. The *taberna* thus branded would be a witness against itself: that *figures* were sometimes tattooed on the forehead seems clear from Lucian 'Αλιεύς 46, where sham philosophers are to be branded with a fox or ape: on the other hand *tabernae* were often painted with familiar subjects, e.g. the battle of the weasels and the mice (Phaedr. iv. 6. 2). *scorpionibus*, rude figures of scorpions, such as that figured among the signs of the Zodiac, Fiorelli Giornale degli Scavi di Pompeii 1861, 2, Tav. v, sprawling on the ground and with the tail erect, as described by Lucilius ap. Non. 385 *Hic ut muscipulae tentae aique ut scorpii cauda Sublata* and Demosth. 786 ἡρότες τὸ κέντρον in attitude to strike; or again on coins of Africa, e.g. in Addison's Essay on Medals, vol. i. p. 322, ed. Bohn. It seems probable from Athen. 246, compared with 614 and Apul. Met. ix. 17, where a jealous and vindictive husband is nicknamed Scorpio, that this animal was specially associated with the punishment of *adultery*. This would of course have a significance here in reference to these *moechi Lesbiae*. But short of this, the scorpion would seem to have been a natural symbol of sudden and unexpected danger. Cf. the σκόλιον quoted Athen. 695 'Υπὸ πάντι λίθῳ σκορπίος, ὃ ταῖς ὑποδιερα. Φράξεν μὴ σε βάλη' τῷ δ' ἀφανεί πᾶς ἐπεται δόλος, or some etymological allusion might be meant, e.g. σκῶρ πέος, or to *νεπα*, *nepos*, *nepotes*<sup>1</sup>. MSS, however, give *sopionibus*, whence Peiper conjectured Rhein. Mus. for 1887, p. 522 *ropionibus*. Peiper there quotes a passage from a treatise of Marius Plotius Sacerdos de Tropis, Gramm. Lat. vi, p. 461 Keil, *Astismos fit tribus modis . . . per similitudinem, quomodo dictum est . . . illud de Pompeio, qui coloris erat rubei, sed animi inuerecundi*

<sup>1</sup> Placidus, p. 70 Deuerling *Nepa scorpius, quae natos consumit, nisi cum qui dorso ejus inhaeserit, rursum ipse, qui seruatus fuerit, consumit patrem. Unde homines qui bona parentum per luxuriam consumunt, nepotes dicuntur.*

'*Quem non pudet et rubet non est homo sed ropio, ropio autem est aut minium aut piscis robeus aut penis.* On this hypothesis, the meaning would be 'You may think what you please; for my part I will take care that no one mistakes the character of your haunt, or the occupation of its inmates. Your house is a brothel; and the phalli I paint on its walls shall declare to the world that it is so.' The symbol would be scrawled in red, if *ropio*, as *Sacerdos* implies, is connected with *rūsus*, *rūbidus*, *rōbeus*, &c. Every visitor of Pompeii has seen these obscene signs, which indicate the houses on which they are found to have been used for immoral purposes; and which are often combined with filthy or gross notifications of appointments made or kept. But see *Excursus*. **scribam** Writing on walls was a very common practice in antiquity, as numerous inscriptions show. *De Orat.* ii. 59. 240, *Merc.* ii. 3. 74, *Strab.* 674 οἱ δὲ κατοικογραφῆσαν αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα. *Ἔργα νέων*, *βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων*, *πορδαὶ δὲ γερόντων*. It was common to write on walls the names of lovers. *Lucian Dial. Meretr.* iv. ἐγὼ δ' ἐμεμήμην ὅτι κατὰ τοίχου τινας ἔλεγε καταγράφθαι τοῦνομα ἐν Κεραμεικῇ· ἔπεμψα οὖν "Ακίδα κατασκευομένην, ἣ δ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶρε, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐπιγεγραμμένον εἰσόντων ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ πρὸς τῷ Διπύλῳ. Μέλιττα φιλεῖ Ἑρμότιμον, καὶ μικρὸν αὐθις ὑποκάτω Ὁ ναύκληρος Ἑρμότιμος φιλεῖ Μέλιτταν. Similar practices are not unknown in modern times. 'A member of the Saraceni family at Vicenza, finding that a beautiful widow did not favour him, scribbled filthy pictures over the door. The affair was brought before the Council of Ten at Venice.' *Trollope's Paul the Pope*, p. 158.

11. **meo sinu fugit.** The omission of the preposition is not common. *Caesar B. C.* iii. 29 *Otilius sibi timens oppido fugit.* *Hor. C.* ii. 2. 15, *Ovid M.* xi. 27. The expression is the opposite of *in nostro sinu est*, *Am.* ii. 12. 2.

12. Repeated from VIII. 5, which no doubt preceded it.

13. *Lesbia* was *περιμάχητος* and therefore *ἐπιφθονος*, precious in proportion to the trouble taken in winning her (*Xen. Symp.* iii. 9). *Propertius* speaks in the same way of *Cynthia* iii. 8. 33 *Aut tecum aut pro te mihi cum rivalibus arma Semper erunt*, *Ovid* of *Corinna*, *Am.* ii. 12. The Greek orators are full of battles, often of a severe kind, fought for eminent beauties. The *πρὸς Σίμωνα* of *Lysias* turns on a nocturnal battle for a handsome *παιδικά*; and in § 43 he speaks of those ὅσοι περὶ ἑταίρας μαχόμενοι ἔλκος ἔλαβον. So *Aeschin. Timarch.* 134 εὖν κάλλει καὶ ὥρῃ διευγκόντες ἐκπλήξωσί τινας καὶ περιμάχητοι ἐξ ἔρωτος γίγνονται. **bella pugnata** as in *Val. F.* i. 770 *pugnataque poscere bella* (*Bährens*). *Corn. Nepos* prefers the strict cognate construction *pugna pugnata* *Hann.* v.

14. **Consedit**, as a meretrix. **boni beatique**, 'the well-born and the wealthy,' 'men of rank and fortune.' *Cicero* constantly uses the word *boni* of the aristocratical party who ranged themselves under *Pompeius*. *Att.* viii. 1. 3 *Eundum: ut quemcumque fors tulerit casum, subeam potius cum eis qui dicuntur esse boni, quam uidear a bonis dissentire.* *Etsi propediem uideo bonorum, id est, lautorum et luxuriantium, urbem refertam fore*, a passage in which the various acceptations of the word are reviewed. He combines *bonis et latis* *Sest.* xlv. 98 where *latis* = the *bene de domesticis rebus constituti* of the same passage, and defines their *τελος* in life to be *cum dignitate etiam*.

**15. et quidem, quod indignum est,** 'and what is more, to her shame.' Very common in Cicero's letters. Att. xii. 47. *1 nihil nocuerit, si aliquid cum Balbo eris locutus; et quidem, ut res est, emere nos uelle.* Senec. de Providentia 6 *crusta est et quidem tenuis.*

**16. pusilli,** 'petty,' 'insignificant.' Iuven. x. 121. **semitarii,** of the bye streets. Mart. vii. 61. 3, 4 *Iussisti tenues Germanice crescere uicos Et modo quae fuerat semita, facta uia est.* Phaedr. Prol. iii. 38 *pro semita feci uiam.* Petron S. 9 *Quasi per caliginem uidi Gitona in crepiddine semitae stantem et in eundem locum me conieci.* This seems better than to explain it as simply 'of the streets'; though Cicero contrasts the *angustissimae semitae* of Rome with the *optimae uiae* of Capua, De Leg. Agrar. ii. 35. 96: either view agrees with LVIII. 4, 5. Turnebus' interp. 'in agrorum semitis sub dio scortilla subigentes' is certainly wrong. It is obvious that the *boni beatique* are here opposed to profligates of humbler pretensions and a lower grade, the demi-monde of Rome.

**17. une de capillatis,** 'paragon of long-haired men.' Parad. ii. 16 *C. Marius uidimus qui mihi secundis rebus unus ex fortunatis hominibus, aduersis unus ex summis uiris uidebatur.* The Iberi wore their hair and beard thick and long; hence *τραγονόγῳρες* Cratinus Mein. Com. Fragm. ii, p. 78, Kock 101; so the Celtiberian Martial contrasts himself with the curled dandies of Rome, x. 65. 6, 7 *Tu flexa nitidus coma uagaris, Hispanis ego contumax capillis.* **une,** a very rare vocative. Caper, *doctissimus antiquitatis perscrutator*, quoted by Priscian i. p. 188 Keil, quotes a line of Plautus' Frivolaria in support of it: no other instance is adduced by Neue Formenlehre ii. p. 103 except Varro L. L. viii. 63, who mentions it as one of the six cases of *unus*. Similarly *sole* was used by Ticius in his Epithalamium (Prisc. i. 189). Both *une* and *sole* may be regarded as tentative innovations of Catullus and his school: and neither prevailed. **capillatis.** De Leg. Agrar. ii. 22. 59 *Volitat ante oculos istorum Iubae regis filius, adulescens non minus bene numatus quam bene capillatus,* 'with a fine head of hair.'

**18. Cuniculosae** is significant (1) as *cuniculus* is perhaps a Celtiberian word, (2) the rabbit was an insigne of Spain on coins and medals. Cf. e.g. Addison on Medals i. p. 322 Bohn. Varro R. R. iii. 12. 4 describes three kinds; the first, Italian with short fore feet, white belly, long ears, upper part of the body black, growing to great size in Gaul and Macedonia, smaller in Spain and Italy; the second Alpine, entirely white; lastly the Spanish, like the Italian, but not so high. This was the *cuniculus* proper. Plin. H. N. viii. 217 *Leporum generis sunt et quos Hispania cuniculos appellat, fecunditatis innumerae.* Strabo 144 gives an account of these *γαυρήχοι λαγυδαίς οὐς ἔναι λεβηρίδας προσαγορεύουσι.* **Celtiberiae**, perhaps with the notion of uncivilized savagery which long attached to them. Strab. 151 *οἱ Κελτίβηρες οἱ πάντων νομισθέντες ποτὲ θημιωδέστεροι.*

**19. Egnati.** A Celtic name, and found in the form Eknatius on Celtic inscriptions (Riese, who quotes Becker Inscriptt. Celt. 15. 16). Bährens and Bergk identify this Egnatius with the philosophical writer of a poem De Rerum Natura quoted twice immediately after Cornificius by Macrobius. S. vi. 5. 2 and 12. The long hair and beard, ridiculed by Catullus, might suit a philosopher. **opaca,** 'bushy.' The fashion at Rome at this time seems to have been against full beards. Cicero Cael. xiv. 33

contrasts the full beards of the old Romans with the small and nicely trimmed beards which Clodia's lovers affected *non hac barbula qua ista delectatur, sed illa horrida quam in statuīs antiquis et imaginibus uidemus*: the young profligates described in Catilin. ii. 10. 22 as *bene barbati* must have worn a beard of some length carefully trimmed. **quem bonum facit**, 'whose gentility consists in,' much as in Curc. iv. 1. 14 *in foro infumo boni homines atque dītes ambulant*. It can hardly mean 'pulchrum,' as Bährens thinks, or even 'elegant' (Riese).

**20. dens.** Clean white teeth were thought necessary to a pleasing appearance. Theophrastus makes them a characteristic of the Ἀρεσκος. Tusc. Disp. v. 16. 46 *Haec quae sunt minima tamen bona dicantur necesse est, candiduli dentes, uenusti oculi*. Alexis fr. 98 Kock Εἰφνεῖς ὀδοντας ἔσχεν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης δὲ γελᾶν | ἵνα θεωρῶσ' οἱ πάντες τὸ στόμα ὡς κομψὸν φορεῖ, Truc. ii. 1. 15 *Bonis esse oportet dentibus lenam probam Arridere ul quis* (so Key) *ueniat blandeque adloqui*. **Hibera**, his native urine; i. e. according to the fashion of his country. **urina**. See XXXIX.

#### EXCURSUS ON XXXVII. 10.

THE passage of *Sacerdos*, to which Haupt had already called attention, though without explaining XXXVII. 10 by its help (see Haupt's *Opuscula*, iii. 325), has been treated by Hertz in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher* for 1878, p. 254, and Bücheler *Rhein. Mus.* xxxv. 399. Hertz accepts *ropionibus* both for the v. of Catullus and the passage of Petronius 21 *Ancilla totam faciem eius fuligine longa perfricuit et non sentientis labra humerosque sopitionibus pinxit*. Bücheler, while admitting *ropio* to be a possible formation from *rub-* or *rob-*, yet halts at the change of *b* into *p*, which reverses the ordinary change from *p* into *b* (*buxus*, *Balatium*, &c.). Again he denies the verse quoted by *Sacerdos* to be a *sotadeus*, as Haupt thought, and as its form certainly suggests; the resolved *rōpio* could not, he thinks, represent the final spondee required. He would write the words as part of an elegiac distich, *nam] quem Non pudet et rubet, est non homo sed ropio*. The general similarity of the passage to Catullus' *Non homo, sed uero mentula magna minax* (CXV. 8) is undeniable; and one of the two poets, Bücheler thinks, must have known the other's epigram. Schöll and Bährens, following a suggestion of Osthoff's that *sopio* represents a Sanskrit participle *sāpāyant* = *futuens*, retain *sopionibus* = *fututoribus*: which may perhaps be called the farthest point of audacity which criticism has yet reached. Monse, in his *Waldenburg Dissertation*, pp. 10-12, thinks that both Petronius and Catullus used *ropionibus* in its proper sense of something daubed in red; the verse in *Sacerdos* may have been meant to be obscure, each of the three meanings assigned being applied according to the taste of the hearer. The case is slightly complicated by the fact, to which Peiper calls attention, that low-life scenes painted coarsely and with no attempt at artistic effect were called *ῥωπογραφία*. This however could not justify a Latin word *ropio* in the sense of 'coarse daub'; and even supposing a formation direct from *ῥωπος* or *ῥωπιον*, *ropio* as a masc. noun = 'genre-painter,' 'low-life painter,' such a use of the abl. with *scribam* is inconceivable for Catullus.

With regard to the quantity of *rōpio*, which Bücheler justly calls in

question, I observe that Key, in his valuable Latin Dictionary just published, marks the first *ø* as short: 'Røpio, -ønīs, m. [rop = rub of rubeo, cf. rubellio] a red mullet? quem non pudet et rubet non est homō sed ropio, Sal. in Pomp. ? ap. Claud. Sacerd. Gram. i. 153; cf. Sen. ep. 11. 4; Plin. 7. 53; 37. 14.'

I will recapitulate the points which seem to emerge.

1. The quantity of *rop-* is doubtful: though *rūbidus rōbeus* make *ō* a possibility. If the *o* could be *proved* long, it would go far towards deciding the question.

2. If (as I still think) the verse in Sacerdos was a sotadeus, the last foot may have been scanned either *røpt-o* or *rō-pō*.

3. The meaning of *ropio* there would naturally be *obscene*.

4. Like so many other obscene words, *ropio* would occur rarely, and be liable to misspelling in MSS. How many of the Greek words for the *aidōia* are not known to occur in any writer, except Hesychius. And for Latin we have no Hesychius.

### XXXVIII.

A SHORT expostulation with Cornificius, probably the poet of that name, for withholding sympathy which Catullus had expected, apparently in return for some communication on the subject of his passion, perhaps for Lesbia; the words *sic meos amores* can hardly refer to Catullus' brother (Vulp.) or to Cornificius himself (Bruner). The poem, which is probably imperfect, was obviously written at a time not less of bodily than mental depression: Heyse, Teuffel and Schwabe agree in tracing in it the anticipation of approaching death. This would give a meaning to the last line; the *lacrimae Simonideae* may well refer, as Bruner supposes, to the *θρήνοι* of Simonides, poems commemorating the dead, and filled with reflexions on the uncertain lot of mortality, often, it would seem, in connexion with the untimely deaths of the young.

Catullus, in complaining that his friend has done little to console him in his suffering state, follows the example of Lucilius, who remonstrates with a friend for not visiting him when ill, Gell. xviii. 8.

Bergk, in a programme on Cornificius (Index Lectionum Marburg 1843), makes it probable that Cornificius was the poet of that name. (1) Ovid Trist. ii. 428-438 mentions Cornificius with Catullus, Calvus, Ticia, Memmius, Cinna, Anser and Valerius Cato as a writer of light erotic verse. (2) Macrobius S. vi. 4. 12 quotes from Cornificius a hendecasyllabic verse, *Deducta mihi uoce garrienti*, vi. 5. 13, a fragment from his hexameter poem Glaucus, which show that he followed the same school of poetry as Catullus. (3) Catullus asks his friend for a *poem*. (4) The chronology of Cornificius' life would agree with this view, as he died in 713 | 41 according to Jerome in the Eusebian chronicle: *Cornificius poeta a militibus desertus interit, quos saepe fugientes galeatos lepores adpellarat. Huius soror Cornificia, cuius insignia extant epigrammata*.

1. *Malost*, of sickness. Att. iv. 6. 2 *meliuscule Lentulo esse*. Fam. xvi. 5. 1 *Quom meliuscule tibi esset*.

2. **Malest, me hercule! et laboriose.** This, the reading of MSS, is indefensible, owing to the hiatus of the short *e* of *hercule* in thesi, for which the nearest parallel *dum modò ipse egeat* (where Lachm. conj. *domo*) is no sufficient support. The other cases of dactylic hiatus LV. 4 *it̃ in omnibus*, LVII. 7 *lectulò erudituli* are quite different and are in my opinion both right. Lachmann's conj. *Malest me hercule ei et laboriose* is perhaps the least objectionable remedy. **laboriose**, according to Cicero Phil. xi. 4. 8 a word peculiarly applied to bodily suffering. *Dolores Trebonius pertulit magnos* (he was put to the torture); *multi ex morbi gravitate maiores, quos tamen non miseros, sed laboriosos solemus dicere.*

5. **allocutione**, specially used of words of comfort. Varro L. L. vi. 57 *Hinc adlocutum mulieres ire aiunt quom eunt ad aliquem locum consolandi causa.* Sen. ad Marc. de Consol. 1 *Teneas licet et amplexeris dolorem tuum quem tibi in filii locum superstitem fecisti. Quis enim erit finis? omnia in superuacuum temptata sunt; fatigatae allocutiones amicorum.* Id. ad Helv. Matrem 1 *Quid quod nouis uerbis nec ex uolgari et cotidiana sumptis allocutione opus erat homini ad consolandos suos ex ipso rogo caput adleuanti.*

6. 'I am angry with you. Is it thus you treat my tale of love?' Catullus, it would seem, had taken Cornificius into his confidence about his passion, probably for Lesbia, as that which had given him most suffering. **meos amores**, where it is not 'my beloved' as in XV. 1, XXI. 4, XL. 7, all spoken, I think, of Juventius, can only mean 'my passion and all that concerns it, my tale of passion' as in VI. 16 *Volo te ac tuos amores Ad caelum lepido uocare uersu.* The omission of the verb belongs to the rapid and summary language of emotion, and gives a tinge of every-day feeling. Att. i. 2. 1 *Abs te tam diu nihil litterarum?* Fin. ii. 6. 17 *Finem, inquit, interrogandi, si uidetur, 'a truce to questions, if you please.'* A. Palmer thinks Cornificius had acted in a way Catullus did not approve towards some one to whom the poet was attached. 'I have a quarrel with you; could you act so to my pet (*meos amores*)? Come and let us have it out.'

7. Lachmann on II. 7 seems to take **lubet** here by itself, making **Paulum quid allocutionis** the nom. to it, and this construction, though rare and belonging to the older Latin, is found in Suet. Caes. 20 *quae cuique libuissent*; Cic. pro Quint. xxx. 94 *Sin et poterit Naevius id quod libet et ei libebit id quod non licet, quid agendum est?* It is perhaps more natural to take *paulum quid lubet* as one expression, and supply *da* or an equivalent, 'Just one little word of consolation.' Catullus expected a *poem* of sympathy. But as in *La*<sup>2</sup> 4 occupies two lines, and in *La*<sup>1</sup> (circ. 1400) 6 is not in a line with the rest, but begins slightly more to the right of the page, it is more than probable that one verse has been lost, perhaps several.

8. **Maestius**, not 'though sadder' (Theod. Martin and Cranstoun) but 'something more moving, with more of sympathy;' the tone of a poem meant to console a man suffering partly from love, partly from ill-health, would naturally be not too cheerful, and if it drew tears would be more successful than if it drew laughter. 'Let me have one word of address, no matter how little, and let it be sadder than the dirges of Simonides,' A. Palmer. Benoist well remarks that Catullus seems to ask



of his friend the same kind office which Vergil fulfilled to Gallus in singing of his passion for Lycoris (Ecl. x). **Simonideis.** Referring to the *θρήνοι* and elegies of Simonides of Ceos. Aristid. i. 127 ποῖος ταῦτα Σιμωνίδης θρήνησει; τίς Πίνδαρος; The fragments of Simonides are sufficient to show the λεπτότης περὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς which traditionally won him the victory over Aeschylus in composing the elegy over those who fell at Marathon. Quint. x. 1. 64 *Praecipua lamen eius in commouenda miseratione uirtus, ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus eius operis auctoribus praeferant.*

## XXXIX.

ON Egnatius and his eternal smile. Martial has epigrams on the same subject, ii. 41 on a woman with bad teeth whom he advises to avoid anything that can make her open her mouth, iii. 20 on Canius who was always smiling.

**2. Benidet,** 'beams with smiles.' The word is used of a *false* smile, Tac. Ann. iv. 60 *Tiberius toruus aut falsum renidens uultu*; Stat. Theb. xii. 688 *fictum ac triste renidens*. **usque quaque**, wherever he goes: the word fluctuates between the meanings 'everywhere' and 'continually,' with an increasing tendency to the latter; Most. iii. 2. 79 *cum usque quaque umbra est*, 'everywhere'; Bacch. iv. 4. 83 *usque quaque loquitur*, 'is continually talking'; Att. iv. 9. 1 *Mulla mecum de republica, sane sibi displicens, ut loquebatur* (sic est enim in hoc homine dicendum) *Syriam spernens, Hispaniam iactans: hic quoque ut loquebatur; et opinor usque quaque de hoc cum dicemus, sit hoc quasi καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου*, i.e. a recurring formula, which you must always supply. Mart. xi. 98. 3 *Et hinc et illinc usque quaque quacumque.*

**3. Subsellium**, here the bench where the *defendant* sat, as in a letter of Caelius, Fam. viii. 8. 1 *at ego inuocatus ad subsellia rei occurro*; cf. Q. Fr. ii. 4. 1: often of the *plaintiff*, Rosc. Amer. vi. 17, or of the judges, Vatin. xiv. 34. Bährens prints *subselium*, to which the MSS here point.

**5. Lugetur**, 'mourning is going on,' like *fletur* And. i. 1. 102. **orba**, 'bereaved,' in reference to *unicum*: see Mayor on Iuuen. iii. 129. **unicum**. Asin. i. 1. 1 *Sicut tuum uis unicum natum tuae Superesse uitae sospitem et superstitem.*

**7. morbum**, 'complaint.' Cato ap. Gell. i. 15. 9 has *morbus loquendi*, Varro Eumen. fr. xx Riese (Non. 392) *morbo stimulatus eodem* of a miser; Seneca, perhaps with Catullus in view, de Clem. ii. 6 *Scias morbum esse, non hilaritatem, semper adridere ridentibus et ad omnium oscitationem ipsum quoque os diducere*. So νόσος, νόσημα, Soph. Antig. 1052, 732. Philodemus Περὶ Κακιῶν Col. xvi eis μωρίαν ἐνίοτε τὸ νόσημα περίσσησιν ἢ μανίαν. **habet**, 'has upon him,' with *morbum*, as *habere febrem* Fam. vii. 26. 1: so too νόσον ἔχειν = φαῦλον ἥθος ἔχειν in Euripides Antiope fr. 227 Nauck.

9. *monendum te est mihi*, 'I must give you a warning,' a gerundial construction found in seven passages of Lucretius, Munro on i. 111. It occurs, but not very often, in Cicero, *De Sen.* ii. 2. 6 *Viam quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit*, *De N. D.* iii. 1. 1 *Suo cuique iudicio utendum*, *Pro Scauro* ii. 13 *Obliuiscendum uobis putatis matrum in liberos, uirorum in uxores scelera*: several times in Varro *R. R. e. g.* ii. 9. 11 *dandum hordeaceos panes*.

10-14. 'If there were any special reason for your showing your teeth, or no special reason for your not showing them; if you were a man of Rome that likes to look neat, a cleanly Sabine, a Tiburtine whose teeth are bleached by the pure atmosphere he lives in, an Umbrian whose poverty excuses his homeliness or justifies an economical tooth-wash, a Tuscan whose gormandizing combines with his care for personal appearance to make him particular about his teeth, a man of Lanuvium whose fine set of teeth makes his displaying them natural,—if again you were a countryman of my own, whose personal peculiarities I might overlook, or if in a word you were anybody whose teeth are not offensive, I should still prefer to see you rid of your eternal grin.'

10. *urbanus*, not merely 'a man that lives in towns,' which would form no sufficient contrast to the other adjectives *Sabinus*, *Tiburs*, &c., but 'a man of the Town' (*De Pet. Consul.* viii. 29) i.e. a citizen of Rome, cf. *urbanae tribus*, *urbani praetores*, with whatever culture or good-breeding is implied by living in the Capital. *Sabinus aut Tiburs*.

Catullus combines the two names probably because he had an estate on the borders of each, XLIV. 1-3. *Tiburs*. The air of Tibur was supposed to have the property of bleaching. *Prop.* iv. 7. 81, 2 *Pomosis Anio<sup>1</sup> qua spumifer incubat aruis Et numquam Herculeo numine pallet ebur*. *Mart.* iv. 62 *Tibur in Herculeum migravit nigra Lycoris Omnia dum fieri candida credit ibi*, vii. 13 *Dum Tiburtinis albescere solibus audit Antiqui dentis fusca Lycoris ebur Venit in Herculeos colles. Quid Tiburis alti Aura ualeat? paruo tempore nigra redit*, viii. 28. 11 *Lilia tu uincis nec adhuc delapsa ligustra Et Tiburtino monte quod albet ebur*, *Sil. Ital.* xii. 229 *Quale micat semperque nouum est, quod Tiburis aura Pascit ebur*.

11. *parcus Vmber*, 'a thrifty Umbrian,' whose homeliness thinks it a virtue not to be too nice in person (*Rusticilas . . . se commendat tonsa cute dentibus atris* *Hor. Epist.* i. 18. 5-8), or whose poverty excuses his resorting to cheap personal appliances. Umbrian poverty is often alluded to. *Mart.* xii. 81 *Brumae diebus feriisque Saturni Mittebat Vmber aliculam mihi pauper, Nunc misit alicam: factus est enim diues*, *Sil. Ital.* viii. 450 sqq. *Sed non rusticolae firmarunt robore castra Deteriore cauis uenientes montibus Vmbri . . . His populi fortes Amerinus et armis Vel rastris laudande Camers, his Sarsina diues Lactis et haud parci Martem coluisse Tuderis*, which almost looks as if *parcus* were an habitual epithet of the race. Their poverty induced them to hire themselves out in large bodies to the Sabines. *Suet. Vesp.* 1. This penuriousness was probably associated with the idea of homeliness and rusticity. Ovid speaks of the blowsed face and straddling gait of an Umbrian wife, *A. A.* iii. 303, and both formed part of their antique character. *Plin. H. N.* iii. 112, *Prop.*

<sup>1</sup> The reading of this passage is conjectural. MSS give *Ramosis*. I have suggested (*Journal of Philology* for 1882, p. 174) that the right reading is *Lamosis*, 'spongy,' 'boggy,' a word which would aptly describe the fields overflowed by the Anio.

iv. 1. 121. The sense of 'spare' which has been assigned to *parcus* is not established, and is disproved by the recorded (Pers. iii. 74) and monumental (Müller Etrusker i. 275) stoutness of the Umbrian race. *Porcus*, the conjecture of Scaliger, and actually found in one MS, is too coarse to be likely; *pastus* would suit the idea of an Umbrian *boar* (Stat. S. iv. 6. 10) and might suggest the idea of *tusks*. The Vatican gloss in Mai Class. Auct. vii. 574 *Aut pinguis ubera aut obesus et prossus*, though expressly quoted as a line of Catullus, must represent a different recension from ours; so far as it goes, it confirms the first impression the line conveys, that the epithet preceding *Vmber* expressed some *bodily* quality like *obesus ater dentatus*. **obesus Etruscus.** 'Instead of the slender and symmetrical proportions of the Greeks and Italians the sculptures of the Etruscans exhibit only short sturdy figures with large heads and thick arms.' Mommsen Hist. Rom. i. 9. Their fatness was connected with their luxurious living. Aen. xi. 737-740. Diod. Sic. v. 40 Παρὰ τὴν γὰρ οὕτω τῆς ἡμέρας πολυτελεῖς καὶ τὰλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τροφὴν οἰκεῖα. They introduced the luxurious and quiet colonnade. Cf. Athen. 517, 518.

12. **ater**, 'dark,' of complexion. XCIII. 2. **dentatus**, 'with a fine set of teeth,' as in Mart. i. 72. 3 *Sic dentata sibi uidetur Aegle Emplis ossibus Indicoque cornu*; in Pseud. iv. 4. 3 *dentatum uirum Macedoniensem* it seems to mean unduly prominent teeth. The dark colour of the Lanuvine's skin would bring his teeth into greater prominence, as Shakespeare talks of 'an Ethiop's tooth,' Winter's Tale iv. 3.

13. **Transpadanus**. Even if Catullus alludes to Verona alone in **meos** (LXVII. 34), he speaks for the time at which he wrote with strict correctness; later, Augustus assigned Verona to the Veneta regio, not the Transpadana. This is perhaps the earliest mention of Transpadani, though from Suet. Iul. 9, *Idem Curio sed et M. Aclorius Naso auctores sunt conspirasse eum (Caesarem) etiam cum Gnaeo Pisone adolescente, cui ob suspicionem urbanae coniurationis prouincia Hispania ultro extra ordinem data sit, pactumque, ut simul foris ille, ipsi Romae ad res novas consurgerent per Ambranos et Transpadanos*; *destitutum utriusque consilium morte Pisonis*, it would seem probable that the word existed at least as far back as 66-65 B.C. Cf. Cic. de Off. iii. 22. 88. **attigam**, 'not to leave untouched,' a medical word, *tanquam uulnera attingo* Liu. xxviii. 27. Catullus seems to imply that he was aware his own country-men had their failings.

14. **puriter**, LXXVI. 19, a word of Cato's, R. R. 76. 1, 112. 2, used also by Ennius, Pomponius, and Novius. Catullus affects these archaic adverbs, *miseriter* LXIII. 49, *properiter* fr. IV. **lauit**, not *lauat*, as Horace S. i. 5. 24 has *ora manusque lauimus*. But generally the usage not only of the Augustan poets, but of Lucretius, confines *lauare* to actual washing, *lauere* to laving or wetting, often metaphorically. See Neue Formenlehre ii. p. 322. **dentēs**. If we may judge from the number of *dentifricia* mentioned in Pliny's Natural History, the Romans must have paid particular attention to their teeth. Most of these consist of the ashes of various animal substances; e.g. bones, especially the pastern-bones (*tali*) of farm animals, dogs' teeth, stags' horns, oyster-shells, egg-shells, murex, all burnt and reduced to powder (xxviii. 178,

179, 182, xxix. 46, xxx. 22, xxxii. 65, xxxii. 82). Mouse ashes mixed with honey or fennel-root were employed to make the breath pleasant (xxx. 27). Pounded pumice was also used as a tooth-powder (xxxvi. 156).

16. Menandri Gnom. Monostich. 88 (Meineke Fragm. Com. Graec. iv. 342) Γέλως ἥκαιρος ἐν βροτοῖς δεινὸν κακόν, 108 (Mein. p. 343) Γελᾷ δ' ὁ μῶρος κᾶν τι μὴ γέλοιον ᾗ.

17. Celtiber. Diod. Sicul. v. 33. 5 "Ἴδων δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον νόμιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς (τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι) ἐστίν. Ἐπιμελεῖς γὰρ ὄντες καὶ καθάριοι ταῖς διαίταις, ἐν ἔργον ἐπιτηδεύουσι βάνανσον καὶ πολλῆς ἀκαθαρσίας κεκοινωνηκός· παρ' ἕκαστα γὰρ τὸ σῶμα λούουσιν οὖρον, καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας παρατρίβοντες, ταύτην ἡγοῦνται θεραπείαν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος. Celtiberia in terra. The addition of *terra*, a combination already beginning to be archaic (Plaut. Trin. iv. 2. 88 *aduecti ad Arabiam terram sumus*), is not meaningless: it suggests that Celtiberia was a peculiar out-of-the-way part of the world, perhaps that it was barren and deficient in natural resources. Strabo 163 οὕτε γὰρ ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις πόλεων ἐπιδεκτικὴ πολλῶν ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμὸν καὶ τὸ ἀνήμερον, οὐθ' οἱ βίοι καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν ἔξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπαγορεύουσι τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ib. 164 ἡ δ' ἄλλη (ἀνωρεῖ) τὸ πλεόν διὰ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς διαγωγὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀνάγκην καὶ ὁρμὴν θηριώδη μετὰ ἔθους φαυλοῦ ζῆν· εἰ μὴ τις οὔτε πρὸς διαγωγὴν ζῆν τοὺς οὖρον λουομένους ἐν δεξαμεναῖς παλαιουμένῃ καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας σηχομένους καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς Καντάβρους φασὶ καὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς. Götz (Rhein. Mus. for 1885, p. 325), quotes from a Glossary, *Lactobriga est qui urina humana dentes sibi fricare solet*, and comparing Paul. 118 M. *Lacobrigae nomen compositum a lacu et Arcobriga Hispaniae oppido*, concludes that the practice was specially Lactobrigan.

18. *mixit*. 'The Greenland females occasionally wash their hair and faces with their own urine, the odour of which is agreeable to both sexes, and they are well accustomed to it as this liquor is kept in tubs in the porches of their huts for use in dressing the deer and seal skins.' Sir J. Richardson, *Polar Regions* p. 304, a passage indicated to me by Prof. Rolleston. The spelling *mixit* is found in *O*, and may be the spelling of Catullus. It is found in two inscriptions quoted by O. Iahn Persius i. 114. The *n* was only faintly heard in pronunciation before *s*, and the *gs* became *x*. Compare the forms *attigeret cesor Clemes Maluginensis mesor Oruculeius Pisarese Quictilis Secudo* in Mommsen C. I. L. i. p. 608. *mane*, i. e. he uses on getting up in the morning the water he passed over-night. This would give it time to take a deeper colour. Besides, urine was believed to have salutary effects if used in the morning, Plin. xxviii. 69 *Osthanes contra mala medicamenta omnia auxiliari promisit matutinis suam cuique instillatam in pedem*.

19. *russam*, the colour οὔρου πεπαλαιωμένου: 'a dull flesh-red,' Hugo Blummer. *Russus*, according to Charisius (55 P.) the correct form, not *russeus* any more than *albeus* or *prasineus*, is a rare word. Lucretius applies it to the awnings spread over theatres, iv. 75 *lutea russaque uela Et ferruginea*, Martial xiv. 176 to a mask made to imitate a Batavian face, either from the red colour of Batavian hair, or from the red brick-like colour of the complexion as imitated by the mask-maker. A. Gellius, ii. 26. 6 *Russus color et ruber nihil a uocabulo rufi diuersi dicuntur neque proprietates eius omnes*

*declarant*, does not define it: from Prudentius, who uses it twice of blood (Peristeph. x. 908, xi. 130), we may perhaps infer it to have been a coarse not very bright red. *defricare*. Apuleius quotes this verse with *pumicare* Apolog. 10. 8, ed. Kruger; perhaps an error of memory. Yet Dioscorides, speaking of pumice v. 124, says δύναμιν ἔχει σμηκτικὴν οὐλῶν καὶ ὀδόντων.

20. *uester*, 'that Celtiberian tooth of yours.' So *Hibera urina* XXXVII. 20. *expolitiior*, a rare comparative; the superlative *uillas expolitissimas* occurs in a passage from a speech of P. Scipio Africanus against Claudius Asellus (Gell. ii. 20. 6), applied to houses in complete repair. So *expolitio* is technically used by Cicero (Q. Fr. iii. 2. 6 *urbanam expolitionem*) and Vitruvius vii. Praef. 18 of the processes necessary to finish a house completely, including paving, plastering, painting the walls (*runderatio, albarium, picturae*). This idea may be in Catullus' mind, so 21 *bibisse* a well-known word of colour. Plin. H. N. viii. 193 *Lanarum nigrae nullum colorem bibunt*. Solin. xxii. 12, speaking of the British woad-tattooing, *plurimum fuci artus bibant*.

21. *loti*, the common word for urine, as is shown by its occurrence in Cato R. R., e. g. cxxii, and the proverbial *Non ualet lotium suum* (Petron. 57), 'he is not worth his salt.' Cf. the answer of Vespasian when reproved by Titus for putting a tax on urine (Sueton. Vesp. 23) *reprehendenti filio Tito quod etiam urinae uectigal commentus esset pecuniam ex prima pensione admouit ad nares, sciscilians num odore offenderetur; et illo negante 'Atqui' inquit 'e lotio est.'*

## XL.

*RAVIDUS* is only mentioned here; nor is the name a common one. He had enraged Catullus by making love, as Conr. de Allio and Schwabe (Quaest. p. 82) think, to Lesbia, as seems to me more probable, by familiarities with Iuuentius (so Vorlaender, p. 19). At any rate the words *meos amores* are applied to Iuuentius in the other poems, see XV. 1, XXI. 4. With XV indeed the poem before us has much in common; cf. *qualubet* 6 with XV. 11, *mala mens* with XV. 14 *Quod si te mala mens furorue uecors*, where *uecors* again is like *uecordem parat excitare rixam* here. As in XXXVI Catullus speaks of *truces iambi* which had brought Lesbia to her senses, in LIV. 6 of *iambi* which had roused the anger of Caesar (cf. Fragm. I), so here he threatens Ravidus with the terrible punishment of an immortality in *iambi*. Schwabe considers that *iambi* may include hendecasyllabic poems, and this would be in accordance with Hephaestion 10. 62 ed. Westphal when talking of antispastic verses he says τῶν δὲ τριμέτρων τὸ μὲν καταληκτικόν, τὸ μόνον τὴν πρώτην ἀντισπαστικὴν ἔχον τὰς δὲ ἐξῆς ἄλλας λαμβικάς, φαλαίκειον καλεῖται. If so the *iambi* with which Ravidus is threatened are the hendecasyllables in which the threat is conveyed, and this is perhaps more probable than that Catullus either wrote or thought of writing a regular iambic attack like the famous verses on Caesar (XXIX), or the *scazons*

expostulating with Lesbia (VIII), those against Suffenus (XXII), the *Salax Taberna* (XXXVII), Egnatius (XXXIX), Sestius (XLIV), Rufa (LIX) or the unknown object of LX. On the other hand, as Scaliger has shown, Catullus seems here to be imitating an iambic poem of Archilochus, and the *ἰαμβοί* which Cato wrote in imitation of the same poet (Plut. Cato 7) can scarcely have been hendecasyllables.

1. Archil. fr. 92 Bergk Πάτερ Λυκάμβα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε; Τίς σὰς παρήειρε φρένας; 'As τὸ πρὶν ἡρήρισθα, νῦν δὲ δὴ πολὺς Ἀστοίοι φαίνεται γέλως, a passage also imitated by Laberius ap. Non. 490. **mala mens**, 'infatuation,' as in XV. 14, Tib. ii. 5. 104. **Rauide**, is perhaps, as L. Müller thinks, and as Faernus thought long before him, to be pronounced *Rauide*, but an hypermeter is not impossible, as in the Glyconic poems XXXIV. 11, 22, LXI. 115, 135, 140, 184. Conr. de Allio fancifully supposed the name fictitious, to describe the reddish-brown eyes of Catullus' rival. It is the colour thought best by Columella for cocks, R. R. viii. 2. 9.

2. **Agit praecipitem**, of blind folly. Harusp. Resp. xxiv. 51 *demens et iam pridem ad poenam exiliumque praeceps*. Verr. Act. Sec. i. 3. 7 *Agunt eum praecipitem poenae ciuium Romanorum*. **iambos**. Plut. Cato 7 ὀργῇ καὶ νεότητι τρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἰάμβους πολλὰ τὸν Σκηπίωνα καθύβρισε, τῷ πικρῷ προσχωρησάμενος τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου.

3. Archil. fr. 93 Bergk τίς ἄρα δαίμων καὶ τοῦ χολούμενος; Expressions like *Qui illi di irati* Att. iv. 7. 1, *mihi deos satis fuisse iratos* And. iv. i. 40, and the ironical *satī illi di sunt propitii* Phorm. iv. 3. 31, are common; Catullus here gives them a new and less ordinary turn. **non bene**, 'unwisely.' **aduocatus**, Fronto p. 47 *Naber deorum unumquemque mihi uolīs aduoco*.

4. **Vecordem**, XV. 14. **rixam**, 'a love-quarrel,' Hor. C. iii. 14. 26, Colum. viii. 2. 14 *nec pugnacem nec rixosae libidinis marem* of a cock. **parat**, 'means,' 'is on the way.' Rem. Am. 99.

5. **peruenias in ora uulgi**. The plural *ora* gives a poetical cast to the common *in ore uulgi uersari* Verr. i. 46. 121, *in ore est omni populo* Adelph. i. 2. 13. Ovid Trist. iii. 14. 23, 24 combines the two, *Nunc incorrectum populi peruenit in ora, In populi quicquam si tamen ore meum est*.

6. **Quid uis**? 'What would you have?' 'What are you aiming at?' Heaut. i. 1. 9 *quid uis tibi? Quid quaeris?* De Orat. ii. 67. 269 *Quid tibi uis, insane?* 'What are you thinking of?' (Wilkins); Prop. i. 5. 3 *Quid tibi uis, insane? meos sentire furores? Infelix properas ultima nosse mala*. Hor. Epod. xii. 1, S. ii. 6. 29. **qua lubet**, 'no matter how,' LXXVII. 14. **notus esse**, 'to secure notoriety.' Mart. x. 3. 11 *Cur ego laborem notus esse tam prae?*

7. **Eris, quandoquidem** is metrically noticeable, (1) as allowing a strong emphasis to fall on the short syllable of **Eris**, (2) as bringing into prominence, by its position in the verse as an unelided word, the prosaic *quāndōquidē*: see however XXXIII. 6.

8. **Cum longa poena**, 'to your own far-reaching discomfiture,' so *magno cum pretio atque malo* LXXVII. 2, *cum pretio tuo* Rud. iii. 4. 5. It is perhaps fanciful to suppose a pun on *penna*, keeping up the idea of Ravidus as a long-tailed cock (*procerissimae caudae* Colum. viii. 2. 10).

## XLI.

THIS poem and XLIII are both attacks on the same person, a woman, called, if we can trust the MSS, Ameana or Amiana. She was the mistress of a man whom Catullus calls *decoctor Formianus*. This bankrupt of Formiae has been generally identified with Mamurra the favorite of Caesar attacked in XXIX; rightly, I think, as both Caesar and Mamurra are again assailed in LVII, and the latter is there expressly connected with Formiae. This also agrees very well with the facts of Mamurra's life. From Pliny H. N. xxxvi. 48 we know that Mamurra had been Caesar's superintendent of engineers in Gaul (*praefectus fabrum C. Caesaris in Gallia*), and it was here that he received from his chief the grants which roused Catullus to the attack upon him in XXIX (cf. 3 *Mamurram habere quod Comata Gallia Habebat uncti*). Now in XLIII. 6 *Ten prouintia narrat esse bellam?* Catullus says Amiana had been talked of as a beauty in the province, and there can be little doubt that the province here spoken of is the Prouincia *par excellence*, the Roman province in the south of Gaul<sup>1</sup>. This view becomes more probable if we refer XLII to the same woman; cf. 9 *Catuli ore Gallicani*.

When and where the poet made this acquaintance we cannot tell: perhaps, as Westphal suggests, in Cisalpine Gaul, itself a part of Caesar's province<sup>2</sup>, and which, to obtain fresh levies or for other reasons, he generally visited in the winters of his nine years' campaign beyond the Alps (B. G. v. 1). It was during one of these visits that, according to a plausible conjecture of Schwabe's (Quaestt. Catull. pp. 235-237), Caesar invited Catullus to dinner as a sign of forgiveness for the insult he had received in the verses upon Mamurra; and it must have been also during these visits that Caesar was himself at times the guest of the poet's father at Verona, if we may so interpret the words of Suetonius (Iul. 73). It is easy to suppose that Caesar may have brought Mamurra with him, and Mamurra might naturally be accompanied by his mistress. From 5, 6 it would seem that Amiana had relatives in or near the place where Catullus met her, probably Verona or the neighbourhood.

1. *Ameana*, (*A me an a*) I have retained as the reading of the best MSS. If genuine, it may possibly be a rustic or provincial form of *Amiana*, like *uea uella specu senu*, for *uia uilla spica sinu* (Varro R. R. i. 2. 14, ib. 48. 2), which were still so pronounced by country people in Varro's time. Even Livy still wrote *sibe quae* (Quintil. i. 7. 24). Catullus, if he retained the rustic or archaic *Ameana* for the more modern form, may have wished to heighten in this way the contrast

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Bunbury, Hist. of Anc. Geogr. ii. p. 109, 'We have already (before Caesar's Gallic wars) marked the successive steps by which the Romans had established themselves in the south-east of Gaul, and formed in that country a regular province extending from the Alps to the Cevennes and the Garonne, and northward to the Lake Lemannus (the Lake of Geneva), which marked at this period the most northerly limit of the Roman Empire.'

<sup>2</sup> I use the word designedly to contrast what I think the *wrong* interpretation of *prouincia* in XLIII. 6, with the natural one as explained above.

between the refined Roman Lesbia and her would-be Gaulish rival. It is equally possible that (1) *Amiana* is a form of late Latin, or (2) that it represents the corrupted form of another name, perhaps Anneiana, cf. the *Annerianum oppidum* near Ateste (Cluver. Ital. Antiq. p. 155), or again Anniana (Schwabe) or Ametina (Haupt).

2. *Tota milia me decem* would have a legal suggestion for most Romans. Ten thousand sesterces was the sum mentioned in the XII Tables under the formula for *manus iniectio*. Gaius iv. 21 *Quae actio talis erat. Qui agebat sic dicebat: Quod tu mihi iudicatus siue damnatus es sestertium x milia, quae dolo malo non solvisti, ob eam rem ego tibi sestertium x milium iudicati manus inicio.* *milia decem*, the sum which Catullus actually paid to the leno Silo. CIII. 1. *poposcit*. Hor. S. ii. 7. 89 *Quinque talenta Poscit te mulier*.

3. *turpiculo*, 'rather coarse,' as is shown by XLIII. 1 *Salve nec minimo puella naso*. It was a gross feature in the face. *Turpiculus* both in Varro and Cicero has this idea of immodesty. Varro L. L. vii. 97 *Puerulis turpicula res* (i.e. *fascinus*) *in collo quaedam suspensa, ne quid obsit, bonae scaevae causa scaevola appellata*.

4. *Decoctoris*. According to Cicero (Phil. ii. 18. 44) *Illud audaciae tuae quod sedisti in quattuordecim ordinibus cum esset lege Roscia decoctoribus certus locus, quamvis quis fortunae vitio non suo decoxisset*, the *lex Roscia* B.C. 67, which gave the equites fourteen rows of seats in the theatre next to those of the senators, contained a special enactment assigning a particular place to bankrupts. This was a public slur on *decoctores* as a class, and hence there is something like a special force in the introduction of the word here. The substantive does not seem to occur in any extant author before Catullus: *decoquere* = 'to be bankrupt,' is found in Varr. R. R. iii. 2. 16. The original expression may have been *aes suum decoquere*, the corresponding *aes alienum conflare*. **Formiani**. Horace calls Formiae the city of the Mamurrae, S. i. 5. 37. Mamurra, whose wealth was enormous (Att. vii. 7. 6 *Labieni divitiae et Mamurrae*), would no doubt be known to many as the millionaire of Formiae<sup>1</sup>. Cat. adroitly inverts this.

5-8. It would be well if Amiana's relations looked after her. She is not quite in her sound senses; at any rate she might be recommended to examine her looking-glass a little oftener.

5. *Propinqui*. In cases of madness the property and person of the insane were made over to his or her relations. Cic. de Inuent. ii. 50. 148 *Si furiosus escit, adgnatum gentiliūque in eo pecuniāque eius potestas esto*. Ad Herenn. i. 13. 23 *Lex est: si furiosus escit, adgnatum gentiliūque in eo pecuniāque eius potestas esto*. Ulpian. Lib. Sing. Regularum 12. 2 *lex duodecim tabularum furiosum itemque prodigum, cui bonis interdictum est, in curatione iubet esse adgnatorum*. Varro. R. R. i. 2. 8, says of a farmer who persisted in cultivating ground which was either unhealthy or too poor to remunerate his labour, *mente est captus atque ad adgnatos et gentiles est deducendus*. Hor. S. ii. 3. 217 *interdicto huic omne adimat ius Praetor et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos*.

6. *medicos*. Hor. Epist. i. 1. 101 *Insanire putas sollennia me neque*

<sup>1</sup> It has been already suggested (Excursus to XXIX) that in v. 23 the right reading may be *urbis ob lucem* (so Munro) *suave*, 'for the abomination of his native Formiae.'



*rides Nec medici credis nec curatoris egere.* Schulze cites Merc. v. 2. 210 *Hic homo non sanus est. Medicari amicus quin properas?* Iuven. vi. 46.

7. *neo rogare.* Similarly Thais writing to Thessala says of an insolent rival *ἔδοκει δέ μοι πάνυ κακῶς πράττειν ὥς μήδε κάτοπτρον κεκτήσθαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶδεν ἑαυτὴν σανδαράχης χρώμα ἔχουσαν οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀμορφίαν ἐβλασφήμει* Alciph. i. 33. 4. Anth. Pal. xi. 266 *Ψευδὲς ἔσοπτρον ἔχει Δημοσθενίς· εἰ γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἔβλεπεν οὐκ ἂν ὁλῶς ἤθελεν αὐτὸ βλέπειν.* So Plaut. Most. i. 3. 95 *Mulier quae se suamque aetalem spernit, speculo ei usus est.* Mart. ii. 41. 8 *Si speculo mihi que credis.* A. Palmer adds Am. ii. 17. 9; and cf. A. P. vi. 20. 5.

8. *aes imaginosum.* Copper was often used for mirrors. Aesch. fr. 384 *κάτοπτρον εἶδους χαλκός ἐστ', οἶνος δὲ νοῦ.* Anth. P. vi. 211. 4 *τὸ χαλκῶν τ' ἔσοπτρον.* Several such mirrors, some of them very rude and with inscriptions in early Latin as well as figures of early workmanship, are preserved. See Mommsen in C. I. L. i. 54-60. According to Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 130, the best mirrors of a past age (*apud maiores*) were made of a mixture of copper and tin; silver ones were introduced by Pasiteles in the time of Pompeius and supplanted the others (but see Plaut. Most. i. 3. 111). Seneca, Nat. Quaest. i. 17, traces the stages in the history of mirrors from the *orbis nondum argentei nitidis fragilis uilisque materia* to the *specula totis paria corporibus auro argenteoque caelata gemmis deinde adornata* of his own time. *imagnosum* seems to refer to some kind of mirror in which the face would be multiplied a great many times. This might be done if the metal surface were cut into many faces. Pliny describes cups which by a particular configuration gave back a whole tribe of reflexions (xxxiii. 129). Or a number of mirrors might be arranged in reference to each other so as to multiply the reflexion a great many times like those described by Lucretius iv. 302. [Does not *imagnosum* simply mean 'reflecting,' full of pictures because it reflects everything brought near it?—H. Nettleship.]

## XLII.

It is difficult to believe with Conr. de Allio and Schwabe that this poem is an attack on Lesbia: Catullus no doubt speaks coarsely of her XI. 17-20, LVIII. 4, 5, but he nowhere speaks to her abusively as in 11, 12, still less in language of such untempered grossness as 13, 14: nor would he have been likely to describe his incomparable mistress (XLIII. 7) as strutting affectedly, or grinning like a Gaulish puppy.

The position of the poem between XLI and XLIII seems to indicate its object, the *decoctoris amica Formiani*: cf. *mimice ac moleste Ridentem catuli ore Gallicani* 8, 9 with *Nec sane nimis eleganter lingua* XLIII. 4, *lutum lupanar* 13 with XLI. 1: and, generally, all the three poems describe a greedily affected unblushing woman. This is also the view of Victorius.

The occasion of these hendecasyllables would seem to be conveyed by the refrain 11, 12. Catullus had sent his tablets to the woman, probably with some proposal of an amorous kind; cf. Suet. Gramm. 14 *cum codicillos Memmi ad Pompeii uxorem de stupro pertulisset*, and she had refused to return them. They may have contained a promise of money. The

mere fact that the tablets were used by Catullus for writing his poems in proves nothing as to their use for other purposes.

Catullus, if I am right, has borrowed the idea of this poem from hunting. The hendecasyllables are called upon to pursue the thief (6-9); they form a circle round her and, like so many clamorous hounds, call upon her to drop what she has stolen (11, 12); finding that nothing comes of it, they, after a pause, raise their voices again in a still louder chorus (18-20); this also fails and they are finally reduced to a lower and more submissive tone (21-24).

Ovid has imitated Catullus when speaking of men who make love in order to steal, he says A. A. iii. 447

*Forsitan ex horum numero cultissimus ille  
Fur sit, et uratur uestis amore tuae.  
'Redde meum,' clamant spoliatae saepe puellae,  
'Redde meum' toto uoce boante foro.*

1. **hendecasyllabi** here (as in XII and XXXIII) selected as the proper rhythm for abusing a thief. **quot estis Omnes . . . quotquot estis omnes** gives the idea of numbers pouring in and reinforcing each other for the attack. Similarly the refrain 11, 12, consisting as it does of the same words arranged in two ways, gives the effect of a chorus taking up the same strain one after the other, so that different parts of it are heard at the same time.

3. **turpis**, 'shameful,' as **moecha**, for her infidelities. Hor. S. ii. 7. 59 *turpi clausus in arca* of the chest in which an adulterer is concealed.

4. **uestra**, of which you are the proper owners, as Catullus ordinarily used the tablets for writing the rough draft of his hendecasyllables in. **reddituram**, *se* omitted as in Pseud. i. 5. 152 *neque sim facturum quod facturum senseram*. The construction is found, rarely in Cicero, Rosc. Am. xxii. 61 *confilere huc ea spe uenisse*, more often in Livy (Zumpt 605), especially with the fut. infin. active, in which case *esse* is generally omitted (Madv. 401).

5. **Pugillaria**. From Charis. 97 Keil it seems that Asinius laid down the rule that *pugillares* must always be used masc. and always in the plural: but that *pugillar* was used by the mime-writer Laberius, *pugillaria* by Catullus more than once in his hendecasyllables. If Asinius is Asinius Pollio, who is often quoted as an authority on points of grammar (Suet. Gramm. 10, Gell. x. 26, Quintil. i. 5. 56, viii. 1. 3, xii. 1. 22), and who detected *patauinilas* in Livy (Quintil. i. 5. 56, viii. 1. 3), it seems possible that his objection to *pugillaria* was of the same kind: it was a provincial expression. Catullus then possibly uses it here as in keeping with the talk and manners of Amiana, the beauty of the Gaulish Province (XLIII. 6). The word is derived from *pugillus*, either small enough to be held in the closed hand, or a set of tablets, the leaves of which were arranged or sewn together one after the other like the fingers of the hand (*in seriem sulae* Charis. 97). **si pati potestis**, 'if you can submit to that' = 'submit to that, if you can,' possibly with an allusion to the vulgarity of the word. Fronto de Bello Parthico p. 221 Naber *Cur, tu, Marce . . . non inuenias tibi mel tempora non modo ad orationes et poemata et historias et praecepta sapientium legenda, sed etiam syllogismos, si perpeli potes, resoluendos?*

6. **Persequamur et reflagitemus.** Cato ap. Gell. xvii. 6 *Eam pecuniam uiro mutuam dat, postea ubi irata facta est, seruum receptitium seclari atque flagitare uirum iubet.* **reflagitemus** seems to be ἀπ. λεγ. 'let us demand them back,' i.e. insist on her returning them. *Flagitare*, of clamorous importunity, as in Men. Prol. 46 *illum clamore uidi flagitarier*, Pseud. i. 5. 143 *Clamore magno et multo flagitare.*

8. **Turpe**, strictly an adverb, as in Att. vii. 18. 1 *quoad sciremus utrum turpe pace nobis an misere bello esset utendum*<sup>1</sup>. Nonius mentions *fidele perspicace memore futile*. **incedere**, σοβείν, of a conceited strut: such a woman was called in Greek σόβη. *Meretrices* were distinguished from virtuous women by their *walk (incessu)* as well as their dress. Cael. xx. 49. **mimice**, with a laugh that might suit a farce-player. Mimes as defined by Diomedes iii. p. 488 *sermonis cuiuslibet motus sine reuerentia uel factorum turpium cum lasciuia imitatio* were according to Plutarch (Symp. vii. 8. 4) of two kinds, *ὑποθέσεις* or farces with a regular subject for performance on the stage, and *παίγνια* or shorter *jeux d'esprit*, whether in modulated prose like those of Sophron, or verse, for performance in private, or at least without the formality of a stage. They were essentially mimetic and accompanied by gesticulations, grimaces, simulated tones, &c. In Cicero's time they had supplanted the *Atellanae* (Fam. ix. 16. 7) as the regular sequel of a tragedy. Their characteristic was coarseness of every kind (Ovid Trist. ii. 497, Iuuen. vi. 44, viii. 197, Iulius Capitolinus Antonin. 29, Lamprid. Heliogabalus 25, Val. Max. ii. 6. 7, cf. Placidus s. u. *Carisa*, Festus s. u. *strutheum*). Most of the names connected with mimes express laughter: *γελοιοποιοὺς ὑβρίγελως κάγχας cachinno διάστροφος* (O. Iahn. Persius Proleg. p. xcii, ed. 1). Bährens wrongly joins *mimice ac moleste* with *incedere* as = 'ambulare motu corporis gestuque artificiose composito.' **moleste**, 'offensively,' 'tastelessly' X. 33.

9. **catuli ore**, the open mouth (*στόμα ἀνεργωγός* Arist. H. A. ii. 33) and grin of a puppy. **Gallicani**, 'of Gaulish breed,' probably from the Prouincia, which, as part of the Roman territory, would entitle a dog bred there to be called strictly *Gallicanus*: so Cicero speaks of an estate held by a Roman in Narbonese Gaul as *fundus Gallicanus* Quint. xxv. 80, cf. *re Gallicana* iv. 15. Catullus obviously alludes to the Celtic dogs described in Arrian's *Κυνηγετικός*. These were of two kinds, one shaggy and ugly with a villainous look and a whining bark (iii. 1 *τὴν ἰδέαν ἀνιάρων καὶ θηριώδεις*, 5 *πονηρὰ ἰδεῖν*) used for tracking; the other called *uertragi* from a Celtic root meaning 'swift,' fine creatures to look at, and used for running (Arr. iii. 6).

10. **Circumsistite.** Asin. iii. 3. 28 *Circumsistamus; alter hinc, hinc alter appellemus.* The idea seems to be that of hounds forming a circle round a beast. Ovid M. iv. 722 *apri quem turba canum circumsona terret.*

11. **putida**, 'disgusting,' ἀηδής. **codicillos**, tablets made of pieces of wood (*caudices*) cut into thin plates, and then coated with wax for writing on with a stylus. They were used for any purpose of the moment: Q. Cicero sends to his brother Marcus *codicilli* demanding an immediate reply (Q. Fr. ii. 11. 1): Acidinus informs Servius at Athens of the death

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of the Mediceus. In the 1845 ed. of Orelli and Baier it is altered to *turpi*... *misere*, wrongly, I think.

of M. Marcellus by *codicilli* (Fam. iv. 12. 2); Cicero sends his *codicilli* to Balbus to obtain instant information as to the contents of a law (Fam. vi. 18. 1). Probably in the time of Catullus it was usual to carry such tablets or memorandum-books about the person, whether for sending sudden messages, letters, amatory proposals (Hor. Epod. xii. 2, Ovid A. A. iii. 621, 630, Petron. 129), &c., or for writing down anything the moment suggested, as Catullus writes his hendecasyllables here, and as Ovid and his critics enter each on their separate *codicilli* the three verses from his poems which he wishes to preserve, they to erase (Sen. Cont. ii. 10 fin.). Catullus does not tell us how his tablets came into Amiana's possession: perhaps she had wished to look at some of his verses: more probably he had sent them with a love-proposal.

13. *lutum*, 'piece of filth.' Muretus quotes Pers. iii. 3. 2 *lutum lenonium*, *Conmixtum caeno, sterquilinum publicum*, ib. 10. Add Rud. i. 2. 8, Pis. xxvi. 62 *o tenebrae lutum sordes*, Pomp. Inscriptt. 1516, LAVDATA A · MVLTVS · SET LVTVS INTVS · EERAT. Shakespere Timon of Athens iv. 1. 5 *to general filths Convert o' the instant green virginity*. *lupanar*. Apul. de Magia 74 *libidinum ganeorumque locus* (*lutus* conj. Krüger) *lustrum lupanar*.

14. *perditius*, 'more degraded, abominable,' a rare comparative, for which Munro cites Att. xi. 18. 2 *sed hoc perditius, in quo nunc sum, fieri nihil potest*, xiv. 1. 1 *nihil perditius*. *potest*, most MSS, *potes* GO. 'I keep the *potes* of G and O' Munro, and so Bährens.

15. *Sed*, recalling himself and reflecting, 'And yet,' as in Mart. i. 14. 6 *Sed tamen esse tuus dicitur: ergo potest*. *non est satis*, Hor. S. ii. 3. 69.

16. *potest* seems here to be 'is possible,' as in the comic writers, and occasionally in Cicero, Att. xii. 40. 2 *Qui potest?* Font. xvi. 36 *Aul quoniam id quidem non potest, orandus erit nobis amicus meus M. Placitorius*. See on LXXII. 7. But the antithetical form of the words *si non aliud . . . ruborem exprimamus* makes it possible that the subject of *potest* is to be supplied from the sentence and that *non aliud* depends on *exprimere*: 'if it (i. e. our shouting and holloing) can extort nothing else, let us wring a blush.' This is less harsh than to supply *exprimi* to *potest*, which however might be defended. Pleitner and Munro both conjectured *Quod si non aliud pote, ut ruborem*, but besides the harsh elision and awkwardly introduced final clause, the sense which Munro assigns to *pote*, 'if nothing else can do so (sc. *exprimere rub.*), in order to extort a blush from her brazen face, bawl out once more in louder tones,' is violent, and against ordinary usage. *ruborem*. Vulp. quotes Ad Herenn. iv. 20 *tum uero iste clamare uoce ista quae uel facile cuius rubores elicere posset*. 'Hee bluseth like a black dogge, hee hath a brazen face.' John Withal's Little Dictionary for Children, s. v. *Faciem perfricui*, a passage indicated to me by Prof. H. Morley<sup>1</sup>.

17. *Ferreo ore*, also In Pis. xxvi. 63 *os tuum ferreum senatus conuicio uerberari maluisti*. Acharn. 590 ἀναισχυντος ὢν σιδηροῦς τ' ἀνὴρ. So *durum os duritia oris* of unblushing effrontery. *exprimamus*, 'let us wring out.' Sen. Ep. ii. 7 *ruborem sibi exprimere non possunt*.

18. *Conclamate*, 'give tongue together.' Arrian describing the Celtic hounds says iii. 5 πρὸς τὸ θηρίον ἐνυπαύουσιν. *uoce*. Hor. Epod. vi. 9, Verg. G. iii. 45.

<sup>1</sup> So Xenophon speaks of dogs *smiling*, ἐμμειδῶσαι πρὸς τὸ ἴχνη Cyn. iv. 3.

**21. nil proficimus**, 'we make no way.' *nihil mouetur* is perhaps still technical, from the language of the chase, οὐδὲν ὑποκινεῖ, 'she gives no sign of stirring.' Xen. Cyn. iii. 6, v. 12, 15, vi. 11.

**22. ratio modusque**, as Horace combines *ratione modoque* S. ii. 3. 266, 271, Epist. ii. 1. 20. **ratio**, 'method,' Grat. Cyn. 6, 311, 317 ed. Haupt. **uobis**, the reading of only one or two MSS, seems required by *potestis*; *nobis* can scarcely be justified by the alternation of 1st and 2nd person which seems to characterize the poem, 6 *reflagilemus*, 7 *quaeritis*, 17 *exprimamus*, 18 *Conclamate*.

**23. Siquid proficere amplius potestis**, 'in the hope (on the chance) of perhaps making some farther way.' De Orat. ii. 69. 283 *Vide, Scaure, mortuus rapitur; si potes esse possessor*, 'perhaps you will be able to get possession of his property.' A. S. Wilkins.

**24. Pudica et proba**. A fine irony. The only chance of making any impression on a woman so lost to shame is to call her what she would least like to be called, virtuous (Tozer). The words have been imitated by Horace in speaking of Canidia Epod. xvii. 40 *Tu pudica, tu proba Perambulabis astra sidus aureum*.

## XLIII.

ADDRESSED to the same woman, Amiana. Catullus had heard her compared with Lesbia and makes this reply.

**1. nec minimo**. Horace's *nasuta* S. i. 2. 93. Lucian combines a long nose (ῥίς μακρά) with a scraggy neck and blue lips in describing a plain woman, Dial. Meretr. i. 2.

**2. bello pede**, i.e. small. Am. iii. 3. 7 *Pes erat exiguus, pedis est aptissima forma*. Hor. S. i. 2. 93 *Depugis, nasuta, breui latere ac pede longo est*. **nigris ocellis**. The blackness of the pupil was a mark of beauty, Alciphron fr. v. 4 ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ὅλης σελήνης εὐκνελότεροι· καὶ τὸ μέλαν αἱ κόραι μελάνταται. Varro Papiapapae fr. vi Bücheler *Oculi suppaetuli nigellis pupulis liquidam hilaritatem significantes animi*. Among the feminine characteristics mentioned by the Latin translator of Loxus (p. 107 in Valentine Rose's *Anecdota*) are *pupillae subnigrae uel euidenter nigrae*.

**3. longis digitis**. Propertius speaks of Cynthia's *longae manus* ii. 2. 5; and long tapering fingers are mentioned as a sign of softness by the Physiognomon in Rose's *Anecdota*, p. 157. **ore sioco**. Plautus Mil. Gl. iii. 1. 52 combines a dropping mouth with a running nose as marks of the *inuicustus*. Bährens cites Apul. Apol. 59 *madentis oculos, cilia turgentia, rictum restrictum, saliuosa labia, uocem absonam*.

**4. sane**. X. 4. **elegante**, 'refined.' Cicero has *aures elegantes* of ears trained to distinguish wit, Fam. ix. 19. 2. **lingua** refers not so much to what she was in the habit of saying, as to some unfeminine movement, perhaps an immodest protrusion of the tongue, de Orat. ii. 66. 266, Asin. iv. 1. 49 *ne sic tussiat Ut quouquam linguam in tussiendo proserat*, Pers. S. i. 60 *linguae, quantum siliat canis Apula, tantum*.



6. *prouincia*, the Roman province in Gaul, as in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*. I do not agree with Prof. Sellar, *Poets of Republic*, p. 410, that *Gallia Cisalpina* is meant. That view rests on the hypothesis that Catullus met Amiana in the neighbourhood of Verona; so he perhaps did: but Amiana may well have been with Mamurra and Caesar in Gaul proper (*Prouincia*) before the meeting. Catullus *heard the news* of Amiana's celebrity as a beauty, at Verona: but it came from Gaul. *narrat*, 'says,' W. Wagner on And. ii. 3. 30, comparing Heaut. iii. 2. 9, Hor. S. ii. 7. 6.

7. Alciph. ii. 1. 2 *Λαμία, σὺ μετὰ τοῦδε καθεύδεις; σὺ διὰ νυκτὸς ὄλης αὐτὸν καταυλεῖς; σοὶ νῦν οὗτος ἐπέσταλκε, σοὶ Γνάθαιναν τὴν ἑταῖραν συγκρίνει;*

8. *saeculum*, 'generation,' as in Mart. v. 10. 8 *Et sua riserunt saecula Maeniden*. *insapiens infacetum*, MSS. See on XXII. 14, and cf. Ernst Var. Observat. i. 15.

#### XLIV.

THERE are two interpretations of this poem according as *legi* or *legit* is read in vv. 12, 21.

All the commentators before the appearance of Lachmann's *Lucretius*, and Lachmann himself in the first edition of his *Catullus*, keep *legit* in 21, and alter *legi* the reading of the MSS. to *legit* in 12. Catullus, according to this view, had been tempted by the prospect of an unusually good dinner with Sestius, and went through the infliction, either at dinner or before, of hearing Sestius read a speech of his own composition. This was followed by a violent cold and cough, to get rid of which the poet retired to his own farm-house in the Sabino-Tiburtine territory. In this poem he expresses his repentance, and promises never to have anything more to do with Sestius' compositions on penalty of an exactly similar punishment falling on Sestius,—for he will not say himself.

Against this view it may be said (1) it is at variance with the actual words of the poem v. 18 *si nefaria scripta Sesti recepso*, which imply that Catullus had actually taken Sestius' speech in his own hands, and could not mean that he had merely listened to a recitation of it, (2) *dum uolo* 10 followed by *legit* 12 is so weak in meaning, if indeed it be permissible as Latin, that even if it were found in the MSS. it would have raised a scruple as being unlike the manner of Catullus.

Accordingly, Lachmann in his *Lucretius* p. 290, and Bergk in *Rosbach's Catullus* p. x, retain *legi* in v. 12 and alter *legit* in v. 21 to *legi*. The most natural interpretation of the poem will then be as follows. Catullus had been invited by Sestius to dinner, and had either received at the same time a copy of one of his speeches with a request that he would read and judge of its merits, or in some manner been instructed that Sestius expected his guests to be acquainted with his speeches, the conversation being likely to turn on that subject. Catullus wishing to be present at the dinner, probably a choice one, set himself to the preliminary task of reading Sestius' *Oratio in Antium petitoem*. But as soon as he had read it, and seemingly before the dinner came off, he was seized with a severe influenza, which he humorously ascribes to the

frigid style of the composition. Thereupon he retired to his farm on the confines of Tibur and the Sabine territory; and then, after recovering his health by rest and dieting, wrote this poem.

This seems more likely than the view which I followed in ed. I, that Catullus both read the speech and was present at the dinner; and that the cold and cough which he ascribes to Sestius' frigid style were really the effect of his choice cookery. It is, however, remarkable that a letter of Cicero's (Fam. vii. 26), which bears a strong resemblance to Catullus' poem, turns on the distressing effects produced by an actual dinner given by some one who, to defy the penalties of a sumptuary law, had dished up herbs in a palatable but very unwholesome way: *Cum decimum iam diem grauius ex intestinis laborarem, neque iis, qui mea opera uti uolebant, me probarem non ualere, quia febrim non haberem, fugi in Tusculanum, cum quidem biduum ita ieiunus fuisset, ut ne aquam quidem gustarem. Itaque confectus languore et fame, magis tuum officium desideravi, quam a te requiri putavi meum. Ego autem cum omnes morbos reformido, tum in quo Epicurum tuum Stoici male accipiunt, quia dicat σπαργασπικὰ καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πὰθῃ sibi molesta esse, quorum alterum morbum edacitatis esse putant, alterum etiam turpioris intemperantiae. Sane δυσεντερικὰν pertimueram. Sed uisa est mihi uel loci mutatio, uel animi etiam relaxatio, uel ipsa fortasse iam senescentis morbi remissio profuisse. Attamen ne mirere unde hoc acciderit, quomodoque commiserim: lex sumptuaria, quae uidetur λυτὸτητα attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit. Nam dum uolunt isti lauti terra nata, quae lege excepta sunt, in honorem adducere: fungos heluellas herbas omnes ita condunt, ut nihil possit esse suauius. In eas cum incidissem in cena augurali apud Lentulum, tanta me διάπονα arripuit, ut hodie primum uideatur coepisse consistere. Ita ego, qui me ostreis et muraenis facile abstinebam, a beta et a malua deceptus sum. Posthac igitur erimus cautiore. Tu tamen cum audisses ab Anicio (uidit enim me nauseantem), non modo mittendi causam iustam habuisti, sed etiam uisendi. Ego hic cogito commorari, quoad me reficiam. Nam et uires et corpus amisi. Sed si morbum depulero, facile, ut spero, illa reuocabo. The sumptuary law of which Cicero speaks seems to have been the lex Aemilia, cf. A. Gellius ii. 24. 12 which regulated the kinds of food to be eaten; unless indeed we suppose that the lex Antia of Antius Restio, the date of which is uncertain, falls at this time, as it probably may, if this is the C. Antius Restio whose name occurs on coins between 49 and 45 B.C. (Mommsen Münzwesen, p. 653). If so, Antius may be the person whom Sestius had attacked in the speech mentioned by Catullus, with which indeed the words *sumptuosas cenas* would well agree. Macrob. S. iii. 17. 16 *Dein* (post Aemiliam) *paucis interiectis annis alia lex peruenit ad populum ferente Antio Restione; quam legem, quamuis esset optima, obstinatio tamen luxuriae et uitiorum firma concordia nullo abrogante inritam fecit. Illud tamen memorabile de Restione labore ipsius legis fertur, eum quoad uixit postea non recenasse, ne testis fieret contemptae legis quam ipse bono publico pertulisset.* Cf. Gell. ii. 24. 13. Allusions to a sumptuary law would not be unlikely from Catullus; his friend the orator Calvus moaned over the extravagant custom, then coming in, of employing silver in the construction of cooking vessels. Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 140.*

1. *Sabino*, an imperfect attraction, as the verb is omitted: in Hor. S

ii. 6. 20, Pers. iii. 28, 29, Tib. i. 7. 53, the vocative is really the subject of the sentence. **Tiburs**, the later form of *Tiburdis*, as *Ardeas* of *Ardeatis*, Prisc. i. 129 Keil.

2. 'The pretended site is still pointed out in the valley by *Monte Catillo*. It is evident however that it was more distant from the town, and lay at a point where the boundary between the Sabine and the Tiburtine territory was uncertain.' Dyer in Dict. Geog. ii. p. 1204. **Tiburtem**. The *Campus Tiburs* or *Tiburdis* (in de Orat. ii. 65. 263 the substantive is omitted), was a particularly desirable residence, partly for its fertility, partly for its salubrity. Strabo 238 calls it *πεδιον εὐκαρπώτατον*; it was famous for its orchards (Hor. C. i. 7. 14, Colum. x. 138, Stat. S. i. 3. 81), grapes (Plin. xiv. 38), figs (ib. xv. 70), and roses (Mart. ix. 60. 1): the soil which both Horace (C. i. 18. 2) and Statius (S. i. 3. 15) call *mile*, is thus described by Varro R. R. i. 9. 6 *In mediocri terra, ut in Tiburti, quo propius accedit ut non sit macra quam ut sit ieiuna, eo ad omnes res commodior quam si inclinavit ad illud deterius*; from Mart. iv. 64. 32 every part of it must in his time have been under cultivation. The air, cooled by the waters of the Anio, which there forms a water-fall, as well as by the elevation and well-wooded character of the ground, was proverbially salubrious (Mart. iv. 57. 10, iv. 60. 6): hence it was much frequented and filled with villas. Sallust bought a fine house at Tibur which had belonged to Caesar (Declam. in Sallust. viii. 19): Horace, his friend Quintilius Varus (C. i. 18. 2), Cynthia the mistress of Propertius (iii. 16. 2, iv. 7. 85), Vopiscus, the rich friend of Statius, who has described his villa, S. i. 3, lived there; Pliny Epist. v. 6. 45 classes Tibur with Tusculum and Praeneste as one of the most desirable residences; Catullus in contrasting it with the Sabine territory implies, what Horace states more unequivocally, that a Sabine farm need not be very productive or valuable (Epp. i. 16. 8-11): possibly, as Dyer suggests, the Tiburtine territory was also preferred as the more aristocratic and fashionable situation. **autumant**, 'give out,' generally of a rather questionable assertion. Men. Prol. 8, Capt. iv. 2. 111, 117 *si uera autumas*, v. 2. 2 *falsum autumas*. The word was one of those discussed by Nigidius Figulus, Gell. xv. 3. 4.

3. **Cordi esse**, in its earliest use found in addresses to the gods, *Iuppiter si tibi magis cordi est* Cato ap. Macrobi. S. iii. 5. 10, *Dis pietas mea Et Musa cordi est* Hor. C. i. 17. 13, *Satis scio quibuscumque dis cordi fuit subigi nos . . . iis non fuisse cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem spretam* Liu. ix. 1, *I'os di immortales precor quaequoque, si uobis non fuit cordi* Liu. ix. 8, is explained by Priscian ii. 224 Keil as a dat. like *lucro, damno esse*. But Statius' use of the abl. *corde* instead Theb. vi. 829 *Sed corde labores Ante alios erat uncta pale*, with which cf. Most. i. 4. 10 *Si tibi corde est facere*, seems to show that it is more probably a locative 'at heart,' ἐν θυμῷ: an explanation which equally well agrees with the Plautine *cordi carus est* Men. ii. 1. 21, Epid. i. 2. 30.

4. 'Are ready to stake anything to prove you are Sabine,' probably as poorer and fetching less in the market. Cato ap. Fest. s. u. *Repastinari*: *Ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque in duritia atque industria omnem adulescentiam meam abstinui agro colendo saxi Sabini silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis*. The Sabine slopes suited the olive (Col. v. 8. 5), a sign of thinness of soil (Verg. G. ii. 179-181); even the



most fertile parts, as the *Rosea rura Velini*, called by Vopiscus Caesar *Sumen Italiae*, were rich as pasture-ground rather than productive of crops (Plin. xvii. 32). **pignore contendunt.** Phaedr. iv. 20 (21). 5 *A me contendet fictum quouis pignore.* Gell. v. 4. 2 *Contra librarius in quoduis pignus uocabat si in una uspiam littera delictum esset.*

6. **Fui libenter in tua suburbana**, like 11 *Orationem in Antium petitozem* is a line of pure prose, such as may be found in Cicero's letters. **Fui libenter**, a recurring expression in reference to a country house. Cato R. R. 4 *Ruri si recte habitaueris, libentius et saepius uenies*, Att. xii. 3: 1 *Tusculanum ubi ceteroqui sum libenter*, xvi. 14. 2 *ero libentius (in Tusculano)*. The perf., as in XXIX. 12, is used in its strict sense 'I have been.' **suburbana.** Tibur is twenty Roman miles from Rome, and, like Praeneste and Tusculum, can be seen from it. Strab. 238. Catullus' villa would be much like the Sabine farm on the Salarian road twenty-four miles from Rome, which Varro describes as a half-way house between Rome and Reate (R. R. iii. 2. 14).

7. **malam**, 'tiresome,' like *malus morbus*, of fevers, *quae quotidie eodem tempore reuertantur, quacue pares semper accessiones habeant, neque tertio quoque die leuentur* Cels. ii. 4. **expui** of Scaliger is nearer to the MS reading *expulsus* *sim* than Avancius' *expuli*. A man might be said *expuere* *tussim* who by constantly coughing and spitting phlegm rid himself of his complaint. A. Palmer prefers *expuli*, 'I threw off,' citing Tib. iv. 4. 1 *Huc ades et tenerae morbos expelle puellae*, which however is not said of the patient; a nearer parallel is Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 137 *Expulit helleboro morbum bilemque meraco*. The same variation *expulit expuit* in Mart. i. 19. 2.

8. **uenter.** Mart. xi. 86. 5, 6 *Non est haec tussis, Parthenopae, gula est.*

9. **Dum appeto**, for coveting. Fam. vii. 26. 2 quoted in Introd., Mart. vii. 13. 1 *dum audit . . . uenit*, 'hearing,' and so *infr. dum uolo. dedit*, inserted out of its place in the sentence which contains the pro-tasis. See on LXIV. 240, Lucr. vi. 158 *Ventus enim cum confereat, franguntur, in artum*. Ovid M. x. 696 *An Stygia sontes dubitauit mergeret unda*; xii. 314, 5 *Nam graue respiciens inter duo lumina ferrum, Qua naris fronti committitur, accipis, imae*. Bergk on Theogn. 461 shows that this hyperbaton was common in the Alexandrian poets: he quotes Theocr. xxix. 3, Epig. xix. 1, Callim. fr. 445. Schwabe compares Petron. 10 *Multo me turpior es tu hercule, qui ut foris cenares poetam laudasti*.

10. **Sestianus.** Catullus probably alludes to P. Sestius, whom Cicero defended in the oration *Pro Sestio* on a charge of *uis* 698 | 56. Cicero speaks of him as an honourable and brave man, but he was arrogant (Plut. Cic. 26), intemperate in language (Att. iv. 3. 3), and cross-grained (*moroso homine* Q. Fr. ii. 4. 1, *peruersitatem* ib.). He is mentioned with Atticus and L. Calpurnius Piso as one of Cicero's chief advisers in his exile (Q. Fr. i. 4. 2, where Cicero calls him *officiosissimus*), and as taking a prominent part in his recall (Att. iii. 20).

11. **Orationem in Antium petitozem**, probably the actual title of the speech, 'a speech against Antius as *petitor*.' The sense of *petitor* is doubtful. It is generally explained as 'prosecutor' in a private suit, perhaps denying Antius' right to bring an action on some ground of informality

It is at least as probable that it means (Stat. and Com. de Alfo) 'a candidate for office:' so *puerum bullatum petitoris* in a fragment (quoted by Stat.) of Scipio Africanus Minor as explained by Macrobius S. iii. 14. 7, and so four times in Q. Cicero's *de petitione consulatus*. The speech would then be like that of Cicero against C. Antonius and L. Catilina his competitors in the consulship, which was mainly directed against the bribery they had employed in securing their election (Ascon. in Orelli's Cic. iv. 940, 942, 944), or like that of P. Clodius against T. Annius Milo when canvassing for the consulship against Q. Metellus Scipio and P. Hyginæus (Orelli iv. 950), in which the main charges were that Milo had used illegal means of all kinds and was deeply in debt. Such speeches must have been common when so many offices were open to competition; Cicero it is true used *petere petitio competitor candidatus*, avoiding *petitor* in this sense; but this would prove nothing as to Sestius' or Catullus' use of the word.

12. *ueneri* seems to refer to the virulence, *pestilentiae* to the unwholesome style of the speech. Hor. S. i. 7. 1 *Regis Rupili pus atque uenenum*, Mart. vii. 72. 13 *Atro carmina quae maderi ueneno*. Sestius was notorious as a bad writer, Fam. vii. 32. 1 *Ais ut ego discesserim omnia omnium dicta, in his etiam Sestiana, in me conferri* (are imputed to me). *Quid? tu id pateris? non defendis? non resistis? Equidem sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum, ut cognosci sua sponte possent. Sed quando tanta faex est in Urbe, ut nihil tam sit ακύθηρον quod non alicui uenustum esse uideatur; pugna, si me amas, nisi acula ἀμφιβολία* (double entendre), *nisi elegans ὑπερβολή* (exaggeration), *nisi παράγγραμμα bellum* (nice pun), *nisi ridiculum παρὰ προσδοκίαν* (amusing turn that was not expected), *nisi cetera, quae sunt a me in secundo libro de Oratore per Antonii personam disputata de ridiculis, ἔντονα et arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento contendas mea non esse*. Att. vii. 17. 2 *Scire iam te oportet, L. Caesar quae responsa referat a Pompeio, quas ab eodem ad Caesarem ferat litteras. Scriptae enim et datae ita sunt, ut proponerentur in publico; in quo accusavi mecum ipse Pompeium, qui, cum scriptor luculentus esset, tantas res atque eas, quae in omnium manus uenturae essent, Sestio nostro scribendas dedit. Itaque nihil unquam legi scriptum Σησιωδίστηρον*. This shows Sestius' style to have been wanting in freedom and clearness. *legi*, not *legit*, is the natural sequence, after *dum uolo*. In 8, 9 *mihi uenter dedit dum appeto* is virtually *a uentre tuli*. See Holtze Synt. ii. p. 128.

13. *grauido* MSS, as Victorius iv. 8 remarked, and so Lucilius ap. Non. 418, *grauidine* the palimpsest of Fronto p. 80, 7 Naber, *grauidinosus* Tusc. Disp. iv. 12. 27 according to Orelli's three best MSS, the Balliol 136, and Non. 32 and 115. Celsus iv. 5 shows that *grauido* was our 'cold.' *Nares claudit, mitem obtundit, tussim siccam mouet: sub eadem salsa est salina, sonant aures, uenae mouentur in capite, turbida urina est, frigida*, 'shivering,' ascribing to the cold the symptoms felt by the patient, as we say 'a sick headache.' So *frigidus fetres* Plin. xxvi. 115. *frequens*, 'wearing,' 'hacking,' here of a bad cough, as in Cels. iv. 5 of repeated sneezing.

14. *Quassauit*, 'shook me convulsively till at last I fled into thy bosom.' Verg. G. iii. 406 *quassat agros Iacris uetula sacris*. Macrobi. S. vii. 15. 9 *quassum nimis asperum et aliis quassationes*. *usque dum, in*

the sense of 'until,' is more generally used with an idea of purpose, and with the fut. or subj., as often in Cato R. R. (Holtze ii. p. 129). **in tuum sinum fugi.** Cicero very similarly Fam. vii. 26. 1 *Cum decimum iam diem grauius ex intestinis laborarem . . . fugi in Tusculanum.*

15. **recuraui**, a rare word used also by Apuleius, *r. plagas* M. vi. 25, *r. corpora laniata* viii. 18. The literal meaning of the word in these cases is to bring *by treatment (curando)* to a state of health from a state of disease; *re* expresses the undoing what was wrong in the body and restoring it to its normal condition of health. ἀνακούσσειν is very similar. **otioque.** Celsus recommends repose for curing influenza, iv. 5 *In grauidine primo die quiescere, neque esse, neque bibere*; afterwards a light diet (Benoist). **urtica**, nettles were a common prescription for cough. Plin. xxii. 35 *utilissimum cibis coctam conditamue arteriae, tussi . . . cum tisana pectus purgare.* Horace (Ep. i. 12. 8), Persius (vi. 70), Pliny (xxi. 93) all mention nettles as a cheap and common food; Celsus ii. 20 classes them among food *boni sucti*; but Catullus can hardly mean that he merely put himself on spare diet: they are here the specific cure of a specific complaint (*tussis*).

16. **refectus**, 'restored to health,' as Horace by *his* farm, Ep. i. 18. 104.

17. **ulta**, the subject is changed from *fundus* to *uilla*.

18-21. 'And henceforward, if ever I take up Sestius' accursed compositions again, I gladly submit to let their chilling air bring the same cold and cough, to myself I will not say, no—but to their composer Sestius, for inviting me to dinner only when I have read some vile book he has written.'

18. **Nec deprecor quin**, in reference to the sin (*peccatum*) of which he had been guilty and of which he might naturally wish to beg off the consequent punishment. Fronto p. 84 Naber *nec deprecor quin me oderis*. Plautus and the comic writers are full of similar uses, *nunquam me quisquam exorabit* (Men. iii. 2. 52), *haud causificor quin* (Aul. iv. 10. 25), *nulla causa est, causam non dico quin*, on which see Holtze ii. 177-179.

19. **recepso**, like *occepso capso accepso*, &c. Roby, L. G. 621, who mentions *cohibessit* (Lucr. iii. 444) *iusso* (Verg. Sil.) with *faxo faxis, ausim ausis* as the only recurring instances of this future in the Latin of the best period.

20. **Non mihi, sed ipsi Sestio.** Α παρὰ προδοκίαν poor enough to be an imitation of Sestius' style. Catullus may have remembered Most. i. 3. 95, 6 *Ob istuc uerbum ne nequiquam, Scapha, tam lepide dixeris Dabo aliquid hodie peculi—tibi, Philematium mea*, where the lover suddenly turns from Scapha the utterer of the remark on Philematium's beauty to Philematium herself. Mart. ii. 46. 9, 10 *Quantum erat, infelix, pannis fraudare duobus—Quid metuis? non te, Naeuole, sed tineas.* Cf. infr. CXIV. 6. **ferat frigus** inverts the usual construction, in which *frigus* is accusative. Quintil. vi. 1. 37 *Nam et imperitia et rusticitas et rigor et deformitas afferunt interim frigus*, 'produce a frigid effect.' *Frigus* = 'frigidity of style,' is not common, though the adj. is frequently found in Cicero, Brut. lxvii. 236, De Orat. ii. 64. 260.

21. **Qui uocat**, 'for so inviting me.' Holtze i. 380-382. **tuno** MSS, **tum** Haupt. Munro on Lucr. i. 130 *In terris tum cum*, iii. 710 *Ex illa quae tum periit*, vi. 250 *Quod tum per totum*, in all of which *pe*

sages *AB* give *tunc*, follows Lachmann in changing this to *tum*, which alone is the usual form before a consonant in writers earlier than Livy. In the v. of Catullus however sound is clearly on the side of *tunc*, which I do not venture to alter. *tunc cum*, 'only when,' De Orat. ii. 64. 260 *Haec aut frigida sunt aut tum salsa cum aliud est expectatum*. It is clear from this that Cat. received a real invitation from Sestius; and the form of the sentence *tunc uocat me, cum legi*, makes it probable that Sestius sent with the invitation a copy of his speech, implying that it was to be read before the dinner took place. Benoist quotes a parallel no doubt imitated from Cat., Mart. ii. 79. 1 *Inuitas tunc me cum scis, Nasica, uocatum. Excusatum habeas me rogo: ceno domi*.

## XLV.

'CETTE petite pièce ressemble à une chanson; elle en a les couplets, les refrains. Était-ce une de celles que chantaient Hermogène ou Démétrius au grand déplaisir d'Horace un peu jaloux? Elle égale le charmant dialogue amoureux d'Horace et de Lydie.' Patin in Benoist's Commentary, p. 482.

'Wie süß, mit einem feinen Duft gutmütiger Ironie angehaucht, ist das Liebesduett der Acme und des Septimius die in den ersten Flitterwochen ihrer Zärtlichkeit schwelgen.' Ribbeck Geschichte der Röm. Dichtung i. p. 326.

Patin and Ribbeck agree in ascribing to the poem a defined symmetry marked by the refrain *Hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistra ut ante Dextram sternuit approbationem*. It falls into 3 sections, (a) 7 + 2, (b) 7 + 2, (c) 2 + 2 + 2 + 2.

The date is approximately fixed by 22 at 699 | 55, the year in which Caesar made his first campaign into Britain and Crassus set out for Syria (Schwabe Quaestt. p. 316). This is perhaps confirmed by the introduction in 6, 7 of the 'green-eyed lion,' an animal which had become almost familiar to the Romans in this year, in the memorable games (Pis. xxvii. 65) instituted by Pompeius, in honour of his dedication of a temple to Venus Victrix (Plin. viii. 20). On this occasion 600 lions were brought into the circus (ib. 53).

1. **Acmen Septimios**, a juxtaposition which suggests the notion of reciprocity running through the poem, 20 *amant amantur*, 21 *Vnam*, 23 *Vno*, perhaps the correspondence of the two names as fortunate; Acme the prime, Septimius from *septem* the prime number (Macrobius in Somn. Scip. i. 6, Cicero de Rep. vi. 18. 18, Gell. iii. 10. 7). *Septimios* is clearly indicated by the reading of most MSS *Septimos*, and is actually found in *O*. In 21 the MSS have the form in *-ius*. I follow them implicitly, not from a conviction that Catullus himself made this variation, but because such variations are found in the best MSS elsewhere, and we cannot determine the extent to which uniformity in such cases gave way to other considerations, e.g. of sound; in 1 *Septimios* is perhaps preferred as an assonance to *suos* (see on 12, and XXVII. 4); in 21 *Septimius* or *Septumius* from its proximity to *misellus*.

2. **Tenens**, iambus in the first foot as in 10 *At Acme*, 24 *Facit*, 25 *Quis ullos*: similarly in 6, 7, 19, 20 *Solus*, *Caesio*, *Nunc ab*, *Mutuis* he admits a trochee in the first foot. Mommsen holds that these are the

marks of the *duriusculi uersus* which the younger Pliny Epist. i. 16. 5 considered Catullus to have introduced designedly to vary the effect: to Pliny's ear they no doubt sounded harsh; but it seems doubtful whether this was true in the same sense of Catullus; at any rate they appear uniformly in the more highly finished poems, and not, I think, as a harshness meant to bring the smoother rhythm into greater relief, but as belonging to the freer and more Greek, therefore more ideal character of the metre, just as Catullus follows Sappho in the construction of his Sapphic poems, not only in the trochee of the second foot, but in the greater liberty which he allows himself in distributing the feet to the words, e.g. XI. 19, 22, LI. 3, 7.

3. **perdite**, 'to desperation,' Ter. Phorm. i. 2. 32. Afranius used *perditim* in the same sense. **amare porro**, 'to go on loving,' Cato Dierum Dictarum de Cons. suo ap. Charis. 213 Keil (fr. 29 Jordan) *Me sollicitum atque exercitum habitum esse atque porro fore*.

4. **Omnes annos**, 'all years that be, to the end of time.' Pseud. i. 5. 120 *non unum in diem Verum hercle in omnis quantumst*.

5. **Quantum (pote) qui pote plurimum perire**, 'as fondly as the fondest lover can.' Fronto in a letter to M. Aurelius p. 18 Naber *Illud queri possim cur me nondum ames tantum quantum plurimum potest; namque in dies plus amando efficit, ne quod ante diem amaueris, plurimum fuerit. pote* gives a touch of homeliness. **perire**. XXXV. 12.

6. Simonides Amorg. fr. 14 Bergk οὐκ ἄν τις οὕτω δασκίους ἐν οὐρεσιν Ἀνὴρ λέοντι ἔδεικνεν οὐδὲ πᾶρδαλιν Μοῦνος στενυγρῇ συμπεσὼν ἐν ἀτραπῷ. **Solus**, 'with none to help me.' Vergil G. iii. 249 *Heu male tum Libyae solis erratur in agris* gives a variation of the same idea. **India**. India is more especially the home of the tiger (Plin. viii. 66) and elephant, ib. 24, but lions are also found there Strab. 703, unless indeed Catullus includes under *India* the country which is often confused with it, Aethiopia, probably on account of the similarity of its products, animals, and coloured population; see Strabo's comparison, 690, 695. Pliny mentions Aethiopian lions vi. 195. **Indiaque**, 'or India.' Lucr. v. 983 *Spumigeri suis aduentu ualidique leonis*, 1236 *Concussaeque cadunt urbes dubiaeque minantur*, and Munro on ii. 825. **tosta**, 'sun-burnt.' Plin. vi. 70 *A Gange uersa ad meridiem plaga tinguntur sole populi, iam quidem infecti, nondum tamen Aethiopum modo exusti, quantum ad Indum accedunt tantum colore praeferunt sidus*.

7. **Caesio**, 'green-eyed,' with the notion of fierceness which the greenish eyes of the feline tribe convey. So Theod. Martin 'The green-eyed lion's hungry glare.' Plin. viii. 54 *Leonum omnis uis constat in oculis*. Il. xx. 172 Γλαυκίων δ' ἰδὼς φέρεται μένει.

8, 9. 'When he had said this, Love sneezed his good-will on the right, as he had sneezed his good-will on the left before,' i.e. signified his now complete approbation, as Tennyson, Edwin Morris. *Shall not love to me, As in the Latin song I learnt at school, Sneeze out a full God bless you right and left?* And so seemingly Lord Lyttelton, Notes and Queries for 1874, p. 429. **ante** implies that up to this time the love had been only incompletely happy.

8. **sinistra ut ante** cannot mean, as *sinister ante* (Voss) might, that hitherto Love had been unfavorable, though Schulze shows from Plut. de Genio Socr. 11 that sneezing on the left *was* sometimes regarded :

ominous, cf. Aristot. Probl. 33; the notion is rather that of incomplete, as opposed to complete, approval; a progression from left to right analogous to the shifting of the ring from the left hand to the right which Pliny mentions as a cure for sneezing (xxviii. 57); perhaps an equalizing of what had till then preponderated on one side; Acme and Septimius having till now loved, but not ἴσῳ ζυγῶ; henceforward the balance is equal on both sides, the condition of perfect love, *Mutuis animis amanti amantur*. Whether Catullus intended to contrast the Roman superstition which made the left side the lucky one with the Greek which made the right (De Diuin. ii. 39. 82 *haud ignoro quae bona sint sinistra nos dicere, etiam si dextra sint*), possibly in allusion to the Roman lover and his Greek *ἐταῖρα*, is doubtful.

9. *Dextram*. Aristophanes Eq. 639 probably alludes to the same custom. *sternuit, ἐπέταρε*, Od. xvii. 545. Sneezing was considered an omen even in Homer's time. Od. xvii. 541 'Ὡς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ μέγ' ἐπαρεν' ἀμφὶ δὲ δῶμα Σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· γέλασσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια, Αἴψα δ' ἄρ' Εὐμαιὸν ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· Ἐρχέο μοι, τὸν ξείνον ἑναντίον ἴδε καλεσσόν· Οὐχ ὁράας ὃ μοι νῖός ἐπέταρε πᾶσιν ἔπεσσιν; Theocr. xviii. 16 'Ὀλβιε γάμβρ' ἀγαθός τις ἐπέταρεν ἐρχομένη τοι Ἐς Σπάρταν, ὅποι ὅλλοι ἀριστέες, ὡς ἀνύσαιο, vii. 96 Σιμιχίδα μὲν Ἐρωτες ἐπέταρον, with which compare Prop. ii. 3. 23 *Num tibi nascenti primis, mea uita, diebus Aridus argutum sternuit omen Amor?* Aristotle H. A. i. 11. 48 ἀναπνεῖ καὶ ἐκπνεῖ ταύτη (τῇ ῥινί) καὶ ὁ πταρμός διὰ ταύτης γίνεταί, πνεύματος ἀθρόου ἔξοδος, σημεῖον οἰωνιστικόν καὶ ἱερὸν μόνον τῶν πνευμάτων. In Probl. 33 he treats the subject at length. Sneezing was a god, it was connected with the head, the most sound part of the body, was a sign of good health, and was a discharge of the only sacred wind in the body, ὥστε ὡς σημεῖον ὑγείας τοῦ ἀρρώστου καὶ ἱεροτάτου τόπου προσκυνούσιν ὡς ἱερὸν καὶ φήμην ἀγαθὴν ποιοῦνται. Cf. Aristoph. Aues 720, Herod. vi. 107, Xen. Anab. iii. 2. 9, Hesych. s. u. ξυμβόλους. The difficulty in Catullus' poem is in the suggestion which the circumstantiality of the words *sinistra ut ante, Dextram sternuit approbationem* and the apparent allusion to some actual sign in *Nunc ab auspicio bono profecti*, convey that something external happened which might be described as Love's sneezing; but this is contravened by the repetition of the same words after the protestation of each of the lovers.

10. *reflectens*, lifting herself as she reclines in *gremio* and turning her head slightly round to reach Septimius.

11. *pueri*, as often in Horace, C. i. 5. 1, 13. 11, 27. 20. *ebrios*, 'swimming.' Anacr. 19 Bergk μεθύων ἔρωτι. Rose's Physiognomon p. 123 *Quanto magis umidi fuerint, et si plerunque palpebras iungunt, ueneri et amori gratos et obnoxios profitentur*. Lucian Ἐρωτες 3 διηγούμενου σου τὸν πολλὸν κατάλογον ὡς ἀρχήθεν ἡράσθης ἰλαραὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων αἱ βολαὶ τακρῶς ἀνυγρᾶντο. *ocellos*. Plin. xi. 146 says when we kiss the eyes we seem to reach the soul itself. Tibullus iv. 5. 7, 8 *Mutuis adsit amor, per te dulcissima furta Perque tuos oculos per Geniumque rogo*, seems to connect the eyes with the reciprocity of love.

12. *Illo*, 'that fair mouth.' Catullus affects *ille* in reference to love, VIII. 6 *illa multa tum iocosa*, C. 3 *illud Fraternum uere dulce sodalicium*. In these cases the object is recalled to the memory as familiar. *purpureo*. Simon. fr. 72 Bergk πορφυρέου Ἀπὸ στόματος ἰεῖσα φωνὰν παρθένος, ore. The repetition of the full vowel *o* in *Illo purpureo ore* is no

doubt intentional, see on XXVII. 4: its effect is heightened by the triple *a* of *sauiaia*.

13-16. 'I swear,' thus spoke she, 'dear life, my own Septimius, as truly as I pray we may be the servants of the one lord who rules us now, so truly is the fire far stronger and fiercer which is burning with a consuming flame in my bones,' i.e. my love for you is much stronger than yours for me. So Heyse, rightly: the other sense, 'I swear my love is far stronger than it was before,' is weak, especially in conjunction with so solemn an adjuration and with *Mutuis animis* immediately following. To make *seruiamus* refer to Acme alone, 'let *me* be the slave,' is alien to the simplicity of the poem, and not supported by VIII. 5 *nobis* compared with 3 *tibi*, XLVI. 4 *Linguantur Catulle* compared with 6 *uolemus*, both of which are spoken in soliloquy.

13. *Sic*, of oaths, Heaut. iii. 1. 54, Hor. C. i. 3. 1. Its separation by *inquit* from *mea uita* gives solemnity, as in 2. *mea uita*, of Lesbia CIV. 1, CIX. 1; cf. LXVIII. 155. It was a common expression as shown by its use in Plautus (Stitch. iv. 2. 6 *o mea uita*) and Cicero's letters (Fam. xiv. 2. 3, xiv. 4. 1, both addressed by Cicero to Terentia).

14. *Huic*, 'of the present,' cf. XXI. 2, XXIV. 2, where however there is an expressed antithesis to the past and future. Prop. i. 7. 15 *Te quoque si certo puer hic concusserit arcu*, where *puer hic* is Love implied in the previous verses, suggests a slightly different interpretation, this master whom our words and actions imply. *uni*, not *uno*, is the reading of *O* and most MSS: *uno*, which Scaliger mentions as a 'uetus scriptura,' is found in *B*, in my two Brit. Mus. MSS *dh*, in Mr. Allen's codex, no doubt the Cujacianus, and seems to have been the *m. prima* in *G*. Catullus uses *uni* in XVII. 17 for *unius*. *usque seruiamus*, 'let us go on in our servitude.' III. 10, XLVIII. 3.

15. *multo mihi maior*, effective triple alliteration in answer to Septimius' *pote plurimum perire*.

16. *mollibus*, 'melting,' not a mere epithet: the marrow is represented as liquefying under the heat of passion. *Medullitus amare* is found in Plautus Most. i. 3. 86. The alliteration of *m* is continued in this line.

19. *Nunc*. Anth. Pal. v. 209. 7 of a man whose love was at last requited Νῦν δ' ἴσος ἀμφοτέρους φιλίης πόθος. *auspicio bono*. J. T. Blunt (Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily, 1823) states that in his time it was a custom observed with the utmost scrupulousness in Italy when a person sneezed to say to him 'Viva' or 'Felicitas'; and connecting this with the anecdote told of Tiberius by Pliny, xxviii. 23 (*cur sternuentis salutamus? quod etiam Tiberium Caesarem, tristissimum, ut constat, hominem in uehiculo exegisse tradunt, et aliqui nomine quoque consalutare religiosius putant?*), thinks it probable that *Felicitas* was the very expression in use among the Romans themselves. This word is found on the walls of Pompeii. *profecti*, 'taking as a starting-point.' De Orat. ii. 14. 58 *Denique etiam a philosophia profectus princeps Xenophon, Socraticus ille . . . scripsit historiam*. Fin. ii. 14. 45.

20. *Mutuis animis*, an expression of Q. Metellus Celer's, which Cicero takes up in a letter Fam. v. 2. 3 *Quod ita scribis pro mutuo inter uos animo, quid tu existimes esse in amicitia mutuum, nescio; equidem hoc arbitror, cum par uoluntas accipitur et redditur.* *amant,*

**amantur**, Theocr. xii. 15 ἡ ῥα τότε ἔσσαν Χρύσειοι πάλαι ἄνδρες, οἳ ἀντεφύλοσ' ὁ φιληθείς.

**21. misellus**, 'love-sick,' as we say 'poor' of a man desperately in love; ὁ δειλός Theocr. vii. 96. In Lucr. iv. 1076 *miseris* is opposed to *sanis* as desperate to rational lovers; there Munro compares 1159, 1179 and Greek *δυσίρως*.

**22. Syrias Britanniasque**, 'than any Syria or Britain,' at this time the places to which, from the appointment of Crassus to the government of Syria, and Caesar's mission to Britain, young men who aspired to make a fortune would naturally turn their thoughts; both countries were reputed rich; though this can hardly have been more than a surmise about Britain as yet, and Cicero writing to Trebatius in 700 | 54 says in *Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti* Fam. vii. 7. 1. Strabo 749 sqq. mentions the fertility of Commagene (σφόδρα εὐδαίμων) Laodicea (πολύουρος πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐκαρπία), the country watered by the Orontes (χώρας παμπόλλης εὐδαίμονος δι' ἧς ὁ Ὀρόντης ρεῖ), the district about Damascus (διαφερόντως ἐπαινουμένη), and the plain lying between Libanus and Antilibanus, properly known as Coele-Syria (διαρρεῖται ποταμοῖς ἀρδουσι χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πᾶμφορον). At the present day the Arabs give the name of *Jeune* (fruitful) to part of Syria. Pliny speaks of the soil of Britain as worked in a peculiar manner which brought in rich returns (*illam Gallias Britanniasque locupletantem* xvii. 43). The plural **Syrias, Britannias** would be strictly correct: **Syrias** as including Coele-Syria; **Britannias** as in Plin. xvii. 42, 43; but Catullus seems to mean no more than Propertius ii. 16. 10 *Dic alias iterum nauiget Illyrias*, 'new Illyrias,' i.e. provinces as lucrative as Illyria: **Syrias Britanniasque** will thus be 'any Syria or Britain,' 'all the Syrias and Britains in the world.' For the sentiment cf. Archil. fr. 25 Bergk Οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μάλει, Οὐδ' εἰλί πώ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίομαι Θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος: Ἀπίπροθεν γάρ ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν, Prop. ii. 14. 23 *Haec mihi duictis potior uictoria Parthis*; and the idea of victory is probably included in Catullus' words.

**23. in Septimio**. Dräger Hist. Synt. p. 607 shows that this use of *in* is particularly frequent in reference to love; he quotes eight instances from Ovid. Cf. Hertzberg on Prop. i. 13. 7. **fidelis** is applied by Cicero, Q. Fr. i. 3. 3 *fidelissimam coniugem*, to his wife, by Propertius iii. 25. 3 *Quinque tibi potui seruire fideliter annos* to his connexion with Cynthia, to which he had bound himself like a slave to his master. Catullus is fond of representing love as a bond or treaty to be observed on both sides. See on CIX. 6.

**24. Facit delicias**. LXXIV. 2: 'centres her pleasure and her love in Septimius only.' **libidinisque**. Neue Formenl. i. 262.

**25. auspiciatiorem**, a rare comparative. *Auspicare* is an old word used by Naevius, Caecilius and Plautus (Non. 408). For similar participial adjectives see Dräger's list pp. i. 24. 25.

#### EXCURSUS ON XLV. 8. o.

It is possible that Cat. in representing the sneeze as previously on the left, now on the right, alludes to the prevalent association of the left with the weaker and female, of the right with the stronger and male element.



'Love had before sneezed on the left' would imply that the female side had till then had the most power, i.e. Acme had inspired more love in Septimius; now 'Love sneezes on the right,' i.e. Septimius inspires more love in Acme. Macrobius vii. 4. 21 *dexteræ partes ualidiores sunt et debiliores sinistrae* Democritus, according to Columella vi. 28, enjoined that to produce a male horse, the left testicle of the stallion was to be bound with a linen cord, to produce a female, the right. This implies the same conception; the right or male portion of the *uis genitilis* is to be left free if a male is to be produced, it is to be tied or confined if its action is to be less potent and its virility toned down. This, it will be observed, quite agrees with the development of passion which the poem describes, which ascends from the declaration of Septimius to love Acme for all time, to the stronger declaration of Acme that her own passion for Septimius is far greater and intenser than his own (*multo mihi maior acriorque Ignis mollibus ardet in medullis*). On the other hand if the gradation were from right to left, the passion of Acme would be stronger at starting, weaker than Septimius' as it went on, the male element being represented as predominating when the love of the female is stronger, and *vice versa*.

If the reading to which MSS point is retained, the only other explanation which has any plausibility is that of Rossbach, who writing

Hoc ut dixit, Amor sinistra, ut ante,

Dextram sternuit approbationem

explains of Love sneezing on the left towards the right, i.e. in the direction from left to right, which was considered a good omen. Cf. de Divin. i. 22. 45 *nam quod ad dexteram Cepit cursum ab laeva signum praepolens, pulcerrime Auguratum est*. But then *ut ante* could only have any force on the second occasion when Love is represented as sneezing (17, 18); in 8, 9 it is meaningless.

Scaliger, Voss, K. P. Schulze, Bährens, Munro, all consider *sinistra ut ante* in 8 corrupt, and try to emend the words. Voss's *sinister ante* would, it is true, give a clearness to the poem which, as presented in the MSS, it can scarcely be said to possess. The love which had been unprosperous before changes now and enters on a course of happiness. (*Sinister ante, Dextram sternuit approbationem* and *Nunc ab auspicio bono profecti Mutuis animis amanti amantur*). But how could *sinister ante* be corrupted into *sinistra ut ante* in 8, *sinistrauit ante* in 17? Could *sinistrauit*<sup>1</sup> (= *sinistrum se praebuit*), a possible coinage of the language in its decline, have been written over *sinister* as a gloss, and then got admission into the text? The hypothesis is too bold to be probable. Yet, without some such change as *sinister ante*, the meaning of contrast cannot be elicited from the words: for no one will believe that *sinistra ut ante* could mean *Amor, ut ante sinistra sternuit*, (h.e. *sternuendo se infestum significauit*) *sic nunc dextra sternuit approbationem*.

<sup>1</sup> After writing this I came upon K. P. Schulze's ingenious hypothesis (*De Catullo Graecorum imitatore* p. 24), that the origin of the corrupt *sinistra ut* (8) *sinistrauit* (17) was *sinistra ami*, the *i* easily changing to *t* and one of the two *a*'s being absorbed.

We must then suppose *sinister*<sup>ra ami</sup> to have been written in some MS anterior to the archetype. Schulze rightly dwells on the conformity of *sinister ante* with what Haupt calls 'the simple and unloaded style' of Catullus' diction. It seems indeed to be the only emendation which is in the least likely: yet not sufficiently made out to be accepted against MSS.

Munro's *sinister astans* intensifies the very point of chief difficulty. The sneezing of Love is allegorical: it is strange therefore in any case that it should occur twice over. We think unavoidably of an actual sneeze, and are disappointed to find Cat. is only speaking metaphorically. But if Love is described as not only sneezing, but standing by, the personification is made more distinct, and the poetical effect even more incongruous. It is strange that none of the Essays on Catullus' poetry should have dealt with this difficulty. An exactly analogous passage is LXVIII. 133. 4 *Quam circumcursans hinc illinc saepe Cupido Fulgebat crocina candidus in tunica*. I conceive that both these passages mark an imperfection in Catullus' technic. Both would have been impossible in Vergil.

Read Xen. Anab. iii. 2. 9 Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτόρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μὲ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν· καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὐχασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια, ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χάραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. Here we have the actual sneeze accepted as a good omen, and made the starting-point of a vow to the god whose good-will it imports. The passage is curiously like Catullus; cf. τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ with *Huic uni domino*. But in Cat. the sneeze is ideal, and there is no trace of its being in any way actual. Nor can it be so: for the Amor<sup>1</sup> of Septimius and Acme recurs as the Cupido of Lesbica, each not only a personification, but a personification attended by sensuous details.

## XLVI.

CATULLUS must have written this poem just before parting company with Memmius and the rest of his *cohors* in Bithynia, i.e. if Iungclaussen and Schwabe are right (see on X) in the spring of 698 | 56: on my view, in 64. It expresses the natural gladness of an eager temperament escaping from official duties neither remunerative (X, XXVIII) nor, as regards Memmius, congenial.

The cities of Asia Minor were at this time the most interesting in the world. We may estimate the curiosity of Catullus by Horace's words Ep. i. 11. 1-3

*Quid tibi uisa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos?*

*Quid concinna Samos? quid Croesi regia, Sardis?*

*Zmyrna quid et Colophon? maiora minoraue fama?*

And by Ovid's

*Oppida non Asiae, non mihi uisa prius*. Trist. i. 2. 78.

*Te duce magnificas Asiae perspeximus urbes*. Pont. ii. 10. 21.

Not many years before Catullus, Cato had put off his return to Rome, *βουλευθεὶς πλευσθῆναι καὶ ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀσίας* (Plut. Cato 12), a journey which his friend Curio told him was likely to make him pleasanter and more civilized (ib. 14). Cf. the words of Trebonius to Cicero, when Cicero's son was contemplating a similar trip into Asia. Fam. xii. 16. 2 *Qui cum*

<sup>1</sup> Amor is found as a proper name in an epigram cited by Io. Fr. Gronovius de Pecun. Vet. iv. 6 *Conditus hic Amor est dictus de nomine patris. Huius miseri patris conditus hic amor est*.

*mihī in sermone inieciſſet ſe uelle Aſiam uiſere, non modo inuolatus ſed etiam rogatus eſt a me, ut id poſſimum nobis obtinentibus prouinciam faceret. Illud quoque erit nobis curae, ut Cratiſſus una cum eo ſit, ne pules in Aſia feriatum illum ab iis ſtudiis in quae tua cohortatione incitatur futurum.*

1. *egelidos*, 'from which the chill has paſſed away:' Colum. x. 282 *Nunc uer egelidum, nunc eſt molliffimus annus*, ſo Celsus *aqua egelida* iv. 5, *aqua neque ea ipſa frigida ſed potius egelida danda eſt* ib. 18. The other ſenſe 'very cold' is found Verg. Aen. viii. 610.

2. *aequinotialis*. Both equinoxes, the vernal towards the end of March, and the autumnal towards the end of September, are attended by gales, as alſo the ſummer and winter ſolſtices. (Plin. xviii. 221.) Cic. Att. x. 17. 3 *Nunc quidem aequinoctium nos moratur quod ualde perturbatum erat*. Apul. de Mundo 11. The vernal equinox might ſtrike Catullus more vividly in the country of Attis-worſhip; it was on the 25th of March that, at leaſt later, the mournful part of the ceremonies ended, and the joyous (*Hilaria*) began (Macrob. i. 21. 10).

3. *aureis*, the beſt MSS perhaps rightly: it ſeems to have been ſo ſpelt alſo in LXIV. 164.

4. *Catulle*, characteristic ſelf-address, carried ſtill further in *uolēmus*, as if mind and body were two ſeparate identities. Such ſoliloquies alſo indicate intense feeling, ſee on VIII; here the joy of the ſoul at a change to new ſcenes; this as proceeding mainly from bodily elasticity naturally introduces the bodily and perſonal vocative *Catulle*. *campi* would well deſcribe the table-lands of Phrygia proper (Vitruuius ii. 1. 5 *Phryges qui campeſtribus locis ſunt habitantes*, *ἡπείβορος* Dionys. Perieg. 813) ſtretching S.E. of Bithynia, and from LXIII it is probable that this country was viſited by Catullus; but he perhaps means little more than the *Bithuni campi* of XXXI. 5, i.e. the level tract W. of the Sangarius, which included the lake Ascania with its city Nicaea. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας. . . . Νίκαια ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσκανίᾳ λίμνῃ (περίκειται δὲ κύκλῳ πεδίων μέγα καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαιμον (ager uber), οὗ πᾶν δὲ ὑγίων τοῦ θέρους), κτίσμα Ἀντιγόνου μὲν πρῶτον τοῦ Φιλίππου ὃς αὐτὴν Ἀντιγονίαν προσαείπειν, εἰτα Ἀνσιμάχου, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς μετωνόμασε Νίκαιαν. ἦν δὲ αὕτη θυγάτηρ Ἀντιπάτρου.*

5. *uber*, its fertility was known as early as Homer, *Ἀσκανίης ἐριβόλακος* Il. xiii. 793. Sir Charles Fellows thus deſcribes the vicinity of Nicaea (Asia Minor p. 109): 'We paſſed through underwood and ſhrubs all evergreens, and to the eye of an Engliſhman the richeſt that could be. There were the common and dwarf daphnes, the bloſſom of the latter ſcenting the air; many varieties alſo of the laureſtinus, and among them the ſtrawberry-tree, whoſe luxuriant foliage and beautifully clean and oriental ſtem diſtinguiſhed it above its rivals. It grows ſo large and plentifully as to be the principal firewood, burning rapidly with a great blaze. Amidſt this perfect garden—for beneath our feet were violet, hyacinth, and anemone in great variety—the moſt perfect view opened before us, not grand but of perfectly lovely beauty. In the extreme diſtance was the ſnowy range of Olympus, and before it a ſeries of fine mountains, with their feet bathed in the moſt placid of lakes, the ancient Ascania, which is about ten miles long and four in breadth. At the ſouthern end of the lake, beautifully ſituated, ſtood the ruined tow'

of the many times famous Nicaea. Beneath us, sloping from our feet to the edge of the lake, was a highly cultivated and rich valley. We were still twelve miles distant from the town of Nicaea, and every turn we made in the descent only raised the beauties of the scene.' *aestuosae*, 'sultry.'

6. *claras*. Cicero to his brother Quintus, at the time proconsul of Asia, writes *in oculis clarissimae prouinciae* (Q. Fr. i. 1. 9). Its fame was derived mainly from its splendid and luxurious cities, which Josephus reckons at 500 (B. Iud. ii. 16. 4). *Asiae maximam oram bello superatam* (Graecia) *cinxit urbibus, non ut munitam coloniis illam gentem sed ut obsessam teneret* (Pro Flacco xxvii. 64).

7. *praetrepidans*, 'in a flutter of expectation,' eager in advance at the thought of the approaching pleasure; so *praegestire praemetuere praetimere*.

8. *laeti*, with *studio*. *uigescunt*, 'feel brisk,' a Lucretian word: *uirescunt*, 'feel a new spring,' is a natural conjecture. Hor. Epod. xiii. 4.

9. *coetus*, Suet. Aug. 85 *nonnulla in coetu familiarum recitauit*. Catullus probably alludes to social gatherings in which the members of the *cohors* met each other.

10. Is *Longe* 'from a distance' or 'to a distance?' In the former case *Longe a domo profectos* would be 'starting from their distant home,' *longe* being expanded by *a domo*; for *longe* in this sense with a verb of motion, cf. Ter. Eun. ii. 3. 43 *accurrit ad me, quam longe quidem*. It is perhaps more natural to take *longe profectos* of the distance to which Memmius and his *cohors* had travelled on leaving their home: cf. Eun. iv. 2. 5 *longe iam abieram*. There is no reason for referring *longe* to both clauses *profectos* and *reportant*.

11. *Diuersae*, as separated by long distances from each other, *uariarum* as passing through a variety of countries. For the asyndeton see on XXXVI. 10. *reportant* need not imply conveyances: *se reportant* = 'return,' B. Hisp. 40: *uictrix redit illa pedemque ex hoste reportat* of Camilla, Aen. xi. 764.

## XLVII.

THE date of this poem is open to the same doubts as the preceding; if the Piso mentioned in it and XXVIII is L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, proconsul of Macedonia from the end of 696 | 58 till some time after the beginning of 699 | 55 (Ascon. in Pisonian. p. 1 Orelli) it must fall within that period. If on the other hand I am right in identifying Piso with Cn. Piso, *quaestor pro praetore* in Spain 689 | 65, it was probably written in this year.

The arguments in support of either view are mentioned on XXVIII. This poem is rather in favour of the former hypothesis; the Greek Socraton<sup>1</sup>, the sumptuous entertainments, the extortion practised by Piso's

<sup>1</sup> F. Hermes (Frankfort on Oder, 1888) thinks that Socraton was a freedman of Piso's. The name is found in one of the Dacic wax-tablets of the second century, A.D., C. I. L. iii. p. 948 *Adiutor Macari scripsi rogatus . . . quia se litteras scire negauit, id quod dixit se locasse et locauit Socrati Socratis operas suas ex hac die in idus sequentes*.

two creatures, might each be illustrated by Cicero's oration *in Pisonem*, as well as by an epigram Anth. P. xi. 44 ascribed to Philodemus and probably addressed to this Piso; the attraction of Piso to the society of philosophical Greeks, his attachment to the school of Epicurus, and his fondness for entertainments, all mentioned by Cicero, are shown in a friendly point of view by Philodemus' inviting him to a plain dinner ἐξ ἐνδρίας on the εἰκάς, a day kept as a festival by Epicureans and on which the conversation would no doubt be philosophical.

That Porcius is, as Statius suggested, the person mentioned by Cicero in conjunction with Munius as employed by M. Fonteius B.C. 76-73 to lay an impost on wines in Gaul, Font. ix. (v.) 19, is a view not impossible in itself, but not sufficiently proved to be available as an argument either way.

The following version is from my Metrical Translation (John Murray, 1871):

*Porcius, Socraton, the greedy Piso's  
Tools of thievery, rogues to famish ages,  
So that filthy Priapus ousts to please you  
My Veranius even and Fabullus?  
What? shall you then at early noon carousing  
Lap in luxury? they, my jolly comrades,  
Search the streets on a quest of invitation?*

1. *duae* suggests (1) their distinctness, (2) their confederacy for knavish purposes. *sinistrae*. Diebeshände (Heyse), instruments of thieving, not *manus* only nor *dextellae* (Att. xiv. 20. 5), but *left* hands, for pilfering and extortion. See on XII. 1. Schwabe compares Verr. Act. Sec. ii. 10. 27 *Comites illi tui delecti manus erant tuae; praefecti scribae accensi medici haruspices praecones manus erant tuae. Vt quisque te maxime cognatione affinitate necessitudine aliqua attingebat illa maxime manus tua putabatur: cohors tota tua illa quae plus mali dedit Siciliae quam si centum cohortes fugitiuorum fuissent, tua manus sine controuersia fuit. Quidquid ab horum quopiam captum est, id non modo tibi datum sed tua manu numeratum iudicari necesse est.* Possibly, like Verres, Piso had conferred upon his subordinates the *ius anuli aurei*; *sinistrae* might thus convey a farther sarcastic allusion.

2. *scabies* and *fames* (cf. λυμόψωρος, scurvy) are correlative: want of food produces a leprous or scrofulous state of body Cato R. R. v. 7 *Scabiem pecori et iumentis caueto; id ex fame et si impluit fieri solet*; such diseases are infectious Iuven. ii. 79 *grex totus in aruis Vnius scabie cadit et porrigine porci*; hence *scabies famisque mundi* seems = 'itching starvelings to infect a universe,' i.e. with an itch for lucre (*scabiem et contagia lucri* Hor. Ep. i. 12. 14) enough to infect everybody they came near. This makes *scabies famisque* a ὑστερον πρότερον; but the order seems designed to suggest that Porcius and Socraton are in a slightly different sense the *scabies famisque mundi*, as having a diseased craving for gain which might beggar the universe by the spoliation which they practised to gratify it. Others make *mundi* a subjective genitive: Porcius and Socraton standing as *types* of ravenous rapacity, the world's concentrated beggardom. Cf. Plin. H. N. Praef. 25 *Apion grammaticus hic quem Tib. Caesar cymbalum mundi uocabat, cum propriae famae tympanum p-*

*uideri posset, immortalitate donari a se scripsit ad quos aliqua conponebat,* where *cymbalum mundi* seems similarly to admit of an objective and subjective explanation equally, 'the world's rattle' either as sounding the praises of mankind, or as employed by mankind to sound its praises<sup>1</sup>.

4. **Verpus**, Φωλός, ἀπεψωλημένος Aristoph. Acharn. 161, Eq. 964. See on XXVIII. 12. **Priapus**, a figure which may have met the eyes of Catullus in the neighbourhood of Lampsacus, fr. II. Suidas s. v. τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Πριαποῦ . . . ἀνθρωποειδὲς ποιοῦσιν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σκήπτρον κατέχον, ὥσαντι παρ' αὐτοῦ φανίσαν τὴν ξηρὰν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωμῇ κρατοῦν τὸ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ ἐντεταμένον δίοτι τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν τῇ γῇ σπέρματα φανερὰ καθίστησι. There was another representation of him in which εἶχε τὸ αἰδοῖον ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν πυγὴν (Suid. ibid.) like Phanes (Suid. s. u. Φάνης, cf. Lobeck Aglaophamus 491).

5-7. 'Are you to squander money on splendid feats from noon onwards? Are my companions to hunt about the streets for a chance invitation?'

5. **lauti**, like men of fashion. Sen. Ep. 95. 26 *Quidquid apud lautos solet diem ducere.* **sumptuose**, 'extravagantly,' Varro R. R. iii. 17. 6.

6. **De die**, in full day, before the afternoon has set in. The Romans dined as a rule after the business of the day was over, according to Martial iv. 8. 6 from the ninth to the tenth hour, i.e. about 3 P.M. It was a sign of luxury to begin earlier. Ter. Ad. v. 9. 7 *obsonare cum fide, Scortum adducere, apparare de die conuiuium*, Liu. xxiii. 8 *Epulari coeperunt de die et conuiuium non ex more Punico aut militari disciplina esse, sed ut in ciuitate atque etiam domo diti ac luxuriosa omnibus uoluptatum illecebris instructum*. Ramirez del Prado on Mart. iv. 8 seems right in suggesting that *de die* means taking from the day proper, i.e. the working day, and turning it into time for relaxation. And so Key L. D. s. v. 'while yet day,' while part of the day yet remains.

7. **Quaerunt**. Pomponius Maioli fr. 3 Ribb. (Non. 476) *cenam quaerunt*: *Si cum nemo uocat, reuertit maestas ad macram miser.* in **triuio**. Riese quotes a parallel with which Cat. was no doubt familiar, Callim. H. Cer. 114 Wilamowitz Καὶ τόχ' ὃ τῷ βασιλῆος ἐπὶ τράδοισι καθήστο Αἰγίον ἀπόδωκεν καὶ ἑβόλα λίματα δαιτός. **uocationes**, very rare in this sense. Forc. quotes Justin xxxvii. 4 *Non in conuiuiis sed in campo, non in uocationibus sed in exercitationibus*; but here Rühl's best MSS give *auocationibus*. Yet as *inuocatus* in Plautus Capt. i. 1. 2, Nep. Cim. 4 means 'uninvited,' and *uocator*, as Ramirez del Prado shows on Mart. i. 50, is used of a servant employed to invite guests to dinner, there seems to be nothing impossible in the same sense extending to *uocatio*. Or should we write *locationes*, 'seek to let out their services for hire on any chance employment that may turn up?'

<sup>1</sup> Bücheler objects that this use of *mundi* is later than Catullus. It is also observable that the very early Paris edition of cent. xv has *Mundi*. But none of the proposed alterations is probable. If indeed it could be shown that Porcius and Socrates were or had been underlings of the Munius of Font. ix. (r. 19, we might suggest *Muni* for the v. of Catullus.

## XLVIII.

I AGREE with Bruner, Westphal, and Bährens, in thinking that this is one of the earlier poems of the series addressed to Juventius: perhaps the first. See on XV. The date cannot be determined; but it perhaps falls within the later years of the poet's life.

1. **Mellitos.** III. 6. Weil compares *ὄππαρα μέλιχρα* from Sappho quoted from a Madrid MS, *Révue de Philologie* for 1880, p. 81. The triple *-os* is archaic and gives a touch of simplicity.

2. **Siquis sinat**, slightly altered from the more common *sine me*. **Cas. i. 1. 46** *quom mihi illa dicit Mi animule, mi Olympio, Mea uita, mea mellilla, mea festiuitas, Sine tuos ocellos deosculer uoluptas mea, Sine amabo te amari meus festus dies, Meus pullus passer, mea columba, mi lepus. usque basiare.* XLV. 14, V. 9.

3. **milìa trecenta**, of any great number as in IX. 2.

4. **uidear** with *mi* = 'I think,' would be more usual than *uidear* alone; but the pronoun is sometimes omitted as in Att. iv. 12 *Macroni uix uideor praesto*, 'I scarcely think I can attend to Macro,' Most. iii. 2. 132 *Non uideor uidisse postes pulchriores.* **satur.** VII. 2. 10.

5. **densior.** Fin. v. 30. 91 *seges spicis uberibus et crebris.* **aridis aristis.** Vulp. compares Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei iv. 8 *quamdiu seges ab initiis herbidis usque ad aridas aristas perueniret.* Others prefer Markland's conj. *Africis*; but Catullus gives this epithet to *sands*.

## XLIX.

SCHWABE (Quaestt. p. 126) thinks this poem was written as an acknowledgment of Cicero's services in defending M. Caelius Rufus, the paramour and afterwards enemy of Clodia, against the charge of *uis* brought against him by L. Sempronius Atratinus at her instigation. The speech *Pro Caelio* was delivered early in 56 B.C., and the poem may belong to the same period.

Westphal p. 241 also connects the poem with Clodia, but refers it to an earlier date. Clodia's husband, Q. Metellus Celer, one of the praetors for 691 | 63 was sent towards the close of that year into Cisalpine Gaul with proconsular power (Fam. v. 2. 3). His wife Clodia remained at Rome and during his absence was visited by Cicero, not without arousing the jealousy of Cicero's wife, Terentia (Fam. v. 2. 6, Plut. Cic. 29). Catullus may have been introduced by Cicero to Clodia at the same time; this poem is the expression of the gratitude which he would naturally feel to the man who had introduced him to Lesbia and doubtless retired in his favour.

Others think the poem ironical. This view seems to have been started by Clumper (Misc. phil. et paedagog. Fasc. ii. p. 150) and has since been partially maintained by O. Iahn (Praef. ad Cic. Orat. p. 8), Hertz Renaissance und Rococo p. 20, who speaks of the poem as 'einer süßsauen Danksagung für man weist nicht was, die er mit nicht minder süßsauen Lächeln empfangen haben wird,' and Ribbeck, Catullus p. 22, where he describes the verses as cutting two ways (*zweischneidigen*). Recently it has been supported at more length by Wölfflin (Erlangen Philol. Seminar, 187

Süss Catulliana p. 29, K. P. Schulze, Harnecker and B. Schmidt. Cicero, as is well known, after *attacking* Vatinius in 56 B.C. two years later *defended* him. He gave great offence to his friends by so doing (Fam. i. 9. 4), and Catullus perhaps availed himself of the occasion to call him ironically *omnium patronus*. If we ask *why* he did so, Schmidt finds a plausible reason in the antagonism of the orator to the new poetic school of Calvus and Catullus, to which antagonism Cicero may have given some public expression.

Bährens says well, in answer to these theories, 'Nimirum nihil de his rebus omnibus scimus.' Neither Petrarch in the 14th century, nor Balzac in the 17th, nor Lessing in the 18th, detected any irony in the poem whatever. Nor, rightly judged, can Ribbeck be counted on this side. Wölfflin and his followers confound irony with humility, or at the utmost with persiflage.

The poem is really, as its words convey, eulogistic; the straightforward *Marce Tulli* would appeal to the heart of every Roman citizen; the *Quot sunt quotque fuisse Quotque post aliis erunt in annis* is not more exaggerated than in XXIV. 2, 3; the form *Gratias tibi maximas Catullus Agit* can have but one meaning, an expression of real gratitude; it is only in the balancing of the last two verses, of *Tanto pessimus omnium poeta* against *Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus* that the excessive humility of the poet suggests *per contra* that his estimate of Cicero as an orator is also exaggerated. For if Cicero is the greatest of advocates in the same proportion as Catullus is the worst of poets, he will descend in the scale of eloquence as Catullus rises in the scale of poetry. But this is not the first impression of the words; it is an afterthought, only obtained by reflection. Even if we admit that there is a touch of disparagement in *Romuli nepotum*, this does not alter the general effect, of enthusiastic, yet dextrous, admiration.

Balzac Entretiens, c. 17, ed. 1659, and Dr. Christopher Wordsworth (Conjectural Emendations, p. 68, 1883) both thought that Catullus has recorded here his gratitude to Cicero for defending him personally in some cause unknown. This is, I think, more than probable, (1) from the emphasis laid on Cicero's powers as a pleader, (2) from the prominent antithesis of the two personalities, Cicero as orator, Catullus as poet. I suggested in my first edition that the poet's *gratiarum actio* may have synchronized with the two speeches delivered by the orator shortly after his return from exile, *Cum senatui gratias egit* and *Cum populo gratias egit*; cf. the words of this last vii. 16 *Cn. Pompeius uir omnium qui sunt fuerunt erunt uirtute sapientia gloria princeps* with Catullus' *Disertissime Romuli nepotum, Quot sunt quotque fuisse, Marce Tulli, Quotque post aliis erunt in annis*. The date would then be the end of 57 B.C.

1. **Disertissime**, 'most eloquent.' Cicero uses the word as practically = *eloquentissimus*. Phil. ii. 43. 111 *Exspecto eloquentiam tuam. Disertissimum cognoui auum tuum; at te etiam apertiore in dicendo*. Cf. *Sest. lvii. 122 disertissimus poeta*. **Romuli nepotum**, like *Remi nepotes* LVIII. 5 and *unde Hacc tetigit, Gradiue, tuos urtica nepotes* Iuven. ii. 127 is perhaps slightly ironical.

2, 3. XXI. 2, 3, XXIV. 2, 3.

2. **Marce Tulli**, the name by which Cicero seems to have been most



widely known. Sest. lviii. 123 *Nominatim sum appellatus in Bruto. Tullius qui libertatem ciuibus stabilierat. Milies reuocatum est:* and by which he would be addressed officially, e.g. when asked his opinion in the senate or on solemn occasions, as we may perhaps infer from Att. vii. 7 *Ad summam, DIC M. TVLLI. Assentior Cn. Pompeio, id est T. Pomponio.* Catil. i. 11. 27 *Si mecum patria, quae mihi uita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica loquatur: M. Tulli, quid agis? tune cum quem esse hostem comperisti . . . exire patiere?* Hence Pliny in his apostrophe to Cicero as the most famous of Romans addresses him by this title H. N. vii. 116 *Sed quo te, M. Tulli, piaculo taceam?*

4. **Gratias tibi maximas Agit.** Common in Cicero's letters. Fam. xiii. 24. 2 *tibi maximas gratias ago*, ib. 54 *mihi propter te gratias maximas egit.*

5. **pessimus omnium poeta**, a humility so exaggerated as hardly to escape some suspicion of insincerity. Catullus applies the words *pessimus poeta* to Volusius XXXVI. 6, and calls Caesius, Aquinus, Suffenus *pessimi poetae*, XIV. 23.

6. **Tanto pessimus . . . Quanto tu optimus.** Vell. Paterc. ii. 11 *Quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus.* Martial imitates Catullus i. 7. 4, 5 *Tanto Stella meus tuo Catullo Quanto passere maior est columba.* Plin. Ep. iv. 1. 4. There is an ingenious ambiguity in the balance *Tanto pessimus, Quanto tu optimus*, like the sentence quoted by Festus s. v. *Tam*, p. 360 M. *Quam malus Homerus tam bonus Choerilus poeta est.*

7. **omnium**, which, like **pessimus omnium**, is of course constructed with **optimus**, by its position suggests one of the titles actually given to Cicero, Fam. vi. 7. 4 (a letter of A. Caecina) *Vbi hoc omnium patronus facis quid me ueterem tuum nunc omnium clientem sentire oportet?* At first *licebat quem nolebam non defendere* Fam. vii. 1. 4, but as his reputation rose he was forced *nonnumquam homines non optime de me meritos rogatu eorum qui bene meriti sunt defendere* (ib.), amongst them Vatinius and Gabinius. He was besides *patronus* of many towns, e.g. Capua Pis. xi. 25, Sest. iv. 9. Cicero himself seems to imply in the Brutus xcvi. 332 *nec enim decet te ornatum uberrimis artibus numerari in uulgo patronorum* that he did not associate with the profession of a *patronus* the highest oratorical distinction: Catullus' words would doubtless have fallen far short of his own estimate of his powers.

## L.

CATULLUS and G. Licinius Calvus, the orator and poet, to whom XIV and XCVI are addressed (cf. LIII), had met each other it would seem in Calvus' house (*illinc abii* 7), if we may so infer from the fact that no third person or resort is mentioned, and that the whole poem places prominently in view the reciprocity of the two partly in their rivalry as poets, partly in their friendship as men. They had agreed to test their respective powers in a sort of wit-combat; and Catullus having lent his tablets for the purpose, each in turn wrote verses in them, of a presumably epigrammatic kind, and in a variety of metres. The contest excited Catullus so much that he could not eat or sleep, and after a restless night in which he was constantly thinking of his friend composed the following poem, expressing his anguish and imploring Calvus to relieve him. He does not explicitly say how, but it is a natural supposition t

Catullus' wish to be once more with Calvus, expressed in 13, is identical with the prayer which Calvus is implored to attend to in 18, 19; and that the poem may be practically considered a return-invitation (cf. Schwabe p. 263). The description of Catullus' restlessness would strike Calvus with special force, from the excitability of his own temperament. Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 166.

Cicero seems to have known this poem. Att. ix. 20. 1 *Cum me aegritudo non solum somno priuaret, uerum ne uigilare quidem sine summo dolore pateretur, tecum ut quasi loquerer, in quo uno acquiesco, hoc nescio quid nullo argumento proposito scribere institui.*

1. **Hesterno die.** Cic. Catil. iii. 2. 5, rather more formal than *heri*. In Catil. ii. 3. 6 many MSS have *hesterna die*. The masculine was the preferable form, as is shown by the independent *hesterno* Vatin. i. 3. **die otiosi** like *Tuo imbuisse* IV. 17, *foro otiosum* X. 2, *sua occupati* XV. 8, *noui umbilici* XXII. 7. The quadrisyllable relieves the harshness of the elided iambus, for which see Lachm. on Lucr. iii. 954.

2. **lusimus**, 'indulged our fancy,' here of humorous improvisations in verse, as in LXI. 225 *Lusimus satis* and a fragment of Varro's Tithonus, v. Riese (Non. 343) *Risi multum, lusi modice iambis*. **in meis.** Cat. lent his *pugillares* for this purpose. But Sabellicus' emendation *inuicem* (see the passage from Macrobius quoted on 6) has some probability; for *meae* and *uice* are interchanged in LXVII. 34. Monse's *aemulis* has not much to support it.

3. **delicatos** is constructed by Muretus with *uersiculos*, 'wanton verses,' as in Pis. xxix. 70 *delicatissimis uersibus* of Philodemus' verses on Piso's debaucheries, de Off. i. 40. 144 *turpe in re seuera conuiuio digna aut delicatum aliquem inferre sermonem*; but this is against the rhythmical pause, which naturally falls after **delicatos**; hence it would seem better to explain it of the two poets who had agreed to play the idler for the day. Paulus Diac. s. u. *Delicata dicebant diis consecrata, quae nunc dedicata. Unde adhuc manet delicatus, quasi lusui dicatus*, a passage from which it appears that *delicatus* was the original spelling of *dedicatus*; if so the words were perhaps confounded, and the Bolognese MS may retain in its m. pr. *dedicatos* (which is also found in *d*), a survival of the still lingering confusion. **Vt conuenerat.** Theocritus' *ὡς ἐδίδωκε* xiv. 20.

4. **uersiculos.** Horace calls his Epodes *uersiculi* Epod. xi. 2, as well as the poems he began to write in Greek S. i. 10. 32, and the lines imitating an erotic epigram of Callimachus S. i. 2. 109.

5. **numero.** Orator lvii. 191 *dactylicus numerus*, 192 *Qui paucana praetereunt non uident mollissimum a sese numerum eundemque amplissimum praeteriri*; ib. *herum numerum*, where Cicero is speaking of the varieties of rhythm, dactyl, trochee, paeon, &c.

6. **Reddens mutua**, 'exchanging replies.' Each took up the other, perhaps repeating some word of his friend's and making play with it, or introducing a similar or opposite word. Cf. Eun. iii. 1. 40 *Ibi nominabit Phaedriam, tu Pamphilam Continuo; si quando illa dicet 'Phaedriam Comissatum intromittamus' tu 'Pamphilam Cantatum prouocemus'; si laudabit haec Illius formam tu eius contra. Denique Par pro pari referto, quod eam mordeat.* Macrobi. S. ii. 7. 7 (*Publius Syrus*) *cum mimos comperet ingentique adsensu in Italiae oppidis agere coepisset, productus Romae*

*per Caesaris ludos, omnes qui tunc scripta et operas suas in scenam locauerant prouocauit ut singuli secum posita inuicem materia pro tempore contenderent.* In the Palatine Anthology is an Epigram in which the writer challenges one Heliodorus to write verses against him, xi. 134 'Ἀρχόμεθ', 'Ἡλιοδῶρε' ποιήματα παίζομεν οὕτω ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους. 'Ἡλιοδῶρε θέλεις; 'Ἄσπον ἴθ', ὥς κεν θάσσοι ὀλέθρου . . . καὶ γὰρ ἔμ' ὄψει Μακροφλυαρητὴν 'Ἡλιοδωρότερον. **per iocum atque uinum**, 'over our jokes and wine.' XII. 2 *in ioco atque uino*.

7. **Atque**, of transition 'And so.' **abii**, 'came away,' perhaps with the double notion of leaving the house and retiring when the contest was over, like ἀπῆλθεν Theocr. xii. 33, cf. 26 ἀπῆλθον.

9, 10. Catullus can neither eat nor sleep for thinking of his friend. So Achilles, thinking of Patroclus, II. xxiv. 129 Τέκνον ἐμόν, τέο μέχρ' ὄδου-  
ρόμενος καὶ ἀχέων Σὴν ἔδει κραδίην, μεμνημένος οὔτε τι σίτου οὔτ' εὐνῆς;

10. **tegeret**, Soph. El. 780 ὥστ' οὔτε νυκτὸς ὕπνον, οὔτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας ἔμε στεγάζειν ἡδύν. Verg. G. iv. 414 *incepto tegetur cum lumina somno*.

11, 12. II. xxiv. 3-6 αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς Κλαίει φίλον ἑτάρον μεμνημένος, οὐδέ μιν ὕπνος ἦρει πανδαμάτωρ ἀλλ' ἐστρέφετ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀδροτήτῃ τε καὶ μένος ἦν, ib. 9 Τοῦ μνησκόμενος θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβεν Ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρὰς κατακείμενος, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτὲ ὕπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηγῆς.

11. **indomitus furore**, 'in rampant frenzy.' **indomitus**, which was perhaps suggested by the Homeric ὕπνος πανδαμάτωρ, well expresses the physical restlessness of the animal system produced by unusual excitement of brain. De Harusp. Resp. xxiv. 52 *indomilos atque effrenatos furorē*.

12. **Versarer**, 'tossed uneasily.' Verr. ii. 30. 74 *Itaque aestuabat dubitatione; uersabat se in utramque partem, non solum mente, uerum etiam corpore*, Prop. i. 14. 21. **cupiens uidere lucem**. Another Homeric idea. II. ix. 237 Ἐκτωρ δὲ μέγα σθένει βλεμεαίων Μαινεται ἐκπάγλως . . . κρατερὴ δὲ εἰ λύσσα δέδυκεν. Ἀράται δὲ τάχιστα φανήμεναι Ἡῶ διαν.

13. **loquerer simulque ut essem**, a ὕστερον πρότερον. **simul essem**. Fam. ix. 1. 2 *Sive in Tusculano sive in Cumano ad te placebit, sive quod minime uelim Romae, dum modo simul simus*, Att. v. 10. 5 *propter uicinitatem totos dies simul eramus inuicem*, Hor. Ep. i. 10. 50 *Excepit quod non simul esses, cetera laetus*.

14. The labouring rhythm expresses the bodily struggle of the poet: cf. LV. 13-24, where the spondaic rhythm corresponds with the labour of Catullus in finding Camerius, and gives way to dactylic when swiftness has to be expressed. **labore**, 'worry,' of the ineffectual struggle of the limbs in conflict with the mind's excitement. Cf. Lucret. iv. 1121 of lovers *absument uires pereuntque labore*.

15. **Semimortua**, in a numbed and lethargic state, Hygin. P. A. ii. 4 of drunkards *Semimortua membra iactantes*, Philodemus in Anth. P. xi. 30. 4 Ἡμῶναις θνήσκει τοῦτο τὸ τερμέριον. Cf. Ovid's *praemortua membra* Am. iii. 7. 65.

16. **iocundus**, as in XIV. 1 *iocundissime Calue* in reference to the companionable qualities of Calvus. Hor. S. i. 3. 93 *minus hoc iocundus amicus Sit mihi?* 5. 44 *Nil ego contulerim iocundo sanus amico*.

18. **caue**, as in LXI. 145, Cic. Arat. 296, Hor. S. ii. 3. 38 *dexter stetit et caue faxis Te quicquam indignum*, Ovid, Trist. i. 1. 25 *Tu caue defendas*. Servius on Aen. iv. 409 says that *cauo cauis* existed as well as *caueo caues*, and that hence Catullus used *cauere*. In the comic-writers it is hard to

whether the *e* was short or slurred over, as we know from Cicero it was in ordinary pronunciation (De Divin. ii. 40. 84). But the existence of *cautum*, i.e. *cautum*, seems to prove that Servius is right in his assertion of an original *cauo cauis*, and it is probable that the ordinary *caue* of Plautus and the other comic writers was the imperative of this, and was pronounced rapidly with the following word as a monosyllable. So Heinsius on Ovid, A. A. ii. 531. In this case a determined disyllabic pronunciation such as we find in Catullus might be one of the differences which he, Calvus, and others of the same school were introducing to distinguish themselves from the earlier poetry. The combination *caue sis* is very common, Amphit. ii. 2. 215, Pers. iii. 1. 61, v. 2. 35, Cistell. fr. Mai p. 18 Milan 1815 *caue sis cum amore tu unquam bellum sumpseris*, and even in prose, Cic. Mil. xxii. 60 *heus tu, Rufio, caue sis mentiaris*, but always = *caue si uis*, not as here.

19. Oramus LV. 1. *caue—caue—caueto* gives a mock solemnity. So Cato R. R. 38 *Ignem caueto ne intermittas quin semper siet, neue noctu neue ullo tempore intermittatur caueto*. Such repetitions are also found in magic formulae. *despuas*, show you reject my entreaties by spitting on the ground. Spitting was connected with magic: O. Iahn Pers. ii. 31 quotes Varro R. R. i. 2. 27 *Ego tui memini, medere meis pedibus. Terra pestem teneto. Salus hic maneto in meis pedibus. Hoc ter nouies cantare iubet, terram tangere, despue, ieiunum cantare*, where it is a cure for pains in the feet; Tib. i. 2. 54 *Ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus*, ib. 96 *Despuit in molles et sibi quisque sinus*, Ciris 372 *Ter in gremium mecum, inquit, despue uirgo, Despue ter, uirgo*, Petron. 131 *Hoc peracto carmine ter me iussit expuere terque lapillos conicere in sinum quos ipsa praecantatos purpura inuoluerat*, Plin. xxviii. 35 *ueniam a deis spei alicuius audacioris petimus in sinum spuendo*; and was supposed to prevent the bad effects of magic, fascination (Theocr. vi. 39, xx. 11), the evil eye, &c., besides being used to counteract excessive praise and the jealousy of the gods consequent thereupon. Schol. Theocr. vi. 39 Ὡς μὴ βασκανθῶ δέ, τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον· ποιοῦσι γὰρ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν μάλιστα τοῦτο αἱ γυναῖκες τὸ νεμεσητὸν ἐκτρέπομεναι. Καλλίμαχος. Δαίμων τῇ κόλποισιν ἐπιπτύουσι γυναῖκες. Anth. P. xii. 229. 1, 2 Ὡς ἀγαθὴ θεὸς ἐστὶ δὲ ἦν ὑπὸ κόλπον, Ἀλεξί, Πτύομεν ὑστερόπουν ἄζόμενοι Νέμεσιν. If we follow the suggestion of these passages Catullus might mean 'Don't be rash enough to reject my petition as too flattering, lest Nemesis, whom you think to propitiate by rejecting my wish, turn round upon you for over-cruel indifference,' a view perhaps confirmed by the use of *reposcat* for the simpler *poscat* and the prominence of *a te* at the end of 20. But as spitting was also used simply as a sign of contempt and rejection (Lucian περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῶ συνόντων p. 489 ἦν δὲ μειδιῶσα καὶ ῥυθμίσω τὸ πρόσσπον εἰς τὸ ἥδιστον, κατεφρόνησε καὶ εὐθὺς διέπτυσσε, Soph. Antig. 653 πτύσας ὥσεί τε δυσμενῇ, 1232 πτύσας προσώπῳ κοῦδὲν ἀντειπὼν), and contempt as implying too lofty an opinion of oneself is particularly liable to rouse the anger of Nemesis, it seems simpler to explain 'Don't be rash enough to spurn my petition, and so bring down upon yourself the anger of Nemesis for your cruel contempt.' *ocelle*, 'dear heart,' 'liebes Hertze,' Heyse. Asinar. iii. 3. 74.

20. *reposcat*, Aen. ii. 139. Many MSS have *reponat*, 'should make a repayment of punishment on your side.' Fam. i. 9. 19 *ne tibi ego idem*

*reponam cum ueneris.* Sen. de Ira ii. 28. 5 *Cogitemus aliis non facere iniuriam, sed reponere.*

21. Catullus may have had in mind some lines of Antimachus ap. Strab. 588 Ἔστι δέ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλη θεός, ἥ τάδε πάντα Πρὸς μακάρων ἔλαχεν, βαμὼν δέ οἱ εἴσατο πρῶτος Ἀδρηστος ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥύον Λισήποιο Ἐνθα τετίμηται τε καὶ Ἀδρήστεια καλεῖται. But the sentiment is almost a common-place of lovers. Alciph. i. 37. 4 τὴν Νέμεσιν δεῖν αὐτὸν ὀρᾶν εἰ οὕτως ἐμὲ περιόψεται ἐρώσων, Lucian. Dial. Meretric. xii. 2 οὐ μέγα, ὦ Λυσία, τοῦτο ποιεῖς, γύναιον ἄθλιον λυπῶν μεμνηὸς ἐπὶ σοί; ἔστι τις θεὸς ἡ Ἀδράστεια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀρᾷ.

## LI.

THIS poem of Sappho's and Callimachus' elegy on the Lock of Berenice (LXVI) are the only surviving specimens of Catullus' power as a translator. If he translated any other Greek originals, his versions have not come down to us; see on LXV. 16, CXVI. 2. The general features of LI and LXVI are the same: each is faithful without being strictly exact; there are omissions, insertions, and inversions. Thus in the first strophe of Sappho's Ode there is nothing to correspond to *Ille si fas est superare diuos*, to *identidem*, to *spectat*; on the other hand Catullus omits *πλασίον ἄνδρ' ὀφνίσκας* altogether. In the second strophe *τό μοι μὰν καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν* is rather poorly rendered by *misero quod omnis Eripit sensus mihi*; in the third *ἀδτικά* is not translated, the order of the last two lines is inverted, the strong *Ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημ'* is paraphrased by *gemina teguntur Lumina nocte*; nothing in the Greek corresponds to *sonitu suapte*. Catullus has besides given to his version something of the look of an original poem by introducing the name of Lesbia.

It is difficult to pronounce whether the last four lines *Otium—urbes* belong to LI or to a different poem of which they are the one surviving fragment. The latter view was maintained by Statius, and more recently by Spengel, Bergk, Bruner, Schwabe and L. Müller. Others hold them to be spurious.

(1). There is no ground for denying their genuineness. They are found in all the MSS; the rhythm is like that of Catullus' other sapphics, especially in the admission of a trochee in the second foot, cf. XI. 6, 15; they are probably alluded to by Macrob. S. ii. 7. 6.]

(2). It is possible to trace a connexion between 1-12 and 13-16. The change from a passionate address to Lesbia to a moralizing soliloquy, addressed to himself is not alien either to Catullus, see VIII. 12-19, LXIII. 50-61, or other poets, e. g. Tib. i. 4. 81-84, where the poet, after giving rules for success in love, suddenly breaks into a complaint of his own anguish; Verg. Ecl. ii. 68 sqq. As Westphal observes, there may be a contrast between two emotions, the pleasure of an absorbing love and the Roman spirit of activity in conflict with it. The connexion might be as follows: 'Catullus, you are giving way to love dreams; beware, or the indolence which fosters such fancies will destroy you as it has destroyed cities and kings.' So Süss and Benoist.

(3). Such a connexion is however *violent*: there is a disproportion between the three strophes of love-symptoms and the single strophe of virtuous soliloquy; a disproportion hardly removed by the emphatic repetition of the word *Otium*. And why should Catullus omit the *four*?

strophe of Sappho's Ode? It cannot be said that the picture is perfect without it; the sweat, tremor, paleness and death-like sensations are an integral part of the description, and are accordingly mentioned by the prose paraphrasts of the ode, Longinus de Sublim. 10, Plut. Erot. 18, Plut. Demetrius 38. If, as might be argued, he meant not so much to translate Sappho, as to write a paraphrase bearing on his own love, and *therefore* did not think himself bound to add the fourth strophe—the three Latin strophes have a certain roundness and completeness in themselves—he would still take care in substituting a strophe of his own to make it harmonize with the rest. Or if, after translating three strophes, accident prevented him from completing his version of a poem which certainly extended to five strophes, perhaps to seven or eight, there seems to be no reason why he should not have allowed his work to remain a fragment. It seems therefore a probable conclusion that the four verses *Otium—urbes* have become disjoined from those preceding them; and that they formed originally the end of another sapphic poem. The lines themselves represent some of Sappho's strongest characteristics; the self-address (Sapph. fr. 59 Bergk), the repetition of the same word three times as in the famous ode (i. 21–23). [To this conclusion, as expressed in ed. 1, I see nothing to add, except the opinion of W. S. Landor, a poet and critic of no mean order. 'The ode ends and always ended with *Lumina nocte*.' Foreign Quarterly, xxix. p. 354.]

2. An addition of Catullus'. *si fas est*, a trace of Roman *religio*. Catullus would avoid saying anything impious (Westphal). Tusc. Disp. v. 13. 38 *Humanus animus decerptus ex mente diuina cum alio nullo nisi cum ipso deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest*. Ovid, Pont. iv. 8. 55 *Di quoque carminibus, si fas est credere, fiunt, Tantaeque maiestas ore canentis eget*. Liu. xxiii. 42 *ne deos quidem iratos, si fas est dici, timeamus*. The author of the curious comedy *Querolus*, which perhaps belongs to the period of Theodosius, seems to imitate Catullus i. 1 *omnibus est molestus, ipsi, si fas est, deo*. *diuos*, 'the holy gods.' Catullus, like Varro and Ateius, makes *diuos* a more solemn word than *deus*, not to the extent of distinguishing, as they did, *diuos perpetuos, deos qui propter sui consecrationem timentur* (Servius on Aen. v. 45), but as the more ancient and formal word. Varro ap. Serv. ad Aen. xii. 139 *Ita respondeant cur dicant deus cum omnes (omnibus MSS, de omnibus Thilo) antiqui dixerint diuos*. Hence *diuos diua* in the form of prayer preserved by Liu. vii. 26. xxv. 12. Catullus has *diuos* LXIV. 404, XC. 5; *deus* in the playful passage XIII. 13.

3. *sedens aduersus*. Lucian Ἐρωτες 53 οἱ γὰρ ἀντίῳ τὸ ἀνερῶν ἐνώπιον, οἱ δ' ἀπαιτῶνι καθήμενοι καὶ λαλοῦντες ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' ὥστερ' ἰδὼνς ἀλίσματα συμπηχόμενος ἔρως πρῶτον ἔχει θαρμὶν ὀφρὺς ὡς αἶψ' (*Spectat*), αὐτὸν δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐφίψασθαι δὲ ἄρως γοῖν διακίλων αὐτὸν αἰὼν εἶναι, τὸ τῆς ἀσπασίας εἰς ἄνω διεκτεῖν τὸ σῶμα (*tenuis sub artus Flamma demanat*). identidem. of *Lesbia*, XI. 10.

6. *Eripit sensus*. 'ravisheth from me all my wit.' Chaucer, Romaunt of the Rose, p. 176 Bell; so *spectatus* *supra* LXVI. 25. *simul to asperi*. Vatin. ii. 4 *simul ac si asperum, prout quod dicitur, dicitur*.

8. This verse is lost: the Greek is φωνὴν οὐδὲν ἐν λόγῳ. cf. Plut. Erot. 18 ἢ καὶ ὁ Σαπφὸ λέγει τῆς ἐρωμένης ἐκφρασεως τῆς τε φωνῆς ἰσχυροῦς καὶ

φλέγεσθαι τὸ σῶμα. Plut. Demetr. 38 τὰ τῆς Σαπφούς ἐκείνα πάντα, φωνῆς ἐπίσχεσις κ.τ.λ.

9-12 may be compared with Lucr. iii. 152 sqq.—a description of fear: especially with 154-156 *Sudoresque ita palloremque existere toto Corpore et infringi linguam uocemque aboriri Caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus.*

9. *tenuis*, 'subtle,' Sappho's *λέπτον πῦρ*: the notion is of a flame rapidly permeating and diffusing itself through the body.

10. *demanat*, flows downward from the eyes which first receive it: so Gell. xvii. 11. 1 *potum dixit defluere ad pulmonem eoque satis umectato demanare per eum quia sit rimosior.* Wakefield on Lucr. iii. 154 would read *dimanat*, as agreeing better with the diffusive character of the fluid element fire, cf. Lucr. ii. 382. This though probable is not necessary and is not supported by MSS. *suopte*. Paul. Diac. p. 311 M. *Suopte suo ipsius, ut meopte meo ipsius, tuopte tuo ipsius.* The form is a very old one; Naevius has *suopte cibo* ap. Macrobi. S. iii. 18. 6, Plautus *meopte meopte tuopte suumpte mepte*, Terence *nostrapte*, Cicero *suopte* and *suapte*. Corssen seems right in explaining *-pte* in these forms as *pe-le*; *pe* in *ipsip-pe* = *ipsi neque alii* Paul. Diac. p. 105 M., *ip(e)se capse campse eopse seipse sapse reapse sirempse* for *cap-se* etc. emphasizes the word to which it is attached = 'just'; *-le* intensifies this as in *tu-le*. Catullus seems to contrast the special sound of ringing within the ear itself to ordinary sounds from without.

11. *Tintinans*, a less common form of *tintinnare*, which like *tintinnire* was used by Naevius and Afranius (Festus p. 364 M.). Ringing in the ears is often mentioned in connexion with love. Meleager in Anth. P. v. 212. 1 *Αἰεὶ μοι δύνει μὲν ἐν οὐασιν ἦχος ἔρωτος*; but more generally as a sign to a lover that his *absent* love is thinking of him, Plin. H. N. xxviii. 24, Stat. S. iv. 4. 25, 26, Fronto p. 28 Naber, Anth. Lat. 452 Riese, 974 Meyer, Lucian Dial. Meretr. ix. 2. *gemina* transfers the doubleness of the two eyes to the darkness which has settled equally on both. 'Night closes evenly on both my eyes.'

12. *Lumina*. Archil. 103 Bergk *Τοῖος γὰρ φιλότῆτος ἔρως ὑπὸ καρδίῃν ἐλυσθεῖς Πολλὴν κατ' ἀχλὺν ὀμμάτων ἔχενεν Κλέψας ἐκ στηθίων ἀπαλὰς φρένας.*

13-16. For the sentiment cf. Truc. i. 2. 34-40, as well as the well-known passage of Ovid's Rem. Am. 135-144.

13. *molestum est*, 'disorders you.' Fam. vii. 26. 1 *στραγγουρικὰ καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη σibi molesta esse.* Hor. Epist. i. 1. 108 *nisi cum pituita molesta est.* Cicero somewhat similarly Cael. xix. 43 *amores et hae deliciae quae uocantur, quae firmiore animo praeditis diutius molestae non solent esse.*

14. 'Idleness makes the veins throb with wantonness beyond measure.' Both *exultas* and *gestis* (*στηνιᾶς*) are physical words. Lucr. iii. 141 *Hic exultat enim pauor ac metus.* Cic. de N. D. i. 27. 77 *Cur non gestiret taurus equae contractione, ecus uaccae?* Both are combined by Cicero Tusc. Disp. v. 6. 16 *inani laetitia exultans et temere gestiens.* Liu. vi. 36 *otio gestientes.*

15. *reges*. Westphal thinks this refers specially to Priam whose kingdom was destroyed by the luxury of his son Paris and his paramour Helen. This would be appropriate in a poem to Lesbia, the wife

another; but the reference is doubtless more general. Val. Maximus ix. 1 gives several instances of kings ruined by luxury, Hannibal at Capua, Xerxes, Antiochus, Ptolemaeus Physcon; the only city he mentions is Veii in Etruria, *quae postquam luxuria prolapsa est, in profundum inturiarum et turpitudinis decidit, ut servorum se insolentissimae dominationi subiecit*: Sybaris is a better known example. Aelian V. H. i. 19 adds Colophon.

16. *Perdidit urbes*, a common-place of Euripides. Archelaus fr. 241 Nauck ὁ δ' ἔδωκε αὐτὸν ἡ κακὴ τ' ἀναστροφὴ ὅτι οἶκον οὐκ ἔχων ἐρῶντες αὐτὸν. Erechtheus fr. 366.

## LII.

THE old interpretation of this poem, accepted by Clinton, supposed it to be written during or after the consulship of Vatinius 707 | 47, which was held only for a short time at the end of the year, Dion C. xlii. 85 ταῦτα ἐν ἐκλογῇ τῷ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ διατάσσας μὲν οὕτως αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον ἤρξεν, ὕπατοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐξόφῃ αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθῆντες ὁ τε Καλῆρος καὶ ὁ Οὐατίνιος ἐλέγοντο εἶναι, ἐποίησε: whence Macrobi. S. ii. 3. 5 says *In consulatu Vatinius quem paucis diebus gessit, notabilis Ciceronis urbanitas circumferebatur. Magnum ostentum, inquit, anno Vatinius factum est, quod illo consule nec bruma nec uer nec aestas nec autumnus fuit. Querenti deinde Vatinius quod grauatus esset domum ad se infirmatum uenire, respondit: Volui in consulatu tuo uenire, sed nox me comprehendit.* This would oblige us to put off the year of Catullus' death till that year; whereas the absence of any certain allusions in the extant poems to the stirring events between 54-47 makes it probable that he died in 54. Moreover if Catullus alludes to the actual year of Vatinius' consulship, it would be difficult to explain a *Sella in curulei Struma Nonius sedet*, for in this year there was no appointment of praetors, curule aediles, or quaestors (Mommsen, Hist. of Rome iv. p. 2. p. 480 Eng. Transl.).

Mommsen<sup>1</sup> (Hist. of Rome iv. p. 2. p. 320 note) has suggested a different interpretation. Catullus in 3 speaks not of Vatinius' actual consulship, but of the certainty with which he looked forward to being made consul. This he might do as early as 698 | 56 when Caesar and Pompeius met at Luca and drew out lists of intended consuls (*periculum futurorum consulum* Att. iv. 8<sup>b</sup>. 2). Jungclaussen and Schwabe both accept this interpretation; the latter illustrates Catullus' words by two passages of Cicero's speech In Vatinius ii. 6 *At tamen hoc, Vatini, momentum . . . me . . . magnificētissime post hominum memoriam consulatum futurum, omnique ad me pudenter animo consulatum esse quod in impudenter natiuitate sperare se saepe dixisti*. v. 11 *Quasi quidem potius (in the year 600-604) cum P. Sestio, cum hic adhuc loqueretur mihi quod ageret in de consulatum gerendum a diuinitatibus regere*; to which

<sup>1</sup> This view was to some extent anticipated by Valerius Comment. on Ann. Marc. xiv. p. 9. *Quid magnum momentum sit. Antiqui per vota sua iurabant, ut Vatinius ad consulatum quod tantum indignitatem mouit Catullo et Ciceroni, 30. 3. Per consulatum peruenit Vatinius. Miser Catullus, qui notata emittit.*



may be added xvi. 38 *palam dictitas* (in 56 B.C.) *te dis hominibusque inuitis amore in te incredibili quodam C. Caesaris omnia quae uelis consecuturum*. Schwabe however prefers as a more probable occasion of Catullus' outburst, the beginning of 699 | 55, when public feeling was outraged by the election of Vatinius as praetor against Cato. This election is frequently alluded to as a memorable scandal; Liu. Epit. 105 *Cum C. Catonis tribuni plebis intercessionibus comitia tollerentur, senatus uestem mutauit. M. Cato in petitione praeturae praelato Vatini repulsam tulit*. Val. Maximus vii. 5, Ext. 6 calls it *comitiorum maximum crimen*: Seneca introduces it as a stock-subject of declamation Epist. 118. 4 *Scio apud te (Fortuna) Catones repelli, Vatinius fieri*, 120. 19. De Constantia Sapientis i. 3 *Indigne ferebas, sicut es iniquitatis impatiens, quod Catonem aetas sua parum intellexisset, quod supra Pompeios et Caesares surgentem infra Vatinius posuisset, et tibi indignum uidebatur quod illi dissuasuro legem toga in foro esset erepta*, ib. ii. 3. Plutarch (Cato 42) says it was done by shameful bribery, and that after it Cato addressed the assembly foretelling all the future evils of the triumvirate. Cf. Couat, Étude p. 260.

Who the Nonius of 2 was is not known. From Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 87 it appears that he was the father of a senator of the same name, proscribed by Antonius on account of an opal of extraordinary value, which Antonius coveted: and great grand-father of Servilius Nonianus who had filled the consulship in the lifetime of Pliny; probably in 788 | 35 A.D. Catullus' words do not tell us much; they seem however to imply that Nonius was a plebeian who had risen for the first time to a curule office, probably the aedileship, see note on 2; and that he had a personal deformity of the same kind as Vatinius, seemingly a tumour on the neck, *Struma*<sup>1</sup>.

Lehmann, Teuffel and Schwabe think the person alluded to may be Nonius Asprenas who attended Caesar in the African war and was left by him in charge of the camp just before the battle of Thapsus 708 | 46 (B. Af. 80); in the following year he conveyed a body of horsemen from Italy to Caesar in Spain (B. Hisp. 10). This Nonius is called *proconsul*; hence had presumably held a curule office, and perhaps had been elected curule aedile at the same time that Vatinius was elected praetor (Schwabe Quaestt. Catull. pp. 38-44).

A better-known Nonius of this period was M. Nonius Sufenas who had been tribune of the plebs in 57-56 B.C. and with his colleagues Proculus and C. Cato prevented the consular comitia in 56, in consequence of which an interrex was appointed and Crassus and Pompeius declared consuls for the following year (Dion C. xxxix. 27, Appian B. C.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS of Marius Victorinus 174 G. quote the line with *Scrofa* for *Struma*. But *scrofa* was the cognomen of the Tremellii, Varro R. R. ii. 4. 1-2, Macrob. S. i. 6. 30. The variation however is not without importance, as indicating that the word, whatever it was, was not a name, but a personal allusion. Yet it is not easy to see why Catullus should have ascribed to Nonius the well-known deformity of Vatinius; such a side-stroke, to use an expression of Vatinius' own (In Vatini. v. 13), must have seemed as flat at the time as it seems unintelligible now. It is odd enough that Cicero in the letter quoted above, after naming Thermus, Silius, Nonius, Bibulus, adds *Scrofa*, *Thermum, Silium uere audis laudari. Valde se honeste gerunt. Adde M. Nonium, Bibulum, me si uoles. Iam Scrofa uellem haberet ubi posset. Est enim lautum negotium*.

ii. 17). Sufenas and his two colleagues were brought to trial in 54 for their behaviour in this matter; on the 5th July Sufenas and Cato were acquitted, Procilius condemned, a proof, says Cicero (Att. iv. 15. 4), of the indifference to public morality in the judicial tribunals of the time: *Ex quo intellectum est τρωαπειωναιρας ambitum comitia interregnum maiestatem totam denique rem publicam flocci non facere*. If this Sufenas is the M. Nonius mentioned in conjunction with M. Bibulus, Q. Minucius Thermus, P. Silius Nerva, respectively governors of Syria, Asia, Bithynia, in a letter to Atticus (vi. 1. 13) written from Cilicia 704 | 50, cf. 8. 15. 3 *cum imperio sunt ut Sufenas*, he would seem to have held a curule office in the interval between his tribuneship in 56 and the latter date, just as P. Clodius was tribune in 58, curule aedile in 56 B.C. His support of Pompeius and Caesar would make him obnoxious to Catullus, though nothing that Cicero says of him implies anything like the unpopularity of Vatinius. But if his election coincided with that of Vatinius, the two might well be combined as specimens of the odious success which uncompromising devotion to the cause of the triumvirs was pretty certain to secure.

1. *Quid est?* 'How now?' 'Fie on thee,' rousing himself from his indifference, as in Tib. iv. 14. 38 Lachm. *Quid est, iners?* **quid moraris emori?** A stronger *Quin moreris?* 'it is time you died downright and instantly.' Hor. C. iii. 27. 58 *Quid mori cessas?* Heroid. ix. 146 *Impia quid dubitas, Deianira, mori?* **emori**, 'to die with desperation.' Sall. Cat. 20 *Nonne emori per uirtutem praestat, quam uitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere?* Fam. xiv. 4. 1 *Te cupio uidere et in tuo complexu emori*. Prof. Key Lat. Dict. s.v. suggests a different view, 'escape (the miseries of life) by death, die and so be out of one's misery,' citing Bacch. v. 2. 86, Heaut. v. 2. 19 *ei mihi Emori cupio*, Phorm. v. 8. 63 *emori hercle satius est*; but this view is hardly established.

2. *Sella in curulei . . . sedet*. The right of using the curule chair belonged to the consuls, praetors, curule aediles and censors; as well as to the Flamen Dialis, the dictator and *magister equitum* (Dic. Ant. s. v.). As to attain a curule office was the first step towards founding the nobility of a plebeian family, *sella in curuli sedet* is sometimes applied to *noui homines* in opposition to *nobiles*. The aedileship, as the first curule office to which a man could aspire, is perhaps meant here, cf. A. Gell. vii. 9. 6 *Cn. Flavius, Anni filius, aedilis, id arrisit; sellam curulem iussit sibi afferri, eam in limine apposuit, ne quis illorum exire posset, utique hi omnes inuiti uiderent sese in sella curuli sedentem*. Cicero Verr. Act. ii. 5. § 36 enumerates the advantages conferred by the curule aedileship, *antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum, togam praetextam, sellam curulem, ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae*. **Struma**. Cels. v. 28. 7 *Struma est tumor in quo subter concreta quaedam ex pure et sanguine quasi glandulae oriuntur. . . Nascuntur maxime in ceruice, sed etiam in alis et inguinibus*.

3. *Per consulatum*. We may imagine Vatinius saying '*Ita fiam consul ut quae affirmo uera sunt?*' Schwabe. **perierat**. Cic. in Vat. i. 3 speaks of Vatinius' *inconstantiam cum leuitate tum etiam periurio implicatam*.

## LIH.

THIS epigram is a tribute to the oratorical genius of Catullus' friend C. Licinius Calvus. Of the twenty-one orations by him extant at the time when the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* was written, those against Vatinius were still studied alone, the second of the number particularly (*Dial.* 21). They are quoted by Seneca *Epist.* 94. 25, Quintilian *vi.* 1. 13, *ix.* 2. 25, 3. 56), as well as by the grammarians (*Charis.* 224 Keil, *Diomed.* *ii.* p. 443) and writers on rhetoric (*Aquila Romanus* p. 35 Keil, *Julius Severianus* p. 366 Keil). The fragments have been collected by Meyer, *Orator. Roman. Fragm.* pp. 474-478. Which of Calvus' orations against Vatinius is alluded to by Catullus is uncertain, nor do we know how many there were. The author of the *Dialogus* 21 mentions at least three, of which the second was the most admired. *Ipse mihi Calvus cum unum et uiginti, ut puto, libros reliquerit, uix in una et altera oratiuncula satisfacit nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo iudicio uideo: quotus enim quisque Calui in Asitium aut in Drusum legit? At hercule in hominum studiosorum manibus uersantur accusationes, quae in Vatinium inscribuntur, ac praecipue secunda ex iis oratio. Est enim uerbis ornata et sententiis, auribus iudicum accommodata.*

The same writer c. 34, when recounting the ages at which famous orators had begun to speak *allero et uicesimo (anno) Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt quas hodieque cum admiratione legimus*, states that Calvus attacked Vatinius when not much over twenty-two years old. As he was born in 672 | 82 (*Plin. H. N.* *vii.* 165) he would be twenty-two in 694 | 60, twenty-four in 696 | 58. In this year C. Memmius was one of the praetors, and Cicero in his speech *In Vatinium* delivered two years later (*B.C.* 56) states that Vatinius had driven Memmius from the forum and by various other acts of violence interfered with a prosecution which (as the Bobbian scholiast informs us *Orelli v.* p. 323) had been brought against him (Vatinius) by Calvus. If the author of the *Dialogus* is right in stating that Calvus was not much over twenty-two when he attacked Vatinius, this may have been the occasion.

In March 698 | 56 Cicero spoke his oration *Pro Sestio* and at the same time *interrogated* Vatinius (who had appeared as a witness against Sestius) in the speech *In Vatinium*. On this occasion, Macer Licinius, i.e. Calvus (for the elder Macer Licinius was dead), roused by the threat of L. Aemilius Paulus *se nomen Vatini delaturum, si Macer Licinius cunctaretur*, promised to do his best to satisfy Paulus: and no doubt purposed to attack Vatinius without delay (*ad Q. Fr.* *ii.* 4). In his speech *In Vatinium* Cicero speaks of Vatinius as in imminent danger of condemnation (*iv.* 14), *de te homines quid sentiant in honore experti sumus in salute expectamus*; words which the Schol. Bob. explains (1) of Vatinius' failure to obtain the quaestorship, and (2) of the probability of his being condemned in the prosecution already commenced against him by C. Licinius Calvus (p. 316 *Orelli*). But no details are left us of any *actual* trial in this year.

In the following year 699 | 55 Vatinius succeeded in being appoi-

praetor against Cato (Plut. Cat. Min. 42). Pompeius and Crassus, the consuls of the year, got the senate to pass a measure, proposed by Afranius, enacting that those who were elected praetors should enter on their office immediately, and secured the rejection of an additional clause proposing that the praetors should for sixty days after election be still *priuati*, and therefore liable to prosecution for bribery (Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 9. 3). This was on Feb. 11<sup>1</sup>, and virtually made the defeat of Cato and the appointment of Vatinius a certainty (Cic. l. c.). It is next to impossible therefore that Vatinius should have been brought to trial during this year.

It is not till 700 | 54 that we have any certain data of the prosecution. Three letters of Cicero (Q. Fr. ii. 15<sup>b</sup>, ii. 16, Att. iv. 15) combined with the notices in the Scholia, enable us to fix with some precision the period of Cicero's defence of Vatinius, and therefore of Calvus' accusation. Q. Fr. ii. 15<sup>b</sup>. 4 *Ambitus redit immanis, numquam fuit par. Idib. Quint. faenus fuit bessibus ex triente* (July 15). Att. iv. 15. 7 *Sequere nunc me in campum: ardet ambitus; σῆμα δὲ τοῦ ἐπέω. Faenus ex triente Idib. Quint. factum erat bessibus...* Haec ego pridie scribebam quam comitia fore putabantur; sed ad te quinto Kal. Sextil. (July 28) si facta erunt et tabellarius non erit profectus tota comitia perscribam... Messius defendebatur a nobis de legatione reuocatus; nam eum Caesari legarat Appius... Deinde me expedito ad Drusum, inde ad Scaurum. parantur orationibus indices gloriosi. Q. Fr. ii. 16. 1 Sic enim habeto, numquam me a causis et iudiciis districtionem fuisse, atque id anni tempore grauissimo et caloribus maximis... 3 Quo die hoc scripsi, Drusus erat de praeuacatione a tribunis aerariis absolutus... Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatinium eram defensurus. Ea res facilis est. Comitia in mensem Sept. reiecta sunt. Scauri iudicium statim exercebitur, cui nos non deerimus. A comparison of these passages shows that between July 15 and July 28 Cicero was defending Messius; that he went on to defend Drusus, then Vatinius; and that he was to defend Scaurus later.

The Scholia of Asconius and the Schol. Bob. agree with these statements of Cicero. In his commentary on the oration *Pro Scauro* (p. 18 Orelli) Asconius tells us that Scaurus was tried in the same year as Vatinius *L. Domitio Ahenobarbo et Appio Claudio Pulchro coss.* (700 | 54) and that the last day of the trial of Scaurus was on September 2. The beginning of it thus falls to the end of August. The previous trial of Vatinius with that of Plancius which immediately followed it<sup>2</sup> must therefore have been in the earlier part of August. If we may trust the Bobbian Scholia on Planc. xvi *iam de sodalitiis causam dixerat P. Vatinius eodem defendente M. Cicerone*, the charge of which Vatinius was accused by Calvus was of using illegal means to secure his election; in effect, of intimidation and bribery. Cicero's defence secured his acquittal.

Mommsen thought this was the *only* occasion on which Calvus actually spoke against Vatinius. But (1) we know from the *Dialogus* that there were at least *three* speeches *In Vatinium* by Calvus, and that the second

<sup>1</sup> Not *May*, which is an alteration of the MSS, as Tyrrell shows in his commentary on this letter. Correspondence of Cicero, vol. ii. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Planc. xvi. 40 *ne quinque quidem reuocatis quod in proximis res de consilii sententia constitutum est.* The *proximus res* was Vatinius.

was the most admired. It does not seem likely that these followed each other in succession at the same time, although this was sometimes done, as a passage of Asconius (Pro Cornelio p. 62 Orelli) *Cicero ipse significat quatrduo Cornelium defendisse, quas actiones contulisse eum in duas orationes apparet* (Nipperdei Opusc. p. 330), and as the Verrine orations prove. For if Calvus had combined all his force on this single occasion, Cicero would never have talked of Vatinius' acquittal as an easy matter (Q. Fr. ii. 16. 3). (2) The other statement of the *Dialogus* that Calvus accused Vatinius when not much over twenty-two carries back the first attack to 59-58 B.C. Even allowing more latitude to the words *non multum aetate antecedens* we can hardly suppose him to have been twenty-eight, as he would be in 54 B.C.

1. **corona**, 'a circle of bystanders,' especially to hear a pleader. Quintil. xii. 10. 74 *Nulli non agentium parata uulgi corona est.* Sen. de Ira ii. 7 *Iudex damnaturus quae fecit eligitur et corona pro mala causa bona patroni uoce corrupta.* Epist. 114. 12 *Mirari quidem non debes corrupta excipi non tantum a corona sordidiore, sed ab hac quoque turba cultiore; togis enim inter se isti, non iudiciis distant.* Hence, as the *corona* was apt to consist of a low class of people, *nescio quem*, 'a fellow.'

2. **miriflo**, 'to perfection:' a slightly different use from the Ciceroian and ordinary one, which makes it nearly i. q. *ualde*, e.g. *mirifice dolere, diligere*, &c.

3. **crimina**, like **explicasset**, implies a series of charges. Such a drawing out of one charge after another is found in the fragm. of Calvus in Vatin. quoted by Quintil. ix. 3. 56, as a specimen of *climax*, *Non ergo magis pecuniarum repetundarum quam maiestatis, neque maiestatis magis quam Plautiae legis, neque Plautiae legis magis quam ambitus, neque ambitus magis quam omnium legum.*

4. **manusque tollens**, Philodemus Περὶ Κακῶν col. xxiii ἐπιφέρειν τὰς χεῖρας ἀναιρεῖν αὐς τὰς συνήκας. Hor. S. ii. 5. 95 *Donec 'Ohe' iam Ad caelum manibus sublati dixerit.* Cic. Acad. Pr. ii. 63 *Hortensius uehementer admirans quod quidem perpetuo Lucullo loquente fecerat, ut etiam manus saepe tolleret.* Voulliéme (*Quomodo ueteres adorauerint*, p. 28) adds Od. xviii. 100, Cycl. 418, and other passages.

5. **Di magni**, XIV. 12. **salaputium**<sup>1</sup> **disertum**, 'A mighty tit of an orator:' as explained by Seneca Controu. vii. 19, p. 211 ed. Bursian *Idem postea cum uideret a clientibus Catonis, rei sui, Polionem Asinium circumuentum in forica; inponi se supra cippum iussit, erat enim paruolus statura, propter quod et Catullus in hendecasyllabis uocat illum salaputium disertum.* This is perhaps the meaning of Ovid, Trist. ii. 431 *Par fuit exigui similisque licentia Calui, Delexit uariis qui sua furtia modis.* **salaputium**, cf. English 'dandiprat.' This, the reading of Sen. Cont. vii. 19 is not known to occur elsewhere: its meaning is guessed from that passage, but the etymology is quite doubtful<sup>2</sup>. Possibly the last part of it contains the root *pu-* which as *pu-s* is found in *pusillus posilla pusus*

<sup>1</sup> Salaputis as a man's name occurs in an African inscription containing a decree of Commodus (Hermes for 1880, p. 390). See Mommsen's note on p. 393. In full the name was C. Iulius P. F. Salaputis.

<sup>2</sup> Caspar Barth Aduers. vi. 8 says 'priors duae syllabae aliquid iocosius praefebent.'



*pusa pusio*, as *pu-l* in *putus* (a boy) Verg. Cat. ix. 2, in *putillus* restored by Bücheler in Varro Sat. fr. 586, perhaps the name *Polonius* Varr. L. L. vii. 28. More probably it is connected, as Gerard Voss<sup>1</sup>, *Etymologicum* s. v., suggested, with *prae-putium* πρῶστιον. Both πρῶστιον and πρῶσταλίσκος are used = 'little boy'; σάθων is a coaxing name for a boy-baby (L. and S.); *sannio*, dwarf, is from σάννιον, *penis*; hence Walter Savage Landor may be right in his translation 'little cocky.' The first part of the compound is perhaps, but not certainly, connected with *sal-ire*, *sal-ax*, &c. The *pipinna* of Mart. xi. 72. 1, is a similar word, partly of endearment, partly of coarseness. Quite a different view is propounded by Thielmann, Archiv für Latein. Lexicographie iv. p. 601. From σαλπικτής, 'trumpeter,' was formed Latin *salpicta* (Firm. Matern. Math. 8. 21), and a vulgar form *salapilla* (Arnob. 7. 33 *salapillarum sonitu atque plausu*). Of this latter *salapillium* is a diminutive; the form in *u* (*salaputium*) merely expresses the intermediate sound between *i*, *u*. Calvus, with his small stature and big voice, might aptly be called 'the little trumpeter,' much as in Petronius a stump orator is described in the words *cum ageret porro in foro sic illius uox crescebat tamquam tuba*. The word was probably a provincialism; perhaps, from the passage of Arnobius and the occurrence of the name *Salaputis* in an African Inscription C. I. L. viii. 10570, an Africanism.

## LIV.

THESE fragments of an attack on some friends of Caesar, and possibly of Pompeius, present Catullus once more in his Archilochian vein. The poet's enemies had grasped a cicala by the wing; they would find that he only sang the louder. Caesar should not escape his iambi; once again their harmless satire should rouse the peerless general to rage.

Lucian Pseudologistes i τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ἐκείνο ἥδη σοι λέγω, ὅτι τέττιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ συνείληφας· εἴπερ τινα ποιητὴν ἰάμβων ἀκούεις Ἀρχιλόχον, Πάριον τὸ γένος, ἄνδρα κομίδῃ εὐλείθερον καὶ παρρησίᾳ συνόντα, μηδὲν ὀκνοῦντα ὀνειδίζειν, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα λυπήσειν ἔμελλε τοὺς περιπετεῖς ἐσομένους τῇ χολῇ τῶν ἰάμβων αὐτοῦ. Ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν πρὸς τινος τῶν τοιούτων ἀκούσας κακῶς τέττιγα ἔφη τὸν ἄνδρα εἰληφέναι τοῦ πτεροῦ, εἰκάζων ἑαυτὸν τῷ τέττιγι ὃ Ἀρχιλόχος φύσει μὲν λάλῳ ὄντι καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἀνάγκης, ὅποταν δὲ καὶ τοῦ πτεροῦ ληφθῇ, γεγωνότερον βοῶντι. Καὶ σὺ δὴ, ὦ κακὸδαμον ἄνθρωπε, τί βουλόμενος ποιητὴν λάλον παροξύνεις ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν αἰτίας ζητοῦντα καὶ ὑποθέσεις τοῖς ἰάμβοις;

That the attempts of Munro and others to join these *disiecta membra* into a consistent whole are nugatory is almost self-evident. For

(1) The MSS show traces of confusion in placing after 1 the two verses L. 16, 17, which are found also in their proper place.

(2) The MSS point in 2 to a proper name. *Et eri*, *Et heri*, *et beri*, are forms which a name not understood, and therefore corrupted, naturally assumes. A name too is required by the paral-

<sup>1</sup> Ger. Voss states that *salaputium* was first restored to Catullus by Beroaldus in his Commentary on Suetonius' Life of Caesar. He inclines to make it = *salax puta* (πρῶστη), but hesitatingly, and mentioning as the next probability Salmasius' *salopygium*, in the sense of a wag-tail, in reference to Calvus' restless bobbing up and down.

lelism of the three lines: each contains a person and a personal characteristic.

(3) Even if we allow the first five lines to be consecutive, the aposiopesis before *Irascere iterum* is immeasurably harsh, not to say unintelligible. It is certain that nothing like it is found in any complete poem of Catullus.

(4) Nothing is gained by interpreting the poem as a complete whole. Everything shows that the MS of Catullus from which all extant MSS spring was imperfect. Why should we deny here what is allowed in XIV<sup>b</sup>, LI. 8, LXI. 79 sqq., 108 sqq., LXII. 32 sqq., LXVIII. 47 sqq., XCV. 4? And in this part of the MSS there are other traces of confusion: thus the verses *Non custos si fingar ille Cretum—Essem te mihi, amice, quaeritando* are inserted in the MSS after LVIII. 5, whereas they obviously belong to LV, and the Bodleian codex (O), perhaps the oldest extant, has a space of five lines before LXI.

Nothing is known with certainty of the men alluded to. They may have belonged to the humbler class of the triumvirs' adherents: for Caesar, to use the words of Caelius Rufus in a letter to Cicero (Fam. viii. 4. 2) *Solet infimorum hominum amicitiam sibi qualibet impensa adiungere*; and the personal peculiarities satirized by Catullus in 2, 3 would be suitable to such men, and less dangerous to attack than in a higher rank. Schwabe thinks the *Sufficio* of 5 may be Fuficius Fango, who is mentioned by Dion C. xlviii. 22, 23 as appointed by Caesar to govern Africa, maintaining an unsuccessful struggle with T. Sextius, and finally committing suicide. He is described as having risen to the senate from the ranks, and for this reason unpopular with the provincials: he would thus be a fit subject for attack; but if he was occupied with active military service in 41–40 B.C. he could hardly be called *senex* at the time Catullus wrote this poem. (Schwabe Quaest. p. 225.) For *et eri (heri, beri)* of MSS I suggested in vol. I *Hirri*<sup>1</sup> or *Hirrei*. This at least is the name of a well-known partisan of Caesar's, Macrobi. iii. 15. 10 *Auctor est Plinius C. Caesarem dictatorem, cum triumphales cenas populo daret, sex milia murenarum a Gaius Hirrio ad pondus accepisse. Huius Hirrii uillam, quamuis non amplam aut latam, constat propter uiuaria quae habuit quadragies HS uenumdatam.* Varro R. R. iii. 17. 3 *Hirrius* (so MSS, *Hirrus* Keil) *circum piscinas suas ex aedificiis duodena milia sestertia (sestaria MSS) capiebat. eam omnem mercedem escis quas dabat piscibus consumebat. non mirum: uno tempore enim memini hunc Caesari duo milia murenarum mutua dedisse in pondus et propter piscium multitudinem quadragies sestertio nullam uenisse.* It is more than probable that this is the Hirrus whom Cic. mentions Q. Fr. iii. 8. 4 as intending to propose Pompeius as dictator. *Rumor dictatoris iniucundus bonis: mihi etiam magis quae loquantur. Sed tota res et timetur et refrigescit. Pompeius plane se negat uelle: antea ipse mihi non negabat. Hirrus (Hirpus M) auctor fore uidetur. O di, quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine riuali . . . Velit nolit, scire difficile est. Hirro (Hirrio pr. M) tamen agente, nolle se non probabit.* Q. Fr. iii. 9. 3 *De dictatore tamen actum adhuc nihil est. Pompeius abest. Appius miscet. Hirrus (Hircius M) parat.* Att. iv. 16. 11, written in the

<sup>1</sup> This conj. of mine, published in 1878, is to some extent confirmed by the coinciding emendation of F. Hermes in his Frankfort on Oder programme of the present year (1888).

autumn of 700 | 54, *Res fuit ad interregnum, et est nonnullus odor dictaturae*. This Hirrus is described by Caelius, who stood against him for the aedileship in 703 | 51, as very unpopular: *eorum odia quae Hirrum premunt, quae permulla sunt* (Fam. viii. 3. 1). The words of Cicero (Q. Fr. iii. 8. 4) present him as a vain self-conceited man. As such, and as a friend of both triumvirs, he would be a proper mark for Catullus' satire.

B. Schmidt p. xxxiii rightly concludes from *unice imperator* that LIV was written after XXIX. F. Hermes thinks it was composed immediately before the outbreak of the civil war.

1. *oppido*, an old word beginning to be antiquated and obsolete in Quintilian's time (viii. 3. 25). Nonius explains it as = *ualde*, Paulus Diac. as *ualde multum*. According to Corssen ii. p. 870 its original meaning was 'on the ground,' 'on the spot:' he compares the Homeric ἄμπεδον: and so Curtius. 'On the spot' might easily pass into 'down-right,' as *funditus*, 'from the bottom,' passes into 'utterly.' Key ingeniously translates 'flatly' = 'quite, absolutely.' *pusillum*. Aristotle Problems 30. 3, associates a small head with prudence (φρόνησις); the Physiognomon edited by Rose, in his *Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina* (Berlin 1864), on the contrary says p. 114 *Caput breue sine sensu sine sapientia est. Caput breue prope rotundum impudentiae argumentum est: refertur ad rapaces aues*. According to the same author p. 161 Polemon made a narrow slanting head one characteristic of his ideal μωροπονηρός. *Othonis*. *GO* give *Otonis*, which Bährens retains, quoting Cic. Orat. xlviii. 160 *Orciuios tamen et Matones Otones Caepiones sepulcra coronas lacrimas dicimus quia per aurium iudicium licet*. If Cat. wrote *Otonis*, it was in deference to ancient usage, which wrote *Celegos triumphos Kartaginem*. The name is very rare in Latin inscriptions; of the only three I have found in the C. I. L., two have the *h*, iii. 3052 (Dalmatian) *L. Veratius Otho*, xiv. 2060 *Othoniani*, the other *h*, iii. 3817 (Pannonian) *Tertius Otonis F.* In Tacitus *M* seems to give *Otho* regularly, cf. Greek Ὀθων; the omission of the *h* in *GO* is quite as likely to be medieval as in hundreds of similar instances; as Sandys remarks (Orator p. 181), *Otones Matones* indicates the pronunciation rather than the orthography. Hence I retain *Othonis* with most edd.

2. *rusticoe*<sup>1</sup>, a change from the third person to the second, 'you, clownish Herius, have legs only half-washed,' like Persius i. 73 *Vnde Remus, sulcoque terens dentalia, Quinti*, where Conington quotes Verg. Aen. vii. 684 *Quos diues Anagnia pascit, Quos Amasene pater*. Manil. ii. 439 *Ianigerum Pallus, taurum Cythera tuctur, Formosos Phoebus geminos, Cyllenie cancrum*. Luc. iii. 280 *Hinc et Sidoniae gentes auroque ligatas Substringens, Arimaspe, comas*. For the omission of *tibi* cf. Inscript. Pomp. C. I. L. iv. 1055 *Hysachryse puer, Natalis uerpa salutat. semilauta, ἡμιλautha*, a double offence, not only bare but dirty. *crura*, to expose the legs was a sign of rusticity. Philetaerus ap. Athenaeum 21 Ἀμφὶ στέρνους φάρος οὐ καθήσται, τάλαν; μὴδ' ἀγχιόικος ἄνω γόνατος ἀμφέξει; on which Eustathius on Homer p. 1164 quoted by Meineke iii. 300 says δοκεὶ γὰρ ὁ σκαπτόμενος ψαλὰ ἐνδύσας κρηφαίνεταί τὰ σκέλη; and so

<sup>1</sup> Birt Antike Bachwesen p. 404 thinks *Rusticoe* may be a proper name, as Statius believed. But the half-washed shanks seem to suit better as a description of rusticity.



Theophrastus makes it a sign of the *ἄγρικός* to sit *ἀναβεβλημένος ἄνω τοῦ γόνατος*. Aelian, describing Zoilus the critic of Homer, says he wore his beard long, his hair close-cropt, his robe above his knee, V. H. xi. 10.

3. **peditum** seems to be *ἀπ. λεγ.* Scaliger is no doubt right in explaining the line of a diseased incapacity for containing the wind, cf. Mart. iv. 87. 4, vii. 18. 9, 10, x. 14. 10, Plato Rep. iii. 405 *φύσας τε καὶ κατάρρους νοσήμασιν ὀνόματα τίθεσθαι*. Libonis. Perhaps L. Scribonius Libo, father-in-law of Sex. Pompeius (F. Hermes).

6. I have inserted this verse here as agreeing with the last two **Irascere iterum—unice imperator**. Porphyry on Hor. C. i. 16. 24 *Iambi autem uersus aptissimi habentur ad maledicendum. Denique et Catullus, cum maledicta minaretur sic ait, At non effugies meos iambos*. At any rate this seems more probable than Hauthal's view, that the line belongs to XL, a poem complete in itself: Westphal's hypothesis that it is part of a lost poem between XIV, XV is gratuitous; and not justified by the three lines still remaining of XIV<sup>b</sup>. Birt follows me in connecting the v. with LIV. He considers it to be part of the *second* of the two poems which he re-constructs from the fragments given by the MSS (Ant. Buchwesen p. 404).

9 (4). Scaliger seems right in supposing **Si non** to be the relic of an adjuration, *peream si non*, or something similar. Hor. S. i. 9. 48 *Dispercam ni Summos omnes*, ii. 1. 6 *Peream male si non Optimum erat*. Mart. ii. 5. 2 *Si non mentiris, Classice, dispeream. omnia displicere uellem*, an indifference to Caesar's good opinion like XCIII. *uellem*, 'I could wish,' as often. Hor. S. i. 3. 41, ii. 2. 40.

10 (6). **Sufficio**, the reading of MSS, was retained in my first ed. and might be supported by some MSS of Verr. ii. 12. 31, Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 25. But it is doubtful whether this name occurs in Inscriptt., hence I now adopt Haupt's generally received **Fuficio**. Vitruvius vii. Praef. 14 mentions a Fuficius (so Rose's two best MSS) as one of the earliest Roman writers on architecture. *In ea re ab Graecis uolumina plura edita, ab nostris oppido quam pauca. Fuficius enim mirum de his rebus ni primus instituit edere uolumen, item Terentius Varro de nouem disciplinis unum de architectura, Publius Septimius duo. recocto*, 'rejuvenescent,' 'in his second youth,' i. e. an old man who affects the manners and morals of young men. The idea is a common one in Greek from the Iliad (ix. 446) onwards; Demos in the *Equites* of Aristophanes appears at the end of the play 1321, 1336 rejuvenescent from a magic cauldron in which Agoracritus has boiled him as Medea boiled Aeson and the nurses of Bacchus; in the *Ῥήρας* Aristophanes introduced a number of such young old men; Euripides often plays on the idea Heracl. 746 *νέος μετίστηκ' ἐκ γέροντος αὖθις αὖ* of the old Iolaus doing the doughty deeds of youth. Suppl. 1080, *ἰ τί δὲ βροτοῖσιν οὐκ ἴστω τόδε, Νέους δις εἶναι καὶ γέροντας αὖ πάλιν*; 1084-7 *εἰ δ' ἤμιν νέοι δις καὶ γέροντες, εἴ τις ἐξημάρτανε, Διπλοῦ βίου λαχόντες ἐξωρθούμεθ' ἄν*: Alciphron ii. 2 describes Epicurus as a *πάλιν μαιρακευόμενος πρεσβύτερ*, cf. Plaut. Trin. i. 2. 5 *Senecta aetate qui factus puer, Qui admisit in se culpam castigabilem*, Merc. ii. 2. 19-28, where the idea is drawn out and played upon; see especially 24, 25 *Senex quom extemplo iam nec sentit nec sapit, Aiunt solere cum rursum repuerascere*. The *ἀπεφθός γέρον* of glossaries is obscure; it

perhaps means 'a double-refined old man,' i. e. an old man in whom the qualities of old age appear in sublimated form, like gold purified by boiling: *seni recocto* would then be nearly i. q. *ueteratori*.

## LV.

THIS poem cannot have been written earlier than 699 | 55, to which year most accounts assign the dedication of Pompeius' theatre, with the adjoining piazza (*Magni ambulatione* 6); but it may be later, as Varro and Tiro Tullius, Cicero's freedman, stated that this theatre was dedicated in the *third* consulship of Pompeius (Gell. x. 1), which would remove the date to 702 | 52. Catullus is generally thought to have died two years before this; but as Jerome's Chronicle is certainly erroneous in assigning his death to 697 | 57, we are left to internal arguments, and these seem to make a later date *possible*.

Catullus describes here the laborious search he had made to find his friend Camerius, a person only known to us from this poem, but described distinctly enough as a man about town. The interest of the poem lies chiefly in the topographical notices which it contains of the fashionable localities of Rome. Plautus may have suggested the idea, Amph. iv. 1. 1 sqq.

*Naucratem quem conuenire uolui in naui non erat.  
Neque domi neque in urbe inuenio quemquam qui illum uiderit:  
Nam omnis plateas perreplauit, gymnasia et myrropolia,  
Aput emporium atque in macello, in palaestra atque in foro,  
In medicinis, in lonstrinis, apud omnis aedis sacras.*

*Sum defessus quaeritando, nusquam inuenio Naucratem.*  
A passage repeated with slight variations Epid. ii. 2. 13 sqq., cf. Ter. Ad. iv. 6. 1-5: both doubtless in imitation of a Greek original.

This is the only poem of Catullus in which the second foot of the phalaecian is a spondee, though it is found once in an inscription of eight phalaecians C. I. L. ii. 59 *Me aetatis uicesimo dolebis*<sup>1</sup>. Here it alternates with the regular dactyl. The effect is certainly displeasing; but it has given by contrast an increased rapidity to the lines *Non si Pegaseo ferar uolatu—Quos iunctos, Cameri, mihi dicares*, in which Catullus has sought to express the idea of swiftness.

1. *si forte non molestum est*, variation on the common *nisi molestum est* (Süss), Ter. Ad. v. 3. 20 *Ausculat paucis nisi molestumst*. Cic. Cluent. lx. 168 *Tu autem, nisi molestum est, paulisper exsurge*. MSS give *molestus es*, which Roszbach retained writing *molestus* as *beatus* XXIII. 27. 'If you are not out of humour, in a bad temper,' as perhaps in a fragment of Caelius' speech *De Vi* (Quintil. xi. 1. 51) *ne cui uestrum . . . meus aut uultus molestior aut uox immoderatio aliqua aut denique quod minimum est iactantior gestus fuisse uideatur*. Gloss. Ball. *Molestus iracundus amarus*. Gloss. Bodl. Auct. T. ii. 24 *moleste fert irascitur*. [This meaning is hardly well made out.]

<sup>1</sup> The experiment is like the spondaic pentameters Anth. P. xiii. 1. 4. 5 *Ἐν τῷ αἶματι μύθος ἐργασίην τε καλοῖσι Πάντα γὰρ τῷ αἵματι σὺν ἀπλοῖς τιμῇ.*

2. *tenebrae*, 'den,' but in a somewhat less definitely local sense than Juvenal's *tenebras unum conducis in annum* iii. 225, where see Mayor. Varro ap. Non. 120 *In tenebris ac suili uiuunt*. Sest. ix. 20 *hominem emersum subito ex diuturnis tenebris lustrorum ac stuprorum, uino ganeis lenociniis adulteriisque confectum . . . qui ne lucem* (v. 26) *quidem insolitam adspicere posset*. **Demostres**. Fröhner calls attention to this spelling of the Datanus (and virtually of a which has *demostret*). See Wagner's Orthographia Vergiliana p. 456, Ribbeck Prolegom. p. 435, Corssen Aussprache i. p. 254.

3. **campo minore**. Becker (Römisch. Alterth. i. p. 599) mentions two hypotheses as to this smaller Campus: (1) that it is the *ἄλλο πεδίον* of Strabo 236 *τούτων δὲ τὰ πλείστα ὁ Μάρτιος ἔχει κάμπος, πρὸς τῇ φύσει προσλαβὼν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς προνοίας κόσμον. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πεδίου θανμαστὸν ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἀρματοδρομίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππασίαν ἀκόλυτον παρέχον τῷ τοσοῦτῳ πλήθει τῶν σφαίρα καὶ κρίκῳ καὶ παλαιίστρῳ γυμναζομένων. καὶ τὰ περικείμενα ἔργα καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ποάζον δι' ἔτους καὶ τῶν λόφων στεφάναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ ρείθρου σκηνογραφικὴν ὄψιν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι δυσπαλάλακτον παρέχουσι τὴν θίαν. πλησίον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ πεδίου τούτου καὶ ἄλλο πεδίον καὶ στοὰι κύκλοι παμπελθεῖς καὶ ἄλσῃ καὶ θέατρα τρία καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ ναοὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλοις, ὥς πάρεργον ἂν δόξειεν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν*. This *ἄλλο πεδίον* is supposed to be that part of the Campus Martius where the ground forms an angle with the Tiber, where the Equiria took place (Ovid, F. iii. 520) and the youth of Rome bathed (Cael. xv. 36). Becker objects to this that it does not agree either with the order of the places mentioned by Catullus, who, on this view, ought to have mentioned the *ambulatio Pompeii* next, whereas both the Circus and the Capitol precede; nor with Strabo himself, who implies that this *ἄλλο πεδίον* was not used for purposes of exercise. (2) It may be, as Scaliger held, the Campus Martialis on the Caelian, where the Equiria took place if the Campus Martius was flooded, Ovid, F. iii. 522, Paul Diac. p. 131 M. This would agree with its juxtaposition to the Circus Maximus, with its *tabernae librariae*<sup>1</sup>. Propertius seems to allude to two Campi ii. 23. 5, 6 *Et quaerit totiens 'Quaenam nunc porticus illam Integit?' et 'Campo quo mouet illa pedes?'*

4. **circo**, a favorite haunt of *meretrices*, Ovid, A. A. i. 135 sqq. *Nec te nobilium fugiat certamen equorum: Multa capax populi commoda Circus habet. Nil opus est digitis per quos arcana loquaris, Nec tibi per nutus accipienda nota est. Proximus a domina nullo prohibente sedeto: Iunge tuum lateri quam potes usque latus*. Am. iii. 2, Trist. ii. 283, 4. Iuven. iii. 65, as well as of the people generally, Sen. de Ira ii. 8. 1 *Circum in quo maximam sui partem populus ostendit*. **libellis** is generally interpreted 'book-shops,' as in Mart. v. 20. 8, perhaps Priap. ii. 2 *Horto carmina digna non libello*: so τὰ βιβλία an Attic name for the bookmart in Pollux ix. 47, quoted by Voss *ἐν δὲ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ βιβλιοθήκαι, ἡ ὡς Εὐπολὶς φησιν 'οὐ τὰ βιβλία ὥναι, καὶ αὐτὸ ἐφ' αὐτοῦ. οὕτω γὰρ τὸν τόπον οὐ τὰ βιβλία οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ὀνόμαζον, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τόπους ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς πιπρασκομένων*. Cicero Phil. ii. 9. 21 speaks of book-shops in the forum, and Asconius on Mil. p. 34

<sup>1</sup> 'The passage of Catullus seems more probably to refer to the Martialis Campus, which was near the Circus Maximus, and it is likely that Strabo meant to denote by *ἄλλο πεδίον* the Campus Agrippae, a name sometimes given to the central part of Campes Martius.' Burn, Rome and the Campagna, p. 303.

describes the body of Clodius as burnt in the curia *codicibus librariorum*. Yet this use of the word seems doubtful for the age of Catullus; hence *libellis* possibly = 'placards,' either (1) announcing the sale of Camerius' effects, as insolvent (Pro Quint. vi. 25, Sen. de Ben. iv. 12), or (2) giving notice of him as a lost article, as in Apuleius M. vi. 7 *libellum ei porrigit, ubi Psyche nomen continebatur et cetera*, Curius Fortunatianus Rhetor. i. 16, cited by Hildebrand, *cuius servus fugerat, libello proposito, dixit daturum se denarios mille ei qui ad se servum perduxisset*. Such a *libellus* might be issued either by the master of the article lost (Prop. iii. 23. 21-24) or by the finder, who in this way intimated his discovery, and called upon the owner to claim it. In this sense *in omnibus libellis* would be a sort of *παρ' ὁποῦναι* joke; 'I have looked for you everywhere, in the smaller Campus, the Circus, every place where I was likely to hear of missing articles.'

5. *templo* as Plautus Amph. iv. 1. 5 *apud omnis aedis sacras* mentions the temples with the gymnasia, meat-markets, fora, medicine- and hair-cutting-shops as places where the missing Naucrates was likely to be found. *summi Iouis*, i. e. Capitolini, as Martial ix. 1. 5 calls him *summi patris*. The great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with its two side cellae of Minerva and Juno, built by Tarquinius Superbus (Tac. Hist. iii. 72, Liu. i. 55), was burnt in 671 | 83 *L. Scipione, C. Norbano consulibus* Tac. Hist. iii. 72. Sulla undertook to restore it, and some columns taken by him from the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens were used for the new building (Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 45), but the work was really carried out and completed by Q. Lutatius Catulus. (Verr. iv. 31. 69, ib. 38. 82.) It was dedicated by him in 685 | 69 (Liu. Perioch. 98), and his name was inscribed upon the pediment, and remained there in spite of the attempt made by J. Caesar, when praetor in 692 | 62, to have it erased (Suet. Caes. 15, Dion C. xxxvii. 44), down to the time of Vitellius, when the temple was again burnt (Tac. Hist. iii. 72, Plut. Poplic. 15). Hence Cicero Verr. iv. 31. 69 speaks of the restored temple as Catulus' *clarissimum pulcherrimumque monumentum* and declares that the eternal memory of his name was consecrated with it. *templo summi Iouis sacrato* virtually = 'temple consecrated to supreme Jupiter,' though the genitive depends rather on *templo* than *sacrato*; cf. LXI. 122. *sacrato* is not otiose, calling attention as it does to the still new consecration of the building, and thus suggesting a further reason why idlers might be found there. Temples however were acknowledged resorts of *meretrices*. Ovid, Trist. ii. 287-294, mentions them with the theatres, circus, and porticoes in this connexion. *Quis locus est templis augustinus? haec quoque uilet In culpam si qua est ingeniosa suam. Cum steterit Iouis aede, Iouis succurret in aede, Quam multas matres fecerit ille deus. Proxima adoranti Iunonia templa, subibit, Paelicibus multis hanc doluisse deam. Pallade conspecta natum de crimine uirgo Sustulerit quare, quaeret, Erichthonium, a passage which seems to refer to the Capitoline temple with its three cellae of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. Seneca ap. Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei vi. 10 shows how religious pretexts drew women there: *Sunt quae Iunoni ac Mineruae capillos disponant longe a templo non tantum a simulacro stantes, digitos moueant orantium modo. . . Sedent quaedam in Capitolio quae se a Ioue amari putant nec Iunonis quidem si credere poetis uelis iracundissimae respectu terreniur*. Tertullian Apologet. 15 *Si adiciam in templis adulteria componi,**

nter aras lenocinia tractari, in ipsis plerumque aedituorum et sacerdotum labernaculis sub isdem uittis et apicibus et purpuris ture flagrante libidinem expungi, where Rigault quotes Suet. Tib. 44. See Döllinger Gentile and Jew ii. pp. 184, 197 Eng. Transl.

6. **Magni.** A name given to Pompeius by Sulla on his return from the war in Africa, 673 | 81, according to Plutarch, Plut. Pomp. 13, Reg. et Imp. Apophthegm. s.v. *Pompeius*, according to Livy Perioch. 103, on the occasion of his triumph over the children of Mithridates in the last days of September 693 | 61<sup>1</sup>. Cicero uses the name, Att. ii. 13. 2, written 695 | 59 *Quanto in odio noster amicus Magnus! cuius cognomen una cum Crassi Diuitis cognomine consensescit* (Mayor on Phil. ii. 26. 64): in another letter of the same year, Att. ii. 19. 3, he says *ludis Apollinaribus* (in the first week of July) *Diphilus tragoedus in nostrum Pompeium petulanter inuectus est, Nostra miseria tu es Magnus; milies coactus est dicere*. The name must therefore have been familiarly known at this time. **ambulatione**, the Porticus Pompeii, adjoining the theatre which Pompeius built in his second<sup>2</sup> consulship 699 | 55 (Plut. Pomp. 52, Vell. P. ii. 48, Asconius in Pisonian. pp. 1, 15). Cicero speaks of it de Fato iv. 8 written apparently 710 | 44 *Quid enim loci natura afferre potest ut in porticu Pompeii potius quam in Campo ambulemus?* Propertius describes it in his time as planted with planes and hung with tapestry ii. 32. 11 *Scilicet umbris sordet Pompeia columnis Porticus aulaeis nobilis Attalicis Et creber platanis pariter surgentibus ordo*. It was much frequented by courtesans, Prop. iv. 8. 75, Ovid, A. A. i. 67.

7. **Femellas** seems to be ἀν. λεγ. 'light women.' **prendi**, 'accosted,' as in And. ii. 2. 16, Phorm. iv. 3. 15. So Ovid, A. A. ii. 627 *excutes omnes ubicumque puellas*.

8. 'But found they faced me sedately notwithstanding.' **tamen**, 'after all,' in spite of my earnestness and decided suspicion. **serenas**, with no trace of a cloud on their faces.

9. **Auellent** expresses as an indignant protest in the third person what would more naturally take the form of a direct question in the second: so XLVII. 6, 7. **ipso**, 'with my own lips,' a sign of determination. 'non per pedisequum,' Bährens. So perhaps CVI. 1 *uidet ipse*, 'sees with his own eyes.' **flagitabam**, XLII. 6. But see Excursus.

10. **Camerium.** This resolution of the first foot of a phalaecian occurs here only. **pessimae puellae**, 'shameful wenches,' reproachfully, I think, as in XXXVI. 9.

11. **nudum reducta**, proleptic, 'with her bosom drawn back bare,' i.e. with the robe drawn back from her bosom so as to leave it bare. The action, done so openly, implies a *meretrix* of the less refined class, such as Propertius describes iv. 8. 29-34 as using all their blandishments to distract him from thinking of Cynthia, *Cantabant surdo, nudabant pectora caeco* ib. 47. [MSS give *nudum reduc*; possibly *cadurcum* has fallen

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion in Drumann iv. 335, 6. Drumann sums up the evidence in favour of the earlier date, the return from the African war. The title *Magnus* is found on coins prior to the Mithridatic war.

<sup>2</sup> Gellius states (N. A. x. 1) that Pompeius dedicated the temple of Victory which surmounted his theatre in his *third* consulship, 702 | 52, and that in consequence of the doubt whether *consul tertio* or *tertium* was better grammar, he inscribed upon the theatre at the advice of Cicero TERT.

out, 'draw back the bedding bare to light' and you will find him *in roseis papillis*. Vallas' Schol. on Iuuen. vi. 537 Bücheler *Cadurco. membrum mulieris, inquit Probus, intelligitur, cum sit membri muliebris uelamen, uel, ut alii, est instita qua lectus intenditur, unde ait Sulpicia: si* (MSS *ne*) *me cadurcis dissolutis fasciis Nudam Caleno concubantem proferat*. Mayor on Iuuen. vii. 221 *niueique cadurci*. 'Bedding of linen, so called from the Cadurci, whose district was afterwards called *Cahorsin*, now *Querci*, in Guienne, who were famous for the manufacture. Strabo iv. p. 191.']

12. 'Look, this is where he is hiding, in the rosebuds of the bosom.' Not, I think, 'of my bosom'; she only points to her own breast as a lively and natural way of showing Catullus what his friend is about. *papilla* means (1) the nipple of the breast, (2) a rosebud, Peruigilium Veneris 14, 21; hence a special propriety in *roseis*. Plato describes Love as sleeping in roses, fr. 32 Bergk αὐτὸς δ' ἐν καλύκεσσι ῥόδων πεπεδημένος ὕπνῳ εἶδεν μεδιόων, cf. Anth. P. v. 210. 4. The passage has been imitated by Ben Jonson, *Masques At Court* 1608 *Look all these ladies' eyes, And see if there he not concealed lies, Or in their bosoms twixt their swelling breasts, The wag affects to make himself such nests*.

13. 'But indeed it is a task for Hercules to bear with you any longer.' *ferre*, as in Heaut. i. 2. 28 *nam quem ferret, si parentem non ferret suum?* Cic. Acad. Prior. xxxiv. 108 *Herculi laborem quendam esse exanclatum a Carneade*. The only other meaning *ferre* could have 'to carry you off' as a prize, as Hercules *aurea mala tulit* (Mart. ix. 101. 4, quoted by Voss) is strained and does not suit *iam* so well. *Herculei* = *Herculi* of Acad. Prior. xxxiv. 108. This form of the genitive was not archaic either to Catullus or Cicero. *labos*. Nonius 487 *Vapor et uapōs et timor et timos et labor et labos ita sunt ut color et colos*; he quotes Lucretius for *odos* (vi. 952), Naeuius for *timos pauos*, Accius for *uapōs*, Varro for *labos*. Varro has besides *colos* (Prometh. iii. Riese). Lachmann on Lucr. vi. 1260 adds *honus lepos arbos*, and observes that except *arbos* they all have the first syllable short. Quintilian i. 4. 13 where *clamos* is also mentioned, regards the form as an archaism like *Valesii Fusii*, but *clamos* is not known to exist in any author certainly, and Prof. Nettleship has shown that it has a very doubtful right to be ascribed to Ennius (Camb. Journal of Philology, 1870, p. 98). With *Herculei labos* cf. Varro's *Herculis athla* Eum. xii Riese. Catullus perhaps thought of the first lines of Plautus' *Persa* (i. 1. 1-5) *Qui amans egens ingressus est princeps amoris in uias Superauit aerumnis suis aerumnas omnis Herculi. Nam cum leone cum excetra cum ceruo cum apro Aetolico, Cum aubus Stymphalicis, cum Antaeo deluctari mauelim Quam cum amore: ita fio miser quaerundo argento mutuo*. Cf. Cicero's joke, Verr. iv. 43. 95 *aiēbant in labores Herculis non minus hunc inmanissimum uerrem quam illum aprum Erymanthium referri oportere*.

14. 'With such determined pride you withhold your company.' *Tanto*, as *tantum* XXII. 11, and *ita* in the lines of the *Persa* just quoted. *in* as in *Bacch.* iv. 9. 91 *in stultitia si desiqui*. Liu. xxxvii. 37 *Iliensibus in omni rerum uerborumque honore ab se oriundos Romanos praeferebantibus*. Prop. ii. 15. 11 *Non decet in caeco uenrem corrumpere motu*. In such cases *in* is not pleonastic, but expresses a *course* of conduct. *amico*. Pleitner is perhaps right in preferring the conj. of *Hand amico*, dat. after *negas te*, 'you deny yourself to your friend.'

15-24. To search for you would task the strongest and swiftest personages of mythology. 15-18 are imitated by Propertius ii. 30. 3-6

*Non si Pegasus uecteres in aere dorso Nec tibi si Persei mouerit ala pedes, Vel si te sectae rapiant talaribus aurae Nil tibi Mercurii proderit alta uia.* Victorius compares Alexis (Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. 476, Kock 201) Ἔμοι παρασιτεῖν κρείττον ἦν τῷ Πηγάσῳ ἢ τοῖς Βορεάδασι ἢ εἴ τι θάπτον ἔτι τρέχει ἡ Δαίμων Δάχνης Ἐρεοβουτάδῃ. Πέτεται γάρ, οὐκ οἷον βαδίζει τὰς ὁδοὺς.

15. *custos Cretum*. Talos, a giant, or gigantic moveable statue of brass, fabricated by Hephaistos for Minos to guard Crete. Talos made a circuit of Crete three times a year (Plato Minos 321) or three times a day (Apollod. i. 9. 26) warning off intruders, and killing them if they resisted, according to Simonides and Sophocles in his Daedalus by leaping into fire, and then crushing them in a red-hot embrace. Suid. in *Ζαρδάκιος γέλως*, Schol. in Platon. Remp. 396. Apollod. i. 9. 26 Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀναχθέντες κωλύονται Κρήτη προσίσχειν ὑπὸ Τάλῳ. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ γένους εἶναι λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου Μίνῳι δοθῆναι. ὃς ἦν χαλκοῦς ὤψρ· οἱ δὲ Ταῦρον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν. εἶχε δὲ φλέβα μίαν ἀπὸ αὐχένος κατατείνουσιν ἄχρι σφυρῶν κατὰ δὲ τὸ δέρμα τῆς φλεβὸς ἥλος διήρειστο χαλκοῦς. οὗτος ὁ Τάλως τρίς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν νῆσον περιτροχάζων ἐτήρει· διὸ καὶ τότε τὴν Ἀργὴν προσπλίουσαν θεωρῶν τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλεν. The scene is described by Apollonius Argon. iv. 1636 sqq. *finger*, should be wrought into the legendary statue which guarded Crete. So Tib. iv. 1. 206 *mutata figura* *Seu me finget ecum rigidos percurrere campos*.

16. *Pegaseo*. Ov. Pont. iv. 7. 52 *Ante citos quantum Pegasus ibat equos*.

17. *Ladas*. Paus. iii. 21. 1 Προελθόντι δὲ αὐτόθεν σταδίους ἱκοσι τοῦ Εὐρώτα τὸ ρεύμα ἐγγυτάτῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ γίγνεται, καὶ Λάδα μνημᾶ ἐστὶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλλομένου ποδῶν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπίαισιν ἐστεφανοῦτο δολίχῳ κρατῶν, δοκεῖν δέ μοι κάμνων αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐκομίζετο, καὶ συμβάσης ἐνταῦθα αἱ τελευταῖαι τῆς δόξης ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον. Τὸν δὲ ὁμώνυμον τοῦτ' ἔκρινεν καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀλυμπίαισι πλὴν οὐ δολίχου σταδίου δὲ ἀνελόμενον Ἀχαιὸν ἐξ Αἰγίου φησὶν εἶναι τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Ἡλείων γράμματα. In ii. 19. 7 Pausanias mentions a statue of him, τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Λάδας, ποδῶν ὠκύτητι ὑπερβαλλόμενος τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, and a Ladas' stadium on the road to the Arcadian Orchomenus, viii. 12. 5. The other Ladas mentioned by Pausanias iii. 21. 1, x. 23. 14 as a native of Aegium in Achaia and victor in the stadium Ol. 125. 2 was less famous; but the two names were probably confounded. According to Hesychius *ladas* was the name of a pricket or young stag.

18. *Rhesi*. The Thracian king whose snow-white horses were captured by Ulysses and Diomed on the night of his arrival at Troy as the ally of Priam. *niueae*, Il. x. 436 Τοῦ δὲ καλλίστους ἵππους ἴδον ἦδε μεγάστους. Λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὅμοιοι. Eur. Rhes. 301 ὄρω δὲ Ῥῆσον ὥστε δαίμονα ἔστω· ἐν ἱππέιοις Θρηκίοις ὄχοις. Χρυσὴ δὲ πλίστιγξ αἰχένα ζυγηφόρον Πύλων ἔκλεψε χιόνος ἐξαυγεστέρων. The order of these four vv. 15-18, altered by Muretus and some modern editors, seems to me unexceptionable: *ferar* must of course be supplied in 17, 18. The recurrence of *si* in the two first lines (15, 16) makes its omission less harsh in the two following (17, 18); on the other hand there is something strange and painful to the ear if the first *si* is separated from the second, to say nothing of the changes thus required in 18, *bigis* (Muret.) *de*

(Hand), the latter certainly wrong, unless the objection brought by Caesar against *quadriga* (Gell. xix. 8) may be held not to apply to *biga*, which is found in Statius S. iii. 4. 46.

19. **plumipedas**, 'feather-footed' (B. Jonson), such as *ὁ πτερόπους* 'Epμῆs Philodemus in Anth. P. xvi. 234. 4. For the form cf. *remipedas* in Varro's *Sexagessis* 489 Bücheler. **uolatilesque**, e.g. Daedalus, Zetes and Calais, who *Impubes Calaisque puer Zetesque fuerunt. Mox pariter ritu pennae coepere uolucrum Cingere utrumque latus, pariter flaescere malae* Ov. Met. vi. 716. Theognis joins them with the Harpies 715 Ὀκύρεος δ' εἴηθα πόδας ταχέων Ἀρπυιῶν καὶ παίδων βορέω, τῶν ἄφαρ εἰσι πόδες.

20, 21. 'And with them ask for the fleetness of the winds, that you might yoke them together and make them over to my service.'

21. **iunctos** seems to combine the meanings of 'yoked' and 'all together;' the winds are to be harnessed in a team. **dicares**, as Phorm. i. 2. 12 *hanc operam tibi dico*, Caesar B. G. vi. 13 *sese in seruitutem dicant nobilibus*.

23. **langoribus**, 'one faintness after another.' Heaut. iv. 6. 2, 3 *Vel me haec deambulatio Quam non laboriosa ad langorem dedit*. The spondaic rhythm, following seven dactylic lines, suits the idea of labour and exhaustion. **peresus Essem**, 'I should be devoured,' not 'I should have been devoured.' See on XXXIV. 14, 16, LXIV. 317. Here the combination of **peresus** with **Defessus** takes from the harshness of the construction. The words are combined by Serenus Sammonicus 62 describing the death of Sulla by phthiriasis. *Sylla quoque infelix tali languore peresus corruit et foedo se uidit ab agmine uinci*.

25-32. 'Tell me where I shall have a chance of finding you. If you are in love, speak it out; the whole enjoyment of love lies in frank acknowledgment. Or if you are determined to keep your lips shut, I will bear it, provided only you listen to my own confessions.'

25. **Dic nobis ubi sis futurus**. Att. xiv. 7. 1 *Brutum nostrum audio uisum sub Lanuuiio. Vbi tandem est futurus?* **ede**, 'give out,' Iuuen. iii. 74, 296. Here, as there, *ede* seems to begin a clause; to make **ubi sis futurus** depend upon it takes from the abruptness and so from the force of the line.

26. **Audacter** stands doubtfully between **ede** and **committe**, and might be constructed with either. The metre shows that Cat. preferred the shorter form against *audaciter* which some perverse supporters of analogy kept up in Quintilian's time i. 6. 17. Quintilian's assertion *licet omnes oratores aliud sequantur*, i.e. preferred *audacter*, seems to be supported by the MSS of Cicero generally, even in Rosc. Am. xxxvi. 104 where Priscian read *audaciter* (ii. p. 76 Keil): cf. Key L. D. s.v., but in Font. v. 11 the ancient codex in the Basilica of S. Peter's has *audaciter*. **committe** is also ambiguous, (1) 'risk it,' absolutely, somewhat like Ov. Met. ix. 631, (2) 'entrust it' with **lucei**. Heaut. v. 2. 13 *Ei commisi et credidi*, Att. xv. 11. 1 *Auctor non sum ut te urbi committas*, Pis. xxvii. 65 *Da te populo, committe ludis*, Pacat. Panegy. Theodosii 38 *Credo me Galliae? sed inuisus sum. Hispaniae committe? sed notus sum*. **lucei**, 'to daylight,' i.e. to publicity. Lucr. iv. 1189, *lucem fugitauit* Fronto p. 151 N.

27. If **Nunc** is right the meaning would seem to be 'are you still in the keeping of light women?' as I know you are always likely to be (7).



*Hunc te*, the reading of the excellent British Museum MS. *a*, would however agree better with what follows. 'Is this the kind of man you prove, you the devoted slave of fair women?' i.e. can a man so devoted to love be so resolutely reserved? *Num te*, the reading of most editions, though not unlike LX. 1 *Num te laena montibus Libystinis*, seems to put the question too doubtfully. *lacteolae*, a rare word, used also by Ausonius Epist. vii. 46 of the flesh of a mussel. Martial iii. 58. 22 uses *lacteus* in describing the smooth healthy look of country slaves. It seems to combine the whiteness (*candor* Lygd. 4. 29, Prop. ii. 3. 9, 10, Stat. S. ii. 1. 41) which the Romans considered essential to beauty, with a further idea of glossiness. That the notion of *whiteness* is the dominant one is however clear from Prop. ii. 3. 11, 12 *Vt Maeotica nix minio si certet Hiberno, Vique rosae puro lacte natant folia*, Lucretius' *candens lacteus umor*, Varro's *candidum lacte, candidei lactis*. Flavius Caper Gramm. Lat. vii. p. 98 Keil *Lactea candida sunt, ut lactea laudat brachia dicit Horatius*.

28. *clauso ore* occurs also in the newly-discovered writer Priscillian Tract. iii *os suum claudat aut certe historiam factae rei proferens picturis se dicat credere uel poetis*. *tenes* after *tenent* in 27 is a carelessness worthy of Lucretius.

29. A sentiment strongly in opposition to the common one, *Qui sapit in tacito gaudeat ille sinu* (Tib. iv. 13. 8): but cf. VI and Prop. i. 9. 33, 34; *φανερὸς ἐρᾶν* was a popular Greek sentiment, Plato Symp. 182. Menand. Γεωργός fr. vi. M. 100 Kock γελοῖον ὅς κόρης ἐλευθέρας εἰς ἐρωτὶ ἦκον σιωπῆς. Anth. P. xii. 179. 6 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀγνώστου τίς χάρις εὐτυχίης; **Fructus amoris**, as in Prop. iii. 20. 30, and Lucr. iv. 1073 *Nec Veneris fructu caret is qui uolat amorem*.

30. *gaudet*, as one of the *pabula amoris* Lucr. iv. 1063.

31. *palatum* is more generally used in expressions of gluttony, or of things that affect the taste; with its use here cf. Hor. S. ii. 3. 274, Pers. i. 35, Ov. Am. ii. 6. 47. *obseres palatum* is a variation upon κλείω στόμα (Phoen. 865), but more defined; not shutting the mouth only, but placing the tongue against the palate and so closing it up to prevent any articulate utterance. This again is rather like Lucretius.

32. The MSS are strongly against the common reading *uestri sim*, most of them having *nostri*, all *sis*. The only sense which *uestri sim* admits 'you may keep as quiet as you will, provided only you take me into the confidence of yourself and your mistress' (*uestri*), i.e. in effect 'tell me and then, if you please, tell no one else,' is not only an arrogant dictation which Camerius might well resent, but weak, if not ridiculous, for it is not Camerius whose mouth we should expect to be closed after such a confession, but Catullus himself; just as Propertius, admitted to the fullest confidence of Gallus and his mistress, promises his friend that he may count thenceforward on his secrecy, (i. 10. 1-14.) Whereas if we keep the reading of MSS, **Dum nostri sis**, all is plain. 'I have been looking for you all over Rome, have asked every woman I met where you were, have exhausted myself in my attempts. Do say where I shall find you: if you are in the custody of a light woman, to confess it will add to your pleasures; but you need not confess it; all I care for is to be able to find you and tell you my own secrets.' B. Schmidt agrees '... me in retaining the MS reading.

## EXCURSUS ON LV. 9, 10.

*Auelle sic ipse flagitabam**Camerium mihi pessime puelle.*

The conj. adopted in vol. I *Auellent* may perhaps be thought no improvement on Döderlein's *Aullistis* = *auellistis*, with which might be compared *aullana* for *auellana* in Priap. 51. 12, where MSS give *alna* or *alana*.

But a new line of emendation was suggested to me in collating the Ashburnham MS of Orientius' *Commonitorium*<sup>1</sup>. In I. 383 *Vindictae studio totas in bella dedisti*, for *in* of this MS, the now lost codex used by Delrio gave *uel*. The same change may have happened in the v. of Catullus, *auel* taking the place of an original *ain*. Adopting Munro's *usque* for *ipse*, I would then write 7-10 thus

Femellas omnes, amice, prendi,

Quas uultu uidi tamen serenas.

'*Ain*?' te sic *usque* flagitabam,

'Camerium mihi, pessimae puellae!'

'I accosted every gay woman I met; but none of them showed any sign of discomposure (as if they knew where Camerius was). "Do you mean to say so?" (i.e. Do you mean to tell me you do not know where he is?) In this way I went on, at every step asking for you. "It's Camerius I want, you wretches."' The change from the singular *Ain* to the plural *puellae* is aptly illustrated by Key Lat. Dict. s.v. He quotes from Liv. x. 25. 6 *Ain tandem? num castra uallata non habetis?* with the remark 'where *ain* may be addressed to one person, not, as some assume, to many.' So in the verse of Catullus *Ain?* is of course directed to each *femella* accosted, the whole number, no doubt considerable, in *pessimae puellae*.

## LVI.

It is doubtful who the Cato addressed here is. The general character of M. Porcius Cato makes it unlikely that he admitted Catullus to his society; while there is no positive proof that the two men knew each other. The only other Cato of any celebrity at the time was the grammarian and poet, Valerius Cato; and since Statius and Scaliger (*Praef. ad Diras*) he has been generally accepted as the poet's friend<sup>2</sup>. Suetonius (*Gramm.* 11) tells us he came from Cisalpine Gaul<sup>3</sup>, and having lost his property in the confiscations of Sulla *docuit multos et nobiles, uisusque est peridoneus praeceptor maxime ad poeticam tendentibus; ut quidem apparere uel his uersiculis potest, Cato Grammaticus, Latina Siren, Qui solus legit ac facit poetas*. Besides grammatical treatises he wrote poems, the principal of which were *Lydia* and *Diana*, the former praised by

<sup>1</sup> This poem has been edited by me in vol. xvi of the Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Tempsky, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> Näke however doubts this identification, *Dirae* p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> *Ex Gallia* (Suet. *Gramm.* 1) means Cisalpine Gaul as *in Gallia* in *Gramm.* 7 (Näke).

Ticida, the latter by Cinna. He lived to extreme old age and died in great poverty, as is shown by two epigrams of Furius Bibaculus, with whom he is classed by Messala Corvinus as a *litterator* (Suet. Gram. 4). Ovid mentions him with the other licentious writers of the time, Trist. ii. 433 *Quid referam Ticidae, quid Memmi carmen, apud quos Rebus abest nomen nominibusque pudor?* Cinna quoque his comes est Cinnaque procacior Anser *Et leue Cornifici parque Catonis opus.* All these men, like the others there enumerated by Ovid, Catullus, Calvus, Hortensius, Servius<sup>1</sup>, formed, as Schwabe remarks (Quaestt. p. 309), a kind of literary guild for the improvement of Latin poetry. They were the new school, οἱ νεώτεροι Att. vii. 2. 1, the *cantores Euphorionis* Tusc. Disp. iii. 19. 45, the *docti*, the followers and rivals of Callimachus and the Alexandrian poets. In addressing Cato, Catullus would thus be addressing a countryman, a literary associate, and a man not likely to be offended by mere indelicacy.

In spite of this, I am inclined to think that Catullus may have meant the poem for M. Porcius Cato, the statesman and philosopher. The portrait of him given by Plutarch shows him to have had a humorous and even coarse side, Plut. 5 τὸ ἥθος αὐτοῦ καταμιγνύμενον ἡδονῇ τινα καὶ μειδιᾶμα τῇ σεμνῇ παρείχεν οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον: cf. the story of his forcing his friend Munatius to sleep near him, in order more literally to fulfil the latter's promise of keeping a watch upon him day and night (ib. 9); his remark to the populace on Cicero's banter ὡς ἄνδρες ὡς γελοῖον ὑπατοῦ ἔχομεν (21); his reception of Ptolemy ἐτύχανε μὲν ὦν τότε περὶ κοιλίας κάθαρσιν, ἤκειν δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, εἰ βούλοιοτο, κελεύσας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν, οὐτε ἀπαντήσας οὐτε ὑπεξαρσάς (35); his distribution of parsley chaplets vegetables and jars of wine to the successful performers in the theatre on the election of Favonius as aedile, with his remark παίζοντα δαί τῇ παιδιᾷ χρῆσθαι (46); lastly the stories, no doubt exaggerated, but probably based on something real, of his fondness for wine, ib. 6, and 44 ἀλρεβεῖς στρατηγὸς οὐδὲν ἴδοξε προστιθέναι τῇ ἀρχῇ τοσοῦτον εἰς σεμνότητα καὶ μέγεθος ἀρχῶν καλῶς, δσον ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ κατασχύνειν ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προσερχόμενος . . . ἐνικὶ δὲ φασὶ μετ' ἄριστον οἶνον πεπωκότα χρηματίζειν. Plin. Epist. iii. 12 *Erunt officia antelucana in quae incidere inpune ne Catoni quidem licuit, quem tamen C. Caesar ita reprehendit ut laudet. Describit enim eos quibus obuius fuerat, cum caput ebrii relexissent, erubuisse: deinde adicit, pulares non ab illis Catonem, sed illos a Catone deprehensos.* Some of these stories no doubt supplied Caesar with materials for his *Anticato*, a work which even Cicero warmly approved (Att. xiii. 50. 1). They are sufficient to make the connexion of his name with a coarse poem at least not impossible. In the poem itself there is nothing which obliges us to suppose that Catullus was more than acquainted with Cato. The familiar tone might very well be assumed. It would probably more than half offend the receiver; but Catullus, whose sympathies with a man like Cato would not extend much beyond their common hatred of Caesar, may have written it, if not with that intention, at least with no wish to avoid it. It will not, I think, be denied that the point of the epigram, such as it is, is increased if we read it in this light. The juxtaposition of *Cato Catullum* has little force in reference to Valerius Cato; the moment we

<sup>1</sup> Servius is the MS reading. Can it be the Servius, mentioned by Cicero Fam. ix. 16. 4, as *litteratissimus*, an expert critic of Plautus, and perhaps identical with *Servius Clodius* of Suet. Gramm. 2?

think of the grim Stoic, whose name was already proverbial, (Plut. Cat. 12 οὐ πάντες ὑμῖν ἀφίξονται Κάτωνες, 19 πολλοὺς ᾗδ᾽ ἐπεὶ τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ παραδόξων ὥσπερ ἐν παροιμίᾳ τινὶ λέγειν ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ Κάτωνος λόγιοντος πιθανόν ἐστι . . . Plin. Epist. iii. 21 *Tunc me uel rigidi legant Catones*), the antithesis to the loose and reckless poet makes itself felt humorously. In fact the three last lines look like a parody: not so much perhaps of Cato's general style (which would seem to have been verbose) as of particular expressions. *Deprendi* corresponds to the ἐξελέγχω which recurs so often in Plutarch's biography (Cat. 45, 46, 49, 59, 64) and was perhaps one of Cato's habitual expressions. With *Dignam auribus* cf. ἄρξομαι λέγειν ὅταν μὴ μέλλω λέγειν ἄξια σιωπῆς (Plut. 4): *si placet Dionae* recalls Cato's ἔλεγε μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀκούσης τῆς Ἀφροδίτης (Plut. 6): *ridiculam* and *cachinno* are not only specially applicable to a Stoic (Pers. i. 121) but quite agree with Cato's behaviour on ludicrous occasions (Plut. Cato 13 τοῖς μὲν οὖν φίλοις τοῦ Κάτωνος γέλως ἐπέπεσε τοσοῦτος, ὥστε ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς οὐκ ἔδυναντο, διὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἄμα βαδίζοντες, ὁ δὲ Κάτων τότε μὲν ἰσχυρῶς διατραπεῖς, ὦ τῆς κακοδαίμονος, ἔφη, πόλεως, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐφθέγγετο, χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον εἰώθει γελᾶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ διηγούμενος καὶ μνημονεύων). Lastly there is a peculiar propriety in these verses as addressed to Cato; for, as Westphal observes, the first lines are an imitation of Archilochus, and Plutarch expressly tells us that Cato, disappointed of marrying Lepida, and prevented by his friends from bringing a law-suit against Scipio her husband, ὀργῇ καὶ νεότητι τρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἰάμβους πολλὰ τὸν Σκηπίωνα καθύβρισε τῷ μικρῷ προσχησάμενος τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου, τὸ δὲ ἀκόλαστον ἀφείς καὶ παιδαριώδες (7).

It has not been noticed by any of the commentators that the juxtaposition of the two names Cato, Catullus, has a strange correspondence in the lives of the two men. Both lost their brothers in nearly the same part of the world: the one at Aenos (Plut. Cat. 11), the other at Rhoeteum (LXV. 7); both lamented their loss more passionately than is usual on such occasions; both showed the depth of their feeling by the care with which they did honour to the dead, Cato in his extravagant outlay on the spices and robes burnt with his brother's body (Plut. Cat. 11) and by the sumptuous monument of Thasian marble raised in the Agora of Aenos to his memory: Catullus by a special visit, accompanied by funeral offerings, to his brother's tomb (CI), and by his repeated allusions to his premature death and unfriended interment in a foreign country. This is a coincidence of circumstance: their common *misocaesarism* (Plut. Cat. 65), of character. Both might unite to justify the combination *Cato Catullum*.

The incident itself, if my view of it is right, is a piece of childish precocity, such as might have pleased Sterne, and which has its counterpart in the mock marriage of two children, one a girl of seven, in Petron. S. 25, as well as in the more modern narrative of Casanova (Mémoires, tom. i. p. 41, ed. Brux. 1871). Bährens, reading in 6 *Crisanlem*, another form of *Crisanlem* (L. Müller Lucil. p. 229) imagines the situation as follows: 'Luserant paruoli illi maritum et feminam, sed ut rerum coniugalium nondum ad amussim essent periti: puerulus tamquam mulier supra se positam habuit puellam ut uirum eique crisauit (*h. e.* nates inter concubitus uibrauit). inuersas igitur a paruolis semignaris maris feminaeque partes inridet noster et hanc

sumit poenam, ut puerulum pro femina se gerentem tamquam feminam faciat muliebria pati.' This has the merit of explaining the dat. *puellae*; cf. Priap. xix. 4 *Crisabit tibi fluctuante lumbo*.

1. Probably imitated, as Westphal thinks, from Archilochus (fr. 79 Bergk) Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε, χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον Ἐρέω, πολὺ φίλταθ' ἑταίρων, τίρφεαι δ' ἀκούων.

2. 'As worthy of your attentive ears and your loud laugh.' Caecina in a letter to Cicero Fam. vi. 7. 3 *tot malis tum uinctum tum fractum studium scribendi quid dignum auribus aut probabile potest afferre?* of a composition worth hearing. Brut. ii. 6 *uoce erudita et Romanis Graecisque auribus digna*. *cachinno*, as became a Stoic. Pers. i. 12 *sapientum digna cachinno*, Prudent. c. Symm. ii. 402. *tuo* with the second noun refers to *auribus* as well. Hor. S. ii. 2. 42.

3. *quicquid* here nearly = *quantum*, an adverb of degree or proportion. Key s. v. quotes Liu. vii. 32. 6 *quicquid ab urbe longius proferrent arma, magis*: xxxi. 1. 5 *iam prouideo animo quicquid progredior in uastiores me altitudinem inuehi*: add Apoll. Sid. Epist. iii. 1. 1 *ab ineunte pueritia quicquid uenimus in iuuentutem* at every step of our progress towards youth.

4. *nimis*, 'ever so amusing.' A word of ordinary life and the Comedians.

5. *Deprendi*, of persons taken in adultery or the like, Fam. viii. 7. 2. *Seruius Ocella nemini persuassisset se moechum esse, nisi triduo bis deprehensus esset* (a letter of Caelius). Hor. S. i. 2. 134, Val. Max. vi. 1. 13 *Sempronius Musca C. Gallium deprehensum in adulterio flagellis cecidit*. *pupulum*, which Varro uses of the eye-ball Papiasapae i. 3. R., Arnobius of a doll, seems here to be i. q. *pupum*, a word of endearment used by the common people = *pusionem* or *puerulum*. Suet. Calig. 13 *laetissimo obuiorum agmine incessit super fausta omnia sidus et pullum et pupum et alumnus appellantium*, cf. Varro Tithonus iii R. 'a tiny doll of a boy.' *puellae* seems to be dative of direction towards, as in the instances quoted by Dräger i. p. 394. The only other construction possible is that it is genitive after *pupulum*; then *puellae* will probably be Lesbia. *pupulum*, if *puellae* is Lesbia, might be Clodius, cf. Cael. xv. 36 *minimum fratrem qui propter nescio quam timiditatem et nocturnos quosdam inanes metus secum semper pusio cum maiore sorore cubitauit*. But the hypothesis is very improbable.

6. *Trusantem*, though apparently *δπ. λεγ.*, is perhaps genuine, cf. *mola trusatilis*. Phaedrus ii. 7. 8 uses *trusitare*<sup>1</sup> in the sense of 'jostling,' 'hustling,' *ᾠστήσθαι*, which Aristophanes constructs with a dative Acharn. 844, Lys. 330; but nothing proves such a construction to be possible with the Latin word. It is doubtless used sens. obscen.<sup>2</sup> *si placet Dionae*, a variation upon *si dis placet*, expresses humorously the severity or even monstrosity of the act: see Ad. iii. 4. 30 *Ille bonus uir nobis psallitiam, si dis placet, Parauit quicum uiuat*, Eun. v. 3. 10, Pis.

<sup>1</sup> MSS give *Interque caedem ferro mulum trucidant* (so the Remensis), but the correction seems nearly certain.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly some similar sense is to be found in the obscure Hesychian gloss Ἐπυστρίδες αἱ κατὰ Σάμον ταῖς γυναῖσι τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐπέχουσιν (ἐπέχουσαν codex) κατὰ τὸ δόξιν.

xvi. 38, Liu. vi. 40 *perpetuos, si dis placet, tribunos*, Quintil. viii. 3. 44 *ridentibus, si dis placet*; 'Dione's pardon on the deed,' or, 'I cry thee mercy, Dione,' as if the punishment taken in the goddess' behalf were rather beyond what the goddess herself could approve. This seems to me the natural inference from the almost invariably ironical use of *si dis placet*, as shown in the numerous passages cited by Key L. D. s. v.; such also is the express statement of Donatus on Eun. v. 3. 10 *Si dis placet proprium est exclamantis propter indignitatem alicuius rei*; such, too, is the idea conveyed by the parallel expression in Priap. 2. 1-3 *Quaedam, si placet hoc tibi, Priape, Fucosissima me puella ludit Et nec dat mihi nec negat daturam*, 'if you can approve such conduct,' 'approve, if you can.' Bährens thinks *si placet Dionae* = 'under favor of Dione:' 'interdum in bona re ualet fere "dis bene iuuantibus" ut Plaut. Capt. ii. 3. 94 *expediui ex seruitute filium, si dis placet*<sup>1</sup>. nimirum placebat haec poena Veneri, quippe cum poeta ulcisceretur uiolatam rem ueneream. adnuente igitur Venere Catullus puerulum caedit.' *Dionae* probably = Veneri, as in Theocritus. The offence Catullus was punishing was against Venus. Yet even to Cicero<sup>2</sup> N. D. iii. 23. 59 *tertia (Venus) Ioue nata et Dione* Dione is the mother of Venus Il. v. 370. Hence it is possible that Cat. has in his mind the appeal against violence which Aphrodite, just wounded on the right hand by Diomedes, makes to her mother Dione, Il. v. 375 sqq. The poet takes upon himself the part of Dione against the *pupulus* for his outrage on the *puella*, at the same time deprecating her displeasure against his over-severity.

7. *Protelo*, properly applied to a team of oxen drawing in even successive pulls. (Munro on Lucr. ii. 531.) There is of course a double entendre (*pro telo*). *rigida*, like *lenta* LXXX. 6. So Mart. ix. 47. 6. *oecidi*, Lucilius ap. Non. 21 *uetulam atque uirosam Vxorem caedam potius quam castrem egomet me*. So *παράσκειν* Lucian *Epistles* 53. The word is probably chosen as suiting *pupulum* in the sense of flogging *ferula scuticaque cecidit* Suet. Gramm. 9.

## LVII.

THIS poem is one of the series aimed at Mamurra; a series which includes besides XXIX, XLI, XLIII, the four epigrams on Mentula XCIV, CV, CXIV, CXV, for we can scarcely doubt that the Mentula of these is identical with Mamurra, the *diffutula mentula* of XXIX. 13. If Jungclaussen is right in suggesting that the pseudonym was adopted by the poet after his reconciliation with Caesar (Suet. Caes. 73) to avoid giving offence, the four epigrams were probably written later than either XXIX or this. Which of these two was written first it is not easy to decide. B. Schmidt thinks LVII was later; it attacks Caesar and Mamurra jointly, as might suit a more advanced and closer intimacy; whereas in XXIX Mamurra is the favorite of both Caesar and Pompeius, and is, rather, the medium of a political attack on the triumvirate. We can scarcely argue

<sup>1</sup> So Brix, whose note on Capt. ii. 3. 94 is '*si dis placet*' so Gott will, mit Gottes hülfe" hier *boni omnis causa* gesagt, sonst oft ironisch.'

<sup>2</sup> In Mil. Glor. v. 1. 21 *Dionam* is a conj. of Camerarius.

with O. Iahn (Hermes ii. 241) from the words of Suetonius (Caes. 73) *uersiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata imposita non dissimulauerat* that LVII gave Caesar more offence than XXIX; for the iambics are far more incisive than the hendecasyllables, are frequently quoted, Catal. iii. 6, Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 48, Quintil. ix. 4. 41, and would be remembered when these were forgotten. Without going the length of W. S. Landor, who thus denounces the poem: 'If Caesar had hired a poet to write such wretched verses as these, and swear them to Catullus, he could never in any other way have more injured his credit as a poet,' we may assume with some confidence that they are not good enough to have branded either Caesar or Mamurra with perpetual infamy. They are much in the same style as LIV, and probably, as B. Schmidt suggests, belong to the same time.

The idea of the poem is reproduced by Martial viii. 35:

*Cum sitis similes paresque uita  
Vxor pessima, pessimus maritus,  
Miror non bene conuenire nobis.*

1. The same line ends the poem, as in XVI, XXXVI, Mart. vii. 26. **conuenit**, 'An admirable agreement!' Mart. viii. 35. 3. **improbis**, 'shameless,' LXVIII. 126, Iuuen. iv. 106 *improbior satiram scribente cinaedo*, ix. 63 *Improbis es, cum poscis, ait*. Hence very often it passes into 'lewd' as in Prop. iv. 4. 44 *Improba uirgineo lecta ministra foco*.

2. The **que**, joined as it is with **pathico**, and thus standing between **Mamurrae** and **Caesarique**, distributes the vice equally to both.

3. **maculae**, 'marks of infamy.' Declam. in Salust. vi. 16 *Nonne tibi uiderer aeternas inurere maculas, quas reliqua uita tua eluere non posset?* Catullus perhaps means a secondary reference to the marks sometimes found on the bodies of twins. **utrisque** expresses their community with each other, as separate from other men: *utrique* would separate the two personalities from each other.

4. **Vrbana**, 'of city dye,' i.e. Roman.

5. **Impressae**, stamped (1) as natural marks, Varro Papias papae iv R., 371 Büch. *laculla in mento impressa amoris digitulo*, (2) as *stigmata* Petron S. 105, brands which cannot be washed out. **resident**, as we might say 'are settled in the bone.' Truc. Prol. 7 *in uobis resident mores pristini. eluentur*. Cf. Plaut. Poen. i. 1. 70 *Inest amoris macula huic homini in pectore Sine damno magno quae elui ne utiquam potest*. Rosc. Am. xxiv. 66 *Ex quo si qua macula concepta est, elui non potest*. Caelius writing to Cicero Fam. viii. 14. 4 says *Persuasum est ei censuram lomentum (wash for the skin) aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi uidetur: nam sordes eluere uult, uenas sibi omnes et uiscera aperit*.

6, 7 seem to correspond in pause, which in each case falls in the middle of the verse; similarly 8, 9 correspond in the absence of such pause.

6. **Morbosi**, 'disordered,' in the special application to unnatural lust nearly i. q. **pathici**. Priap. xlv. 1, 2 *O non candidior puella Mauro, Sed morbosior omnibus cinaedis*. Iuuen. ii. 17, ix. 49. See Bentley on Hor. C. i. 37. 9, 10. **gemelli**, 'true twins.' Verr. iii. 66. 155 **VOLO MI FRATER FRATERCULO TUO CREDAS. Consorti quidem in lucris atque furtis gemino et simillimo nequitia improbitate audacia**.

7. Haupt is perhaps right in pointing out the connexion of **erudituli** with **lectulo**. The *lectulus* was as much a sofa for reading or lounging upon (Ov. Trist. i. 11. 38), as a bed for sleeping in (Att. xiv. 13. 5). Plin. Ep. v. 5. 5 *Visus est sibi per nocturnam quietem iacere in lectulo suo compositus in habitu studentis, habere ante se scrinium*; but ordinarily no doubt they were kept separate, and perhaps Catullus means no more than that Mamurra and Caesar were inseparables in their every day life, and shared each other's studies. This does not make it necessary to remove the stop after **lectulo**, for **lectulo** connotes more than the idea of **erudituli**, and forms so to speak only a step to it: is therefore separable and admits a pause in the metre. But see the Excursus. The Oxford MS (*O*) has *lecticulo*, which Bährens has 'restored' to Catullus. Munro also defends it, on the ground that *lectus* was sometimes a noun of the 4th declension (Prisc. vi. 73, i. 257 Keil), and *lecticulus* would thus be formed correctly like *uersiculus uulliculus articulus panniculus* (*pannibus* dat. or abl. in Ennius), *quaesticulus*, etc. But (1) **lectulo** is the reading of *GBDa* and all other MSS of authority; (2) the corruption *lecticulo* for *lectulo* is of a common and recurring type, cf. *elocridicos* LXVI. 54 and note; (3) Cat. uses *lectulus* in L. 15, LXIV. 88, Propertius *unus lectulus* iv. 8. 35 *Vnus erat tribus in secreta lectulus herba*; (4) the hiatus of the long *o* before *ē*, *lēctūlō ērudītuli* is less harsh than *circō ēē in* LV. 4, and was never doubted by Lachmann or Haupt; (5) the form *lecticulus* is not found elsewhere, unless indeed it was written by Terence in Eun. iii. 5. 45 *It lauit rediit deinde eam in lecto* (*lectulo* the Bembine) *conlocarunt. erudituli*, 'pedants,' apparently another ἀπ. λέγ. Mamurra must have tried poetry if he is the Mentula of CV. Caesar, besides his Commentaries, *reliquit et de Analogia libros duos et Anticalones totidem ac praeterea poema quod inscribitur Iter. Quorum librorum primos in transitu Alpium cum ex ceteriore Gallia conuentibus peractis ad exercitum rediret; sequentes sub tempus Mundensis proelii fecit; nouissimum dum ab Vrbe in Hispaniam ulteriorem quarto et uicesimo die peruenit. Epistulae quoque eius ad Senatum extant . . . . . Extant et ad Ciceronem item ad familiares domesticis de rebus, in quibus si qua occultius perferenda erant per notas scripsit, id est, sic structo litterarum ordine, ut nullum uerbum effici posset . . . . . Feruntur et a puero et ab adulescentulo quaedam scripta, ut Laudes Herculis, tragoedia Oedipus, item Dicta Collectanea, quos omnes libellos uetuit Augustus publicari.* (Suet. Iul. 56.) Catullus probably alludes mainly to his fondness for grammatical questions; A. Gellius who calls him *grauis auctor linguae Latinae* (iv. 16. 8) and *sermonis praeter alios suae aetatis castissimi* (xix. 8. 3) gives some of his views; he made the dative sing. of the 4th decl. end in *u*, not *ui*; the genitive singular of the 5th in *e*, not in *ei* (iv. 16. 8, ix. 14. 25); denied that *harena* could be used in the plural, *quadrigae* in the singular (xix. 8); points which he probably discussed at length in the two books *de Analogia* addressed to Cicero (Gell. xix. 8. 3). In a letter to Atticus (xiii. 52) Cicero, who had just entertained him at dinner, says *Σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν in sermone; φιλόλογα multa*.

8. **quam . . magis**. So Lucilius i. 32 *Inritata canes quam homo quam* (sc. *litteram r*) *planius dicit*, where L. Müller compares this line and Tib. iv. 7. 8 *Ne legat id nemo quam meus ante uelim*. **uorax**, in close connexion with **adulter**; each had a boundless appetite for adulteries; Cicero says of Piso *uerbum ipsum (uoluptatem) deuorat* (Sest. x. 23).



Mamurra's adulteries are described in XXIX: of Caesar Suetonius says *plurimas et illustres feminas corrupisse; in quibus Postumiam Seruii Sulpicii, Lolliam Auli Gabinii, Tertullam M. Crassi, etiam Cn. Pompeii Muciam . . . . Sed ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Seruiliam. Ne provincialibus quidem matrimoniis abstinuisse uel hoc disticho apparet, iactato aeque a militibus per Gallicum triumphum: Urbani seruate uxores, moechum caluum adducimus. Aurum in Gallia effuisti, at hic sumpsisti mutuum. Dilexit et reginas inter quas Eunoen Mauram, Bogudis uxorem . . . sed maxime Cleopatram* (Caes. 50, 51, 52).

9. 'Rival partners in the company of the fair.' *societ* seems to be ambiguous taken singly; *societ puellularum* would naturally mean 'associates of light women:' preceded by *Riuales* it bears the further notion of 'partners in,' the *puellulae* forming a *societas*, in which Mamurra and Caesar had not only equal shares, but each the shares of the other; what was *proprium* to one was shared by him with the other, and the *totum* thus belonged to both and neither. For *socius* followed by a similar genitive cf. Rosc. Amer. xl. 117 *At uero T. Roscius non unum rei pecuniariae socium sefellit . . . uerum nouem homines honestissimos, eiusdem muneris legationis officii mandatorumque socios induxit*. Propertius ii. 34. 15-18 *Te socium uilae, te corporis esse licebit, Te dominum admitto rebus, amice, meis. Lecto te solum, lecto te deprecor uno. Riualet possum non ego ferre louem*, connects the ideas of partnership and rivalry in much the same way. This seems to me better than Scaliger's 'friendly rivals in the love of women,' i.e. rivals but not enemies; or Haupt's 'rivals and lovers of women at once,' 'qui et socii sint amatoresque puellarum et riuales earundem tanquam pathici.'

## EXCURSUS ON LVII. 7.

*Morbosi pariter gemelli utrique  
Vno in lectulo erudituli ambo.*

IN the notes I have followed Haupt's interpr. of *Vno in lectulo* as agreeing better with *erudituli*. But it seems possible that the connexion of ideas is rather the correspondence of unnatural effeminacy of body with over-refinement in grammar and the use of words. Caesar's fondness for grammatical speculation is well known; and if his treatise *de Analogia* had survived, we should no doubt be able to illustrate it in greater detail than the scanty notices of A. Gellius i. 20, iv. 16, x. 8 and the Grammarians permit. *Vno in lectulo* at any rate suggests the same ideas as *Morbosi pariter gemelli utrique*. Cf. Anth. P. xi. 225. 1 *Ἡ εὐδὴν πάσχοντες ἔχει δύο καὶ δύο δρώντας*, which Ausonius translates Ep. xxxix Schenkl *Tris uno in lecto*. And this was the view of Alex. Guarinus, who explains *Vno in lectulo* by the words 'mutui stupri commercia.'

## LVIII.

CATULLUS must have written this at a very late period of his passion for Lesbia. Without expressing despair, the poem has reached the point at which hope has become impossible. There is no conflict of feelings as in VIII, LXXVI, LXXXV. Even XI seems written in a much more



*muros aut nullum aut angustum habent* (Hermes for 1868, p. 303). Such women were called σποδησιλαῦραι or λεωφόροι.

5. *Glubit*, sens. obscen. like λέπει. Athenaeus 663 says τῷ λέπεσθαι χρῶσται ἐπὶ ἀσελγούς καὶ φορτικῆς δι' ἀφροδισίων ἡδονῆς. The Balliol Glossary has *Glubit excoriat*: the Phillipp's Glossary<sup>1</sup> 4626 *Excorticari est cum scortis fornicari*. *magnanimis* is obviously ironical. *Rémi nepotes*, see on XLIX. 1.

## LIX.

It is an ingenious suggestion of Vulpus that these lines are a pasquinade, and were posted up in the place where they were composed to catch the eye of passers by. *Vidistis* in 3 seems to make an appeal to the general public of the town; and the coarseness of the attack is quite in accordance with the general character of pasquinades (see Story's *Roba di Roma*) as well as with actual inscriptions of antiquity, such as are preserved on the walls of Pompeii. See on XXXVII. 10. If this is so, the place where it was written was not, I think, Bononia; for *Bononiensis* in 1 could have little meaning except as a description of a person who was *not* a Bolognese (cf. Schwabe Quaestt. p. 88); we may suppose Rufa to have come from Bononia to her husband Menenius' home, wherever that may have been, perhaps Verona. If we adopt the other hypothesis, that the poem is a mere lampoon, circulated at first among the poet's friends and afterwards incorporated in the rest of his poems, it seems more probable that the persons attacked lived at Bononia. Rufa and her husband Menenius may have fallen under Catullus' displeasure during some visit which he made there; he would compose on the spot and would add *Bononiensis* as being himself a stranger to the place.

Whether Rufa motives Rufulus, or Rufulus determines Rufa, is uncertain. *Rufulus*, besides being the diminutive of Rufus, was the name of one class of military tribunes. Pseud-Asconius ad Verr. Act. i. p. 142 (Orelli) *Tribunorum militarium duo genera, primum eorum qui Rufuli dicuntur; hi in exercitu creari solent; alii sunt comitiiati qui Romae comitiis designantur*. Cf. Fest. p. 260 M., Roby Introd. to Justinian p. ciii. Catullus may have availed himself of some circumstance which presented the two meanings in one person. This would not oblige us to suppose the person's name was actually Rufus; the diminutive might apply equally well to the admirer, or perhaps the kinsman, of Rufa, as in LXXIX the brother of Lesbia is called Lesbius. On this view we might paraphrase 'Rufa has found a Rufus to be kind to,' or 'Rufa is too familiar with her namesake the tribune.'

Pleitner and Munro consider *rufa rufum* of MSS to be epithets, not proper names. Munro p. 134 shows that *rufus*<sup>2</sup> was a common term

<sup>1</sup> Of this valuable Glossary I have published considerable excerpts in vol. vi of the American Journal of Philology. pp. 451-461, vii. 310-324.

<sup>2</sup> Hugo Blumner Philologisch. Abhandlungen zu ehr. M. Hertz 1888, p. 22 defines *rufus* in reference to hair as 'a fox-red, the colour of which without any lustre is dull and unsightly;' remarking that this kind of hair is ordinarily ascribed to slaves, and treated as ugly.

of reproach, Asin. ii. 3. 20 *Macilentis malis, rufulus, aliquantum uentrisosus*, Heaut. v. 5. 17 *rufamne illam uirginem, Caesiam, sparso ore, adunco naso? non possum, pater*. Mart. ii. 33 *Cur non basio te, Philaeni? calua es. Cur non basio te, Philaeni? rufa es. Cur non basio te, Philaeni? lusca es. Haec qui basiat, O Philaeni, fellat*. The last of these verses, like Inscript. Pompeian. 2421 *Rufa ita uale quare bene felas*, seems to recall Catullus' words. But, at least in the Pompeian Inscript. quoted by Munro, *Rufa* has more claim to be considered a proper name than a descriptive adjective, if indeed *Rufa ita* is not corrupt, and really represents a different name, *Rufilla*, or something of the kind.

Alex. Guarinus thought that *Rufa* was a *lena*, and says that in his own time they were sometimes so called. On this view *Rufa* might here = 'bawd,' just as *Silo* is a typical name for a *leno*, CIII. The general description of the woman agrees closely with one of the types described by Simonides of Amorgos, fr. vii. 50-56 Bergk:

τὴν δ' ἐκ γαλῆς, δύστηνον οἰζυρὸν γένος,  
κείνη γὰρ οὐ τι καλὸν οὐδ' ἐπίμερον  
πρόσεστιν, οὐδὲ τερπνόν, οὐδ' ἐράσμιον.  
εὐνῆς δ' ἄληνῆς ἐστὶν ἀφροδισίης,  
τὸν δ' ἄνδρα τὸν παρόντα ναυσίῃ διδοί.  
κλέπτουσα δ' ἔρδει πολλὰ γείτονας κακά,  
ἄβυστα δ' ἱρὰ πολλάκις κατεσθίει.

1. *Rufa Rufulum*, like *populum puellae* LVII. 5. MSS give *rufum*, which has been recently altered into *rufum anus*, *rufum io*, &c. The metrical tact of the Italians of the Renaissance taught them better; Palladius in his edition of 1500 gives *rufulum*, and this conj. is supported by other similar cases. BVCCVLAS of the Ambrosianus in Truc. ii. 2. 35 = *buccas* of other MSS; and probably *lumbos* of MSS in Catalept. v. 21 is an error for *lumbulos*.

2. *sepulcretis*, 'grave-yards.' Forc. quotes no other instance. Like *busticetum*, it seems to have been a word of contempt, and probably denotes the burying-places of the poorer class, such as that described by Horace S. i. 8. 8-10 *miserae plebi commune sepulcrum*, where however the bodies seem to have been buried in pits, not burnt.

3. *ipso*, to denote her eagerness. *rapere de rogo*, such thieves were called *bustirapi* Pseud. i. 3. 127. *cenam*, not the *silicernium* or funeral-feast, which it was the old fashion to eat at the tomb (Varro Meleagri xi Riese (Non. 485) *Funus exequiati stantes ad sepulcrum antequo more silicernium conficimus, id est περιδαινον, quo pransi discedentes dicimus alius alii uale*), but, as the next two lines show, part of the food placed upon the pyre for the manes of the deceased and burnt with the corpse. Aen. vi. 225, xi. 198, 9. Eun. iii. 2. 36-38 *Tace tu: quem ego esse infra infumos omnis pulo Homines: nam qui huic adsentari animum induxeris E flamma petere te cibum posse arbitror*, where W. Wagner explains *flamma* of the lighted *rogo*, from which the man described as *infra infumos omnis* had seized part of the food set there for the dead<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This view is not supported by Donatus, whose note on *e flamma* is *unde sine damno aut malo nihil potest auferri*.

4. *deuolutum*, from their round flat shape the loaves would easily roll down. Stat. quotes Apollinaris Sidonius who uses it of the corpse itself rolling down: Epist. iii. 13. 5 *Lütiohann deformior cadauere rogali quod facibus admotis semicombustum moxque sidente strue torrium deuolutum reddere pyrae iam fastidiosus pollinctor exhorret.*

5. The *ustor* or undertaker's man, who lays out the corpse upon the pyre and burns it, observes Rufa in pursuit of the fallen loaf and cuffs her as punishment for her intended theft. *Vstores* are generally spoken of contemptuously (Lucan viii. 738 *Robora non desint misero, nec sordidus ustor*, pro Mil. xxxiii. 90, Mart. iii. 93. 26), hence *semiraso* as in Apuleius ix. 12 *frontem litterati et capillum semirasi et pedes anulati*, a description of slaves in a *pistrinum*, who, perhaps as runaways (*fugitivi* Cas. ii. 6. 45), had been branded (*litterati* Cas. ii. 6. 49), had half their hair shaved, and wore fetters on their feet. On this view *semiraso* nearly = *furaci* or *fugituo*: nothing could be a better mark upon a man than such a disparity as the two halves of the face would then present; we may suppose one side to be close-cropt; Cicero, describing a man who shaved off all his hair, says (Rosc. Com. vii. 20) *Nonne ipsum caput et supercilia illa penitus abrasa olere malitiam et clamitare calliditatem uidentur?* . . . *Qui idcirco capite et superciliis semper est rasis, ne ullum pilum uiri boni habere dicatur*, and compares him to the knavish *leno* Ballio in the *Pseudulus* of Plautus. So *seminudus*, 'half-naked,' *semiatratus*, 'in half-mourning,' *semirosus semirutus* and Catullus' own *semimortuus* L. 15. The more usual force however of *semi* in such compounds is 'only half,' so *semilautus* LIV. 2, *semidoctus semifactus semifultus semiputatus*; on this view *semirasus* would mean 'only half-shaved, imperfectly shaved,' a mark of carelessness and unneatness which agrees not only with the *dirtiness* ascribed to *ustores* by Lucan, but with the general tendency of the Romans to associate cleanliness with careful shaving, squalor and rusticity with the reverse, cf. Gell. iii. 4. 1, Mart. vi. 64. 4 *patris ad speculum tonsi* = 'a father of ordinary neatness,' Varro Gerontodidas-calus ap. Non. 214.

## LX.

It is obvious that these five lines are in no connexion with LIX, although as great a critic as Scaliger considered them to be so, and for that reason invented a verb *fallare* = *fallere*, supposing that the deceit of which Rufa was guilty in LIX, is part of the contemptuous treatment alluded to in LX. 4. Yet if the lines are a fragment, the fragment is complete in itself, and there is no reason for supposing that it was ever more. The beginning is closely imitated from some verses in the *Medea* 1342, 3, repeated again with a slight alteration 1358, 9: and as from some other imitations in LXIV, e. g. 176 sqq. = Med. 502 sqq., it is clear that Catullus was familiar with this play, the fragment may be a mere reminiscence of Euripides, or perhaps an imaginary study from him. At any rate there is nothing to connect it with Lesbia or any one else.

1-3. Med. 1342, 3 *Λάωων, οὐ γυναῖκα, τῆς Τυρσηνίδος Σκύλλης ἔχουσαν*

ἀγριωτέραν φύσιν. The same comparison occurs LXIV. 154-7. So Aesch. Eum. 193 λέοντος ἄντρον αἱματορρόφου οἰκεῖν τοιαύτας εἰκός. Bacch. 988 τίς ἄρα νῦν ἔτεκεν; Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος γυναικῶν ἔφν, Λαίνας δέ γ' ἔτινος ἢ Γοργόνων Διβυσσῶν γένος.

1. *leaena*. According to Philargyrius on Verg. Ecl. ii. 63, *leaena* was a word not used by the ancients (*ueteres*) but which had become classical. Plautus said *leo femina*, Varro *lea*. This is perhaps its first occurrence in a writer of authority; Cicero's *de Gloria*, from which it is also quoted, seems not to have been written till 44 B.C. Catullus' employment of the word is perhaps tentative; it is almost a translation. *Libystinia*, a rare form, found also in Macrob. Sat. i. 17. 24 *Apollo Libystinus*.

2. Homer Od. xii. 85 sqq. describes Scylla as a monster with a voice like a new-born whelp, with twelve feet, and six long necks, each with a head containing three rows of teeth; from the waist downwards plunged in the depths of a cave, above which the heads rise. This is quite different from the Scylla of Lucretius v. 892 *rabidis canibus succinctam semimarinum Corpore*, of Catullus here, of Lygdamus 4. 89 *Scyllaque uirgineam canibus succincta figuram*, of Propertius iv. 4. 40 *Candidaque in sacuos inguina uersa canes*, of Vergil Ecl. vi. 75 *Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus*, of Ovid Met. xiii. 732, which represent Scylla as a maiden down to the waist, and a combination of wolf-dog and dolphin below. In Aen. iii. 424 sqq. Vergil, while seeming to follow Homer's description, really combines it with the other legend; see Conington there. Heyne, in an Excursus on Ecl. vi, shows that in works of art the later is the prevailing representation, varied in different ways; sometimes the figure ends in two dolphins' tails: sometimes these are combined with the forequarters of dogs; sometimes these latter grow out of the belly and terminate in one dolphin's tail. Catullus is quite definite in his conception; Scylla's *body* terminates in barking dogs: she barks with the extremities of the groin. The line looks like an etymology, for σκύλλος was a form of σκύλαξ. (Heyne.)

3. *taetra*, 'inhuman,' like *μυστὰ καὶ παιδολέτωρ* Med. 1393, *τῆς μυστῶν καὶ παιδοφόνου τῇδε λαίης* ib. 1406. Catullus may have been thinking of both passages.

5. *Contemptam*, like *despicatam habere* Eun. ii. 3. 93, *curatos habere* Cato R. R. 6. 1, Hec. iv. 2. 6 *habueris praepositam*. The combined verb and participle are not simply = the verb alone, they give the idea of permanence or settled determination. (Holtze Syntaxis ii. p. 235.)

## LXI, LXII.

WITH LXI begins a new division of Catullus' poems. The eight poems LXI-LXVIII are obviously distinct from the lyrics on the one hand (I-LX) and the Epigrams (LXIX-CXVI) on the other. They may have been placed together merely as longer than the rest; but they possess also a unity of subject. Except LXV, which is a mere prelude to the *Coma Berenices*, all of them deal with marriage directly or indirectly: LXI, LXII are Epithalamia; LXIV describes the mythical wedding of the mortal Peleus with the goddess Thetis, and still keeping in view the

same ground-idea, interweaves the story of Ariadne, her desertion by Theseus and final union with Bacchus; LXVI, a translation from Callimachus, more interesting for its subject than felicitous as a version, was perhaps selected as exhibiting the peculiar modifications of European custom as regards marriage introduced by Egypt and sanctioned by the court of the Ptolemies; LXVII exhibits the cognate topics, incest and adultery, from a comic but still Roman point of view; LXVIII describes the intensity of the sexual passion in women, partly in the conjugal fondness of Laodamia, partly in the adulterous love of Lesbia; lastly LXIII, perhaps the greatest of Catullus' poems, in the frenzied emasculation and consequent despair of Attis, sets before us in colours of unsurpassed vividness the overwhelming force of the anti-nuptial sentiment, as realized and consecrated by antiquity. The eight poems are thus connected by the common subject marriage into a distinct whole; but this whole admits of a new subdivision (1) the epic and lyrico-epic poems, in which the male sentiment either predominates or is exhibited side by side with the female (LXI-LXIV), (2) the elegiac, which are more concerned with the feminine emotion (LXVI-LXVIII).

Catullus in writing Epithalamia either set or followed the fashion of his time: Priscian quotes an Epithalamium by Calvus, and another by Ticia; the former seems to have been in hexameters and was perhaps like LXII, the latter in Glyconics, closely resembling LXI. Sappho had written a book of Epithalamia in various metres, and the extant fragments show that these were known to Catullus.

The two poems differ widely in scope and treatment. The first (LXI) describes the ceremonies of a Roman wedding, and is in the main Italian in its imagery and allusions; the framing alone is Greek. The second (LXII) is almost a Greek study; the scene indeed seems to be laid in Greece, for it is not likely that Catullus would have introduced Olympus and Oeta with the same laxity afterwards made fashionable by Vergil and the poets of the Augustan era. Yet here also the allusions of the concluding strophe are Roman; though it is difficult to believe that the poem was written for the same occasion as LXI.

Few poems of antiquity are so familiar to modern readers as the first of these Epithalamia; and nothing which Catullus wrote is at once so genial, so artistic, and so completely Roman. The refrain *O Hymen Hymenae* and the exordium (1-30) are, it is true, Greek, and if we had Sappho's Epithalamia entire we should probably find that Catullus drew from these many of the ideas which give such a charm to his work; the metre too is Greek. But speaking generally, the scene, the technicalities, and the allusions are Roman: the language too is carefully modelled on the familiar phrases of Roman life. Thus the old custom of carrying off the bride, which the Romans associated with the rape of the Sabine women by the warriors of Romulus (3)—the selection of a lucky day for the marriage ceremony (11)—the allusions to the *manus* by which the wife passed into her husband's power (56)—to the law by which none but a freeborn Roman citizen could act as a legionary (72)—the Fescennines with their boyish coarseness (119 sqq.)—the old marriage cry *Talasio*—the lifting of the bride over the threshold of her husband's house (160 sqq.)—the presence of the *praelectatus* when she is led to the marriage-chamber—the *uniuires* who lay her on the marriage couch—are all specially Roman

customs. Roman also are the combinations *domum dominam* (31), *bona cum bona alite* (19), *bona fama* (62), *dedis a gremio suae Matris* (58), *dare nuces* (124), and the recurring formula *noua nuptia*. Farther a peculiarly Italian tone is given to the whole poem by the repeated allusions to the presence of boys at the ceremony; an interesting characteristic which seems to represent a really ancient tradition.

I have used for this poem the special commentaries of Robortello (1548), Landi (Pavia, 1550), and Pleitner (1858), as well as the exhaustive work of Rossbach, *Die Römische Ehe* (1853). Passerat's copious commentary (1608) contains most of the passages from Latin authors bearing on the subject of Roman marriage.

1-45. Invocation to Hymenaeus, calling on him to attend at the marriage of Manlius and Iunia (1-35); followed by a summons to the virgins appointed to sing the hymeneal (36-45).

1. **Heliconiei**. Hymenaeus is a dweller on Helicon, as the son of one of the Muses. Hesiod Theog. 1 Μουσών Ἑλικωνιάδων, Αἰδ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζῆθεόν τε, Varro R. R. iii. 16. 7 *His dis Heliconaeque Olympum attribuerunt homines*.

2. **Cultor**, not common in the sense of 'dweller,' though Schwabe quotes for it Plaut. Amphit. v. 1. 13 *Et tibi et tuis propitius caeli cultor aduenit*, but Catullus uses *cultrix* similarly LXIV. 300. **Vraniae genus**, 'child of Urania.' According to the Scholiast on Eur. Rhes. 895 *Calliope* bore to Apollo four sons, Linus, Hymenaeus, Ialemos, Orpheus, and this tradition is contained in a mutilated fragment of Pindar there quoted, and repeated by the Scholiast on Pindar P. iv. 313; according to Apollodorus ap. Schol. Rhes. 347 *Clio* was the mother of Hymenaeus; according to Alciphron i. 13. 3 Hymenaeus was son of *Terpsichore*, and so Proclus ap. Photium (Biblioth. 524) Ὑμέναιον ἐν γάμοις ᾄδασθαί φασι κατὰ πόθον καὶ ζήτησιν Ὑμεναίου τοῦ Τερψιχόρας ὃν φασι γήμαντα ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι. Catullus makes him a descendant, perhaps a son, of *Urania*, as Nonnus did later, probably from an Alexandrian source, as Schwabe suggests, Dionys. xxiv. 88 Οὐρανίη δ' Ὑμέναιον ἀνεζώγησεν ὀλέθρου Παιδὸς ἐοῦ γονέοντος ἐπώνυμον, xxxiii. 67 Εὐχαίτης Ὑμέναιος ἀερσινούου δὲ τεκούσης Οὐρανίης σοφὸν ἔργον ἐπισταμένης δρόμον ἄστρον Σφαῖραν ἄγων τροχέσσαν ἀέθλια θήκατο νίκης. It is not impossible that *Urania* is selected as a name of good omen with which to begin a hymeneal; pure love was under the protection of *Cypris Urania*, as impure of *Pandemos*, Plat. Symp. 180, Xen. Symp. viii. 9, and so Theocritus says of a married pair that from year to year they prospered increasingly, beginning from *Urania*, Anth. P. vi. 340. 5.

3. **rapis** alludes to the custom of capturing the bride, other traces of which were the parting the bride's hair with a spear, Ov. Fast. ii. 560, Plut. Quaest. Rom. 87, and the avoidance of *feriae* as wedding-days; because *feriis uim cuiquam fieri piaculare est; ideo tunc uitantur nuptiae, in quibus uis fieri uirgini uidetur* (Macrobius S. i. 15. 21). Festus p. 289 M. *Rapi simulabatur uirgo ex gremio matris, aut si ea non esset, ex proxima necessitudine, cum ad uirum traditur, quod uidelicet ea res feliciter Romulo cessit*. M'Lennan traces this form of marriage by capture, not only among the Dorians (Herod. vi. 65, Plut. Lyc. 15), Italians, and ancient inhabitants of India, but more especially among the Khonds



of Orissa, the Kalmucks, the Junguzes and Kemchadales of Siberia, the Nogay Tartars, the Circassians, the Toorkomans, the Mongols, the Welsh, the Irish up to the last century, as well as in various tribes of Africa and America. He connects it with the earliest state of society, which prohibited endogamy or marriage within the tribe, and forced a man who was in want of a wife to have recourse to a foreign tribe. The relation of separate tribes was originally one of hostility; and so long as it was, wives could only be got by theft or force; hence the association of the ideas of seizure and marriage.

4. Sappho introduced Ὑμήνασον or Ὑμέναιον as an ἐφύμνιον or refrain interposed between each successive line, such poems being called μεσύμνια (Hephaest. 132). Aristophanes in the song at the end of the Pax gives the form Ὑμῆν Ὑμέναι' ὦ, sometimes singly, sometimes repeated twice: in the Aves it is more like Catullus, Ὑμῆν ὦ Ὑμέναι' ὦ (1736, 1742, 1754), where the Scholiast says ἦδετο τοῦτο ἐν γάμοις. Euripides in the chorus of the Troades sung by Cassandra in frantic imagination of marriage introduces two forms, Ὑμῆν ὦ Ὑμέναι' ἄναξ 310, 314; Ὑμῆν ὦ Ὑμέναι' Ὑμῆν 331; in the Phaethon the simple Ὑμῆν Ὑμῆν occurs fr. 781. 14 Nauck. Theocritus xviii. 58 has Ὑμῆν ὦ Ὑμέναιε, and this was evidently the common form of the cry, and is certainly used by Catullus in LXII. In LXI. 50, 60 the MSS are confused; but I see no reason for supposing that Catullus wrote there or anywhere *O Hymen Hymenaeae*. In Plaut. Cas. iv. 3 the reading is doubtful.

6. **Cinge.** Landi quotes Ov. Her. vi. 44 *Adfuit et sertis tempora uinctus Hymen*. Catullus here transfers to Hymen the chaplet which the bride was bound to wear. Paulus p. 63 M. *Corollam noua nupta de floribus uerbenis herbisque a se lectis sub amiculo ferebat* (Rossbach). **tempora.** The eye-brows and hair are specially assigned to *amaracinum* by Antiphanes ap. Athen. 689.

7. **Susue olentis.** Lucretius ranks the smell of amaracus oil with that of myrrh and spikenard ii. 847. In iv. 1179 the despairing lover anoints the door-posts of his mistress' house with *amaracinum*: it was probably pleasing to women, as Chaerephon describes them lying upon it fr. 14. 16 Nauck. Colum. x. 296 *odoratas praelexit amaracus umbras. amaraci*, the Sicilian name for the Syrian and Egyptian *sampsuchum* Plin. xxi. 61, with whom the Scholiast on Nicander Ther. 576 seems to agree. And so Dioscorides iii. 41 Sprengel Σάμψυχον κράτιστον τὸ Κυζικηνὸν καὶ Κύπριον δευτερεύει δὲ τούτου Αἰγύπτιον καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Κυζικηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Συκελίᾳ ἀμάρακον πόα δὲ ἐστὶ πολύκλωνος ἔρπουσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς φύλλα δασυὰ καὶ περιφερῆ ἔχουσα, ὅμοια τῆς λεπτοφύλλου καλαμίνθης, σφόδρα εὐώδης καὶ θερμαντικὴ, πλεκομένη καὶ εἰς στεφάνους; Isidorus Orig. xvii. 9. 14 *Sampsuchus est quem Latini amaracum uocant. Cuius nominis usum Vergilius etiam ad Venerem referens ait Vbi mollis amaracus illum Floribus aspirans amplectitur umbra* (Aen. i. 693); and Diocles the physician, as quoted by Athenaeus 681, cf. Plin. xxi. 61, Gloss. Ball. *samsucus latine amaracus*. Similarly Theophrastus classes amaracus with habrotonum, thyme, parsley, origanum (Hist. Pl. i. 12); with the two former of these, with sisymbrium and helenium (Hist. Pl. vi. 6); with plants used for aromatic purposes, casia, cinnamon, balsam, myrrh, anise (Hist. Pl. ix. 6); lastly, with plants used for chaplets (Hist. Pl. vi. 1). For the latter purpose it was well fitted by its fragrance (τὸ σπέρμα εὐοσμὸν, δσμὴ δὲ μαλακωτέρα ib. vi. 1

and this would agree with Nicander's classification of *σάμψυχον* amongst *στεφανωτικά* (Athen. 683). Sibthorp<sup>1</sup>, Sprengel and Billerbeck (Flora Classica p. 156) identify *σάμψυχον* with marjoram, *maiorana origanum*; and Daubeny (Roman Husbandry p. 272) accepts this view, which certainly agrees with the fact that Statius sprinkles his bridegroom with savory (S. i. 2. 21). On the other hand Meleager (Anth. P. iv. 1. 11, 41), Columella (x. 171, 296), and perhaps Nicander (Ther. 575, 617), make *sampsuchum* and *amaracus* distinct plants. Columella indeed seems to imply that *amaracus* had a conspicuous flower; for he combines it with *narcissus* and *pomegranate blossom* (*halaustium*), and this after a simile in which he compares the bright children of the gardens with the moon, Sirius, Mars, Hesperus and the rain-bow (x. 288-297). Both Catullus and Vergil also speak of the *flowers* of *amaracus* (Aen. i. 694), and Vergil, like Columella, implies that it was a plant of some height (*umbra*). If, then, *amaracus* was *marjoram*, it must have been an exotic, indeed an oriental, variety hardly comparable with the plant as known in the colder parts of Europe: see Wheeler's description of an *origanum* he found at Smyrna, Journey p. 250, ed. 1682.

8. **Flammeum**, the marriage veil, of a reddish-yellow colour like flame. Plin. xxi. 46 *Lutei uideo honorem antiquissimum, in nuptialibus flammeis totum feminis concessum*. It was of large dimensions, sufficient to cover the whole person from head to foot (Rich, Companion p. 290, Roszbach Röm. Ehe p. 280), and was worn over the head, veiling the side-face (hence *uelarunt flammea uultus* Luc. ii. 361, Mart. xii. 42. 3), but leaving part of the features open, as shown in the figure given by Rich. The *flammeum* was also worn by the Flaminica (Paulus p. 89 M.) and, if it is identical with the *flammeus* of Nonius 541, by *matronae*; Roszbach connects it in each case with the sacrifice which was offered by the Flaminica at the altar of Jupiter Dialis, by the matron at the household hearth, by the bride at the hearth of her new husband (p. 285).

9. **gerens**, 'wearing.' *Coronam ex auro et gemmis fulgentem gerit* Varro Eumenides xlii Riese ap. Non. 540.

10. **Luteum**. Yellow was a feminine colour (Plin. xxi. 46), and seems to have been peculiarly associated with marriage. In the Aldobrandini marriage-picture the head-dress of the bride-groom, the shoes of the bride, the mattress and counterpane of the bed, the footstool, the towel are all yellow (Böttiger Aldob. Hochz. p. 195). **soccum**, the loose untied shoe, which at Rome was properly confined to women or comic actors: Catullus probably assigns it to Hymenaeus in his feminine character as representing the bride; but he might well be thinking of many Greek

<sup>1</sup> Landi (Pavia 1550) also inclines to this view, adding however, 'Galenus autem sampsychum quidem maioranam appellat, sed Amaracum aliud esse contendit, nempe idem cum ea herba, quae Parthenion Graecis, hoc est uirginalis, matricaria Latinis dicitur quod contusa matricis dolores sanat. Galli uulgo appellant deles pergoutte, a guttis spargendis, quod eius folia trita et admota ori in dolore dentium guttas pituitae spargant et eliciant.' The passages from Galen have been indicated to me by Mr. Bywater: *περί κρίσεως καὶ διανοῦ τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων*, t. 11. p. 803 Kühn. 'Ἀμάρakon θερμαίνει μὴν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς, ξηραίνει δὲ οὐ σφοδρῶς· ἀλλ' ἐν μὴν τῇ θερμότητι τῆς τρίτης ἐστὶ τάξις, ἐν δὲ τῇ ξηραίνειν τῆς δευτέρας.—12. p. 118. Σάμψυχον λευτομορούς ἐστι καὶ διαφορητικῆς δυνάμεως· ξηραίνει τε γὰρ καὶ θερμαίνει κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τάξιν. In the Lex. Hippocrat. t. 19. p. 128 Galen says καλεῖται δὲ παρθένιον . . . καὶ τὸ ἀμάρakon.

passages, e. g. Iph. A. 1042, where the Muses wear golden sandals at the wedding of Peleus, Orest. 1468 χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἔχοντες, said of Helen's golden sandals.

11. **hilari die**; some days were *atri* and were therefore to be avoided. Macrobius i. 16. 21 *Dies postridianos ad omnia maiores nostri cauendos putarunt, etiam altros uelut infausta appellatione damnarunt*; for which reason all Kalends Nones and Ides were bad days for marrying upon, as the day after was a black day, and unfit for the new wife to enter upon the *dominium* or perform the sacred rites which belonged to her in her new position (S. i. 15. 22).

13. **tinnula**. Pomponius, in a fragm. preserved by Macrobius S. vi. 4. 13 Ribb. 57-59 *Vocem deducas oportet ut uideantur mulieris Verba.—Iube modo adferatur munus, ego uocem dabo Tenuem et tinnulam*, made a *tinnula* uox = 'the shrill voice of a woman.' But as Hymenaeus is also so called upon to beat the ground with his feet and shake the pine torch, I think Catullus includes in **tinnula** the shrill (*acuta, resonanti*, Landi) at times almost metallic, voice of boys, who certainly sang the Fescennines, and who are actually called upon 117 to sing *in modum* the nuptial cry *Io Hymen Hymenae* 10. So in the marriage-procession in Hes. Scut. Herc. 278, 9 τοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ λεγυρῶν συρίγγων ἴσαν αὐδὴν Ἐξ ἀπαλῶν στομάτων. This view seems more likely than that Catullus supposes Hymenaeus playing on a pipe, as Claudian describes him Epithal. 98 *non uilem mihi fistula commodat usum Responsura choris*, which would be *tinnula*, as it is in Calpurnius Ecl. iv. 74.

14. **Pelle humum**. Hes. Theog. 70 of the Muses περὶ δ' ἵαχε γαῖα μέλαινα ὕμνους, ἐρατὸς δὲ ποδῶν ἀπο δοῦπος ὀρώρει. Iph. A. 1042 χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἔχοντες Ἐν γὰρ κρούουσai.

15. **Pineam**. From Pliny H. N. xvi. 75 *Spina nuptiarum facibus auspiciatissima, quoniam inde fecerint pastores qui rapuerunt Sabinas, ut auctor est Masurius*, and Festus p. 245 M. *Patrimi et patrimi pueri praetextati tres nubentem deducunt, unus qui facem praefert ex spina alba, quia noctu nubebant, duo qui tenent nubentem*, cf. Paulus p. 244 M. and Varro ap. Non. 112; Symmachus Orat. pro Patre p. 335 *Seeck spineam facem de rogo damnatae matris incenderent, ululatus adulterum carmina fescennina miscerent*; it would seem that the torch carried by a boy before the bride was made of *spina* or *pinus alba*, perhaps white thorn. Varro ap. Charisium 144 Keil, also states that *pinus alba* was used for making torches *purgationis causa*, and Ovid Fast. vi. 129, 165 introduces it as efficacious in averting evil powers. Hence Parthenius, Alex. Guarinus, Robortello, Landi, Muretus read *spineam* here. But as there are many passages where marriage-torches are spoken of as made of pine, e. g. Ciris 439<sup>1</sup> *Pronuba nec castos accendit pinus odores*, Aen. vii. 396, Ov. Fast. ii. 558, Sen. Med. 111, cf. Anth. P. vii. 407. 5; as Catullus gives to Hymenaeus the *general* characteristics of the marriage procession, whereas Festus speaks of the *spina* as used for one particular torch of the five that were carried in front of the bride by a *puer patrimus et matrimus*; lastly as, according to Paulus p. 87 M. the marriage torch was in honour of Ceres, the *dea taedifera* (Heroid. ii. 42), I retain, with Scaliger and most editors, the MS reading **Pineam**.

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Sillig Epist. Crit. p. 7.

16. The simple straightforwardness of this line, and the juxtaposition of the names of the bride and bridegroom, mark the transition to the actual business of the poem. Iunia not Iunia is very clear in *O* as well as *G*. In retaining Mallio against the opinion of most edd. I follow the author of a grammatical treatise in Hagen's *Anecdota* p. cxxiii. 24 *Quot sunt ista agnomina? Multa sunt . . . Ex meritis, ut Torquatus Mallius, qui condam Gallum occidit, cuius torquem suo collo conectit. Mallius enim habuit nomen, pugnavit contra Gallum, occidit illum, et quia mos erat Gallis ut in suis collis aureas torquis conecterent tulit Gallo Mallius torquem et collo suo conectit.* Schwabe well observes that the poem gives us no data whatever for framing a personal history either of the bride or bridegroom.

17. 'Sicut Venus cum bono augurio uenit ad iudicium Paridis, quia uictoriam reportauit, ita etiam Iulia proficiscitur ad uirum suum.' Alex. Guarinus, rightly, I think, as this interpretation includes the comparison of the bride with Venus as simply beautiful. Statius also introduces the judgment of Paris in his *Epithalamium*, but only to bring in Helen as a reward less lovely than the bride, *S. i. 2. 43*.

18. *Venit.* Il. xxiv. 29 'Ὁς νείκεσσε θεὰς ὅτε οἱ μέσσαλον ἴκοντο. Eur. Iph. A. 1300 ἔνθα ποτὶ Παλλὰς Ἴμολε καὶ δολιόφρων Κύπρις Ἥρα θ' Ἑρμῆς θ' ὁ Διὸς ἄγγελος . . . Κρίσιν ἐπὶ στυγρῶν ἐρίν τε καλλονᾶς. Androm. 275 Ἰδαίαν εἰς νύκταν Ἥλθ' ὁ Μαίλας τε καὶ Διὸς τόκος. 284 Ταὶ δ' ἐπεὶ ὑλόκομον νύκτος ἦλυθον. **Phrygium.** Trojan, perhaps with a notion of Paris' special connexion with Idu, Πάριος δὲ Ἰδαίος ἐλέγερ' Ἐλέγερ' ἐν Φρυγῶν πόλει Iph. A. 1289, 90.

19. *Iudicem*, 'arbitrator of beauty.' Troad. 924 Ἐκρυε τρισσὸν ζεῦχος ὅδε τρισσῶν θεῶν, Hel. 26, Hec. 644. According to the Schol. on Il. xx. 3 the scene of the judgment of Paris was Callicolone. *bona cum bona*, like *Bona te Venus Iuuenit . . . quoniam bonum Non abscondis amorem*; 'gracious' expresses both ideas.

20. *alite* (σὺν υἱοῖσι δαυδοῖσι Hes. Fr. 149 Markscheffel) in reference to taking the auspices, which was an essential part of a Roman marriage (Cic. de Divin. i. 16, Valer. Max. ii. 1. 1, Iuven. x. 336, Tac. Ann. xi. 27), though in the time of Catullus it had become a mere form (de Divin. i. 16. 28 *nuptiarum auspices, qui re omitta nomen tantum tenent*), and was probably so in this case. When the relations and friends of the bride had met in her father's house, the ceremony opened with taking the auspices, which originally meant ascertaining the good-will of the auspicial gods of marriage, Ceres, Tellus, Mars, Picumnus, Pilumnus and Iuno Pronuba (Servius on Aen. iv. 58, 100, Nonius 528), through the signs which they were supposed to send by birds, or from something unusual in the sky. Pliny mentions the *agathus*, a species of hawk, of small size and tame in our day, as *propter totam agarii nuptialibus negotiis*, apparently from its being as a bird of prey (H. N. x. 21; Arist. H. A. ix. 80); in later times the use degenerated into the mere presence of an auspex to witness the payment of the dowry and give a formal sanction to the marriage.

21 22. So *Nauis* is interpreted as a young girl (C. v. 103, Helen to a cypress Phoebe, 1123, 31). *clausus* *origines* as these descriptions from plants; in 24 the tree is like an olive-tree, a tree, in 27 she is *arboris* *pariter*, in 28 like a *fructibus* in 29 like olive *pariter* or

yellow poppy. So in the second Epithalamium she is like a flower in a garden-croft LXII. 39-44, or a vine in a bare field 49-53. Compare also LXIV. 89, 90.

21. **Florida**, 'blossoming.' The beauty of the myrtle lies much in the contrast of the white buds or blossoms, which grow all the way up the sprays, with the green and glossy (**enitens**) leaves.

22. Plin. H. N. xv. 119 *Arbor ipsa in Europae ciliore caelo quod a Cerauniis montibus incipit primum Circeis in Elpenoris tumulo uisa traditur, Graecumque ei nomen remanet quo peregrinam esse apparet. Fuit ubi nunc Roma est iam cum conderetur, quippe ita traditur, myrtea uerbena Romanos Sabinosque, cum propter raptas uirgines dimicare uoluissent, depositis armis purgatos in eo loco qui nunc signa Veneris Cluacinae habet: cluere enim antiqui purgare dicebant. Et in ea quoque arbore suffimenti genus habetur, ideo tum electa, quoniam coniunctioni et huic arbori Venus praeest.* Cf. 122 *Cato tria genera myrti prodidit, nigram candidam coniugulam fortasse a coniugiis . . . coniugalem existimo nunc nostratam dici.* The connexion of the myrtle with Venus (Ecl. vii. 62, Geor. i. 28, Ovid F. iv. 139-144, Plut. Numa 19), possibly too the Greek associations of the word, e. g. in Aristophanes, cf. Hesych. *μύρτος ἡ μυρρίνη καὶ τὸ γυναικίον αἰδοίων οἱ δὲ τὸ σχίσμα<sup>1</sup> τῆς γυναικός*) may have led Catullus to introduce it in his marriage poem. **Asia** was explained by Lambinus of the Asian meadow by the Cayster (Il. ii. 461, G. i. 383, Aen. vii. 701) in compliance with the rule laid down by Servius on Aen. vii. 701 *cum Asiā de promissa dicimus a brevis est.* Myrtles are fond of water (Theophr. Hist. Pl. i. 4: 3, Eur. El. 777 *Κυρεὶ δὲ κήποις ἐν καταρρύτοις βεβώς, Δρέπων τερεῖνης μυρσίνης κάρη πλόκου*, Ion 117-120), and Catullus speaks of them as growing on the banks of the Eurotas, LXIV. 89. The marshy region of the Cayster would thus be not alien to the habits of the plant, though no passage is quoted which proves it to have grown there with special luxuriance. Voss seems to have felt the difficulty when following Eustath. on Dionys. Perieg. 620 *οἱ δὲ φασιν ὅτι Ἀσία πόλις Λυδίας παρὰ Τρωάφ τῷ ὄρει ἐν ᾧ τριχόρδος κιθάρα εὐρίθη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡ χωρὰ καλεῖται· ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀσίου τινοῦ Λυδοῦ ἐξ οὗ ὁ Ἀσίας λειμὼν*, cf. Schol. Apoll. R. ii. 779 *Ἀσίδος ἡπείροιο τῆς Λυδίας λέγεται Ἀσία γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Λυδία καὶ ἡ κιθάρα Ἀσία λέγεται ἐπεὶ ἐν Λυδίᾳ πρῶτον εὐρίθη*, Steph. B. *Ἡσιονία ἡ Σάρδεων χώρα· ἢ καὶ Ἀσία*, he explained **Myrtus Asia** 'a Lydian myrtle:' and this would agree with the statements of modern travellers, e. g. of Sir C. Fellows (Asia Minor p. 18), and with Catullus' fondness for learned allusions (*doctus*). Yet the quantitative rule laid down by Servius, though no doubt based on the ordinary usage of the Roman, at least the Augustan and post-Augustan, poets, can scarcely be held to apply with certainty to Catullus; Choerilus of Samos (ed. Näge p. 121) and after him the Alexandrian<sup>2</sup> poets regularly use *Ἀσίς* long, Mosch. ii. 9, Apoll. R. i. 444, ii. 779, Nicand. Ther. 216, Alex. 1, fr. 74. 11 Schneider, and so Ovid *Asida, Aside terra* M. v. 648, ix. 447; while there would be a special propriety in describing

<sup>1</sup> So Guyet. The MS has *σχῆμα*. Pollux ii. 174, quoted by Schmidt, is more precise: *τὸ μὲν σύμπαν κτεῖς καὶ ἐπίσιον, ἡ δὲ τομὴ σχίσμα, τὸ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ σκαῖρον σαρκίον πέμψη ἡ μύρτον ἢ ἐπίδερις ἢ κλειτορίς.*

<sup>2</sup> Anth. P. xi. 218 *Χοῖριλος Ἀντιμάχου πολὺν λείπεται· ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Σοφορίαν εἶχε διὰ στόματος.*



description of Pausanias ix. 29. 3 ἐν Ἑλικῶνι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄλσος ἰόντι τῶν Μουσῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἡ Ἀγανίππη πηγὴ θυγατέρα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἀγανίππην τοῦ Τερμησοῦ λέγουσι· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ὁ Τερμησὸς περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα. Τὴν δὲ εὐθείαν ἐρχομένην πρὸς τὸ ἄλσος, ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Εὐφήμες ἐπειρασμένη λίθῳ τροφὸν δὲ εἶναι τὴν Εὐφήμεν λέγουσι τῶν Μουσῶν ταύτης τε οὖν εἰκὼν καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν Λίως ἐστὶν ἐν πέτρᾳ μικρᾷ σπηλαίου τρόπον εἰργασμένη· τούτῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον πρὸ τῆς θυσίας τῶν Μουσῶν ἐσαγίζουσι, does not correspond with that of Catullus, who perhaps had never visited the spot. At any rate his 'Aonian caverns' must be *below* Aganippe. **Aonios** so Verg. Ecl. x. 12 *Aonie Aganippe*. Already in the Theogony the Muses are called Ἑλικωνιάδες, and dance round its violet-hued fount, perhaps that afterwards known as Aganippe (Hes. Theog. 1-4). **specus**. Caves and grottoes are often mentioned in connexion with the Muses, e.g. the Libethrian grotto Strab. 410, 471, Paus. ix. 34 which was also part of Helicon, and so Columella speaks of *Antra Castaliis semper rorantia guttis* x. 267.

**29. Nympha** is not used for *lympa*, but Aganippe, daughter of a river (see on 28), and herself a water-nymph, pours down the water of the spring which bears her name. Cf. Anth. P. ix. 328. 1 Νύμφαι Νηϊάδες καλλιρροον αἱ τόδε νᾶμα Χεῖτε κατ' οὐρείου πρῶνδς ἀπειρίσιον. According to Varro, quoted by Servius on Ecl. vii. 21, the Muses were sometimes identified with the Nymphs, as residing in springs; thus fountains were sometimes consecrated to the *Camenae*, and so Vergil Ecl. vii. 21 asks the *Nymphae Libethrides* to grant him a song.

**30. Frigerans** seems not to be found in any other writer of authority.

**31. domum** and **dominam** are in relation to each other as often, LXVIII. 68, Trin. iv. 3. 1, Cic. Phil. xiii. 9. 19 *minaretur dominis, notaret domos*, de Fin. i. 18. 58, Petron. 76 *dominus in domo factus sum*. The bride began her *dominium in domo uiri* the day after the wedding (Macrobi. S. i. 15. 22). **dominam** here = *matrem familias* (Delrio on Sen. Agam. 263).

**33-35.** A common simile applied in an uncommon way. Generally the ivy is the *person* who clasps, as in Eur. Hec. 398, Med. 1213, Hor. C. i. 36. 20, Epod. xv. 5, here it is love which clasps the soul.

**33. reuinciens**, 'binding fast;' like *religare*. The original idea seems to be binding back so as to prevent escape. Ennius has *somno leni placidoque reuinctus* Ann. 5 Vahlen.

**34. tenax**, 'clinging.' Hor. Epod. xv. 5. **huc et huc** with **errans**, as in Aen. xii. 743 *Et nunc huc, inde huc incertos implicat orbis* (Sillig). The disorder of the words corresponds to the straggling irregularity of the ivy. Schulze quotes *κισσοῦ πολυπλανέος* from Anth. P. vi. 154. 4.

**36. integrae**, 'unstained,' XXXIV. 2.

**38. Par dies** looks like an expression of common life, as we might say 'your own time.' **in modum**, 'in measure,' like *in numerum* Lucr. ii. 631, Verg. Ecl. vi. 27, G. iv. 175. There seems to be no authority for Pleitner's 'in modum solennem, cum citatur ad munus.' In Theocritus the virgins who chant the Epithalamium of Helen and Menelaus *Ἀειδὼν δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι ἐς ἐν μέλος ἐγκροτέουσιν Ποσσὶ περιπλέκτους* (xviii. 7, 8).

**41. audiens**, when he hears the cry *O Hymenaeae Hymen* which

mons him to his duty of presiding at the marriage. Callim. H. Apoll. 21 'Ὀκεῖν' is τῷδε ἢ τῷδε ἀνέργ. **Vt lubentius**, not *Quo lubentius*. The *Balliol Glossary* has *Quo lubentius ubi (uti?) libenter interrogatiuus vel oblargatiuus sermo*. It might seem from this that *Quo lubentius* implied reproach, as certainly seems to be the case in Caesar B. G. viii. 40, Nep. Eum. v. This would account for Cat. preferring **Vt lubentius**.

**42. citariar**. like *nititur* 68, *comparariar* 65, 70, 75, gives an antique cast to the expression.

**44. bonae Veneris**, 195. 'Hoc dicit quia est et mala Venus.' Landi. As Venus was goddess of the sexual relations, and these might be virtuous or vicious, Ov. Fast. iv. 133, 4 *Rite deam Latiae colitis matresque nurusque, Et uos quis uiltae longaque uestis abest*, she is *bona Venus* as goddess of married and honourable love. So Theocritus distinguishes Κύπρις Οὐρανία from Κύπρις Πάρθημος. Anth. P. vi. 340 Ἄ Κύπρις σὺ πάνθαμος· Δάσκειο τὰν θεὸν εἰπὼν Οὐρανίαν, ἀγῶς ἀνθεμα Χρυσογόνας, Οἶκαρ ἐν Ἀμφικλέους, ᾧ καὶ τέκνα καὶ βίον ἔσχε Ξυνόν. αἰὶ δὲ σφιν λάϊον εἰς ἔτος ἦν Ἐκ σίβην ἀρχομένους, ὧ πότνια.

**45. Coniugator**, 'uniter,' does not seem to occur elsewhere. Cicero uses the verb, de Off. i. 17. 58 *Estque ea iucundissima amicitia quam similitudo morum coniugauit*, the only passage in which it is found in his works (Holden). **amoris boni**, as distinct from *meretricii amores*.

**46-75.** A hymn in praise of Hymenaeus, perhaps sung by the virgins (36-9).

**46.** Haupt, whose conjecture I have adopted, makes **anosisis** a predicate, 'Where is the God that lovers should be more earnest to seek?' It seems more natural to take **magis** with **petendus**, 'What God is more to be sought by heart-sick lovers?' So **Quem colent homines magis?**

**48. anosisis** refers to the deferred hope of fruition, when *Veneris dulcedinis in cor Stillauit gutta et successit frigida cura* Lucr. iv. 1059. Comp. Tib. i. 3. 16 *Quaerebam tardus anxius usque moras*. Stat. S. i. 2. 81 *quantos iuuentis premat anxius ignes*.

**47. Est.** A very effective rhythm, produced by the gradual ascent from the monosyllabic **Est** to the quadrisyllabic **amantibus**. It is used again in 127 *Iam seruire Talasio*.

**51. tremulus**, 'decrepit,' Eun. ii. 3. 45 *Incuruos tremulus labiis demissis gemois*. Ovid F. iii. 670 speaking of the *pauper annus* Anna Perenna *Frigebat tremula rustica liba manu*. Iuuen. xv. 56 *Quamuis iam tremulis capiat pater*. Eleg. in Maecen. 129, 130 *Pascitur Aurorae P. huius uocare conuicia, Atque illa iam tremulo nulla senecta nocet*. Neither here nor in LXVIII. 142 has *tremulus* the meaning which Munro assigns to it of 'over-anxious.' Landi rightly 'tremulus ob senectam, et hoc euenit propter deficientiam sanguinis, ut trepidant senes, nam sanguis est quasi calor concretus, quo sine et quo decrescente senes dum tregit ex qua frigidity tremor in membris nascitur.'

**52. Inuenit** with *annus*, as in Ovid A. A. iii. 370 *Inuenit iratos et uis perire uirum*. The old father implores the god of marriage on his children, to do help in his children's behalf, anxious to see them wed before he dies.

**53. Scintilla**, also in a fragment of Sotomus ap. Non. 530 *scintillam*. The old father implores the god of marriage on his children, to do help in his children's behalf, anxious to see them wed before he dies. As the girls were worn, one round the hips,



the other beneath the breasts, Rich (s. v. *zona*) distinguishes the former as *zona*, the latter as *cingulum*. But in fact the breast-band is *strophium* or *mamillare* (Mart. xiv. 66); *cingulum* was the Roman equivalent for ζώνη, applied to a man's belt or a woman's girdle indifferently. Paulus D. p. 63 M. *Cinxiae Iunonis nomen sanctum habebatur in nuptiis, quod initio coniugii solutio erat cinguli, quo noua nupta erat cincta.* ib. *Cingulo noua nupta praecingebatur, quod uir in lecto soluebat, factum ex lana ouis, ut, sicut illa in glomos sublata coniuncta inter se sit, sic uir suus secum cinctus uinctusque esset.* *Hunc Herculaneo nodo uinctum uir soluit ominis gratia, ut sic ipse felix sit in suscipiendis liberis, ut fuit Hercules, qui septuaginta liberos reliquit.* Here *cingulum* is evidently = *zona* as described by Mart. xiv. 151 *Longa satis nunc sum; dulci sed pondere uenter Si tumeat, fiam tunc tibi zona breuis*, i.e. the lower girdle round the hips. Virgins let the folds of their robe fall free of this girdle at marriage, because then they unclasp it; hence *zonam soluere* = to surrender one's virginity: and so Alcestis 177 ὁ λείκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένοι' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ Κορεύματ' ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, in contradistinction to the more common usage according to which the lover λύει ζώνην or μίτρην Od. xi. 245, Theocr. xxvii. 55, Mosch. ii. 164.

**54. timens**, 'fearing,' whilst desiring: 'timens simul et sperans,' Passerat. So Tib. i. 8. 36 *Dum timet et teneros conserit usque sinus*, and Statius S. i. 2. 31 *Tu tamen attonitus, quamuis data copia tantae Sortis, adhuc optas, permissaque nuphine dextro Vota paues.* Mr. Clayton compares Troilus and Cressida iii. 2 *I am giddy; expectation whirls me round.* The imaginary relish is so sweet That it enchants my sense: what will it be When that the watery palate tastes indeed Love's thrice-reputed nectar? death, I fear me, Swooning destruction, or some joy too fine, Too subtle-potent, tuned too sharp in sweetness, For the capacity of my ruder powers: I fear it much. **nouos maritus**, like *noua nupta*. Varro ap. Non. 47, Gerontodidascalus ii. Riese 187 Bücheler *Nouos maritus laticulus laxim uxoris soluebat cingillum*, a passage very like Plut. Lycurg. 15 δ νυμφίος οὐ μεθύων οὐδὲ θρηνπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ νύμφων ὥσπερ αἰεὶ, παρεισελθὼν ἔλυσεν τὴν ζώνην.

**55. Captat aure.** 'Expectat deductam sollemniter feminam, auide auscultans, num pompam Hymenaeum clamantem adpropinquare audiat.' Bährens. Benoist explains of the noisy steps of the approaching procession. Both may be included. **Captat.** Verg. Aen. iii. 514 *auribus aera captat*; Liu. xxxviii. 7. 8 *aure admota sonitum captabant.*

**56. fero**, 'rude,' partly from the *ardor uiolentus* of love (Lucr. iv. 1116, cf. 1079-1083), partly with the idea of the bridegroom ravishing the bride as an enemy. Riese, comparing Tib. ii. 6. 5 *Vre, puer, quaesio, tua qui ferus otia liquit Atque iterum erronem sub tua signa uoca*, Sen. Hipp. 272 *Meus iste labor est, aggredi iuuenem ferum* (Hippolytus) *Mentemque saeuam flectere inmitis uiri*, explains **fero** as 'defiant,' 'headstrong,' in the sense of not yet submitting to the rule of the Marriage-God. But this is against the suggestion of the other words in **manus puellulam Dedis a gremio Matris**, which better accord with the idea of violence natural in the circumstances and typified by the spear and other ceremonies of the wedding. **in manus**, a poetical variation upon the legal formula *in manum*. By marriage *cum conuentione in manum* the wife passed out of her father's family into that of her husband, the agnati of the latter becom

now her own. The husband thus acquired the right of a father over his wife, and full power over her property; she was no longer *sui iuris*, but *alieni*. (Rossb. Röm. Ehe pp. 53-56).

57. *ipse*, 'with thy own hand,' perhaps implying that in the rape which on the wedding-day was symbolized by the bride's being torn by force from her mother's bosom, the central idea of marriage, and therefore the prime function of the marriage-god lay. He was present through all the ceremony; but in this act he interfered personally. So above *Qui rapis teneram ad uirum Virginem*.

58. Festus p. 289 M. *Rapi simulatur uirgo ex gremio matris; aut, si ea non est, ex proxima necessitudine, cum ad uirum traditur, quod uidelicet ea res feliciter Romulo cessit*. Rossbach thinks this immediately preceded or was the first act of the *domum deductio*: the bride was removed from her mother's arms by the pronuba, as seems likely from Stat. S. i. 2. 11-15, Claudian Epithal. 124-128 (Rossb. pp. 308, 329).

61-75. The gradation in these three strophes from (1) the relation of husband and wife to (2) that of parent and child, and (3) that of citizen and country, is the natural one, and corresponds to the different stages of married life, (1) of passion purely sexual, (2) of family feeling, (3) of responsibility as arising from the possession of children as members of the community. The transition from the purely personal to the more general relation, as from the more to the less selfish feeling, is appropriate to the solemnity of a Roman Hymeneal, and shows that the MS order is the right one. Cf. Cic. de Off. i. 17. 54 *Nam cum hoc sit natura commune animantium ut habeant libidinem procreandi, prima societas in ipso coniugio est, proxima in liberis, deinde una domus, communia omnia. Id autem est principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei publicae*.

61-65. So Claudian Epithal. 31 sqq. *Hunc Musa genitum legit Cytherea ducentemque Praefecit thalamis: nullum iunxisse cubile Hoc sine nec primas fas est attollere taedas*.

62. Phorm. iv. 5. 12 *Id si non fama adprobat*.

63. *Commodi capere*, a common expression. Eun. iii. 5. 25 *Quid ex ea re tandem ut caperes commodi?* v. 5. 1 *Ex meo propinquo rure hoc capio commodi*, 'find a gain.'

64. *Quis huic deo Comparari ausit?* 'quasi dicat, nullus est qui possit comparari Hymenaeo, quia optima permittit, illicitumque coitum ablegat.' Landi.

67. *Liberos dare*, 'bear children,' the express and formal object of marriage, as is shown by the recurring phrases *liberum quaerundum, quaerendorum* (Gell. iv. 3. 2, Suet. Jul. 52, Quintil. Declam. 247, p. 11 Ritter), *liberorum, liberum quaesendum* (Ennius in Cresphonte and Andromeda ap. Festum p. 258 M.), *creandorum* (Val. Max. vii. 7. 4) *gratia uxorem ducere*. Pleitner quotes Gaius i. 64 *Ergo si quis nefarias atque incestas nuptias contraxerit, neque uxorem habere uidetur, neque liberos. Hi enim qui ex eo coitu nascuntur, matrem quidem habere uidentur, patrem uero non ulique; nec ob id in potestate eius sunt, sed quales sunt ii quos mater uulgo concepit. Nam nec hi patrem habere intelleguntur, cum his etiam incertus sit: unde solent spurii filii appellari*.

68. *Stirpe nitier*, 'rest on a new stock of children,' as Prop. iv. 11. 69 *Et serie fulcite genus*. Plin. Epist. iv. 21. 3 *cui nunc unus ex tribus liberis superest domumque pluribus adminiculis paulo ante fundatam deso-*

*latus fulcit ac sustinet.* The ordinary reading *iungier* must mean 'be continued,' i.e. form a continuous link in the family by means of a new stock of children, as in Plin. iv. 9. 10 *labore quem difficiliter est repetere quam iungere*, Tac. Dial. 17 (of old men who formed a link between very remote periods) *oratores quos eorundem hominum aures coniungere et copulare potuerunt*. Scaliger thought Catullus alludes here to the fact that children of an informal marriage were *peregrinae condicionis*, and could not take an inheritance as the *sui heredes* of their father. A *suus heres* continues the right of his father, and in this way forms a new *stirps* by which the father is continued (*parens iungitur*). Rossbach retains *uincier*, 'give way to,' as Statius urges a son to overtake his sire, S. iv. 4. 74 *Surge agendum iuuenemque puer deprendere parentem*. See Excursus.

71. *Quae . . careat . . Non queat*, 'if any house should be without, it could not,' a change from the direct assertion of the two previous strophes, suited to the more remote contingency; they speak of wedded happiness and coming children; this of children old enough to serve in the defence of the state. *sacris*, probably to recall the *sacra priuata* or family rites which the Romans were bound by law to maintain unbroken (de Legg. ii. 9. 22).

72. *praesides* in the same sense as *praesidium*, 'guardians,' 'defenders.' Rud. iv. 4. 7 *Ite inquam domum ambo nunciam ex praesidio praesides*. Liu. vi. 16 *Iuppiter optime maxime, Iunoque regina ac Minerva ceterique di deaque, qui Capitolium arcemque incolitis, sicine uestrum militum ac praesidem sinitis uexari ab inimicis?* Catullus alludes to the fact that the Roman legions consisted originally of none but freeborn Roman citizens. (Passerat.) But the statement, which is expressed generally, 'a land where marriages are irregular cannot provide soldiers to protect its borders,' contains of course a general truth, as where the family, or, more strictly, the paternal relation is weak, e.g. in tribes where promiscuous intercourse takes place, there cannot be the same subordination or therefore the same united action; each warrior thinks of himself, and is more ready to wander off in quest of a livelihood than to remain in one place or present himself at any moment for the defence of a scarcely settled territory.

76-120. The song to Hymenaeus ended, the poet places us at the street door of the bride's house, where the crowd is waiting for the bride to appear. As she delays a long time, the emotions she may be supposed to pass through are successively described. (1) Love and shame must be in conflict; shame is the stronger, she is weeping to think she must leave her mother. (2) So fair a woman should not weep; she should think of her beauty and come forth. (3) She must and ought to appear, and not keep our procession waiting. (4) Let her think what a kind husband expects her and come. (5) And how joyful he is in the anticipation of her love. She must come. The central idea is the wish to see the bride, *Prodeas noua nupta*; which is therefore repeated twice in the central stanza 92 and 96. This section of the poem is very Greek throughout: probably a good deal was modelled on Sappho; Callimachus was also, perhaps, imitated in parts.

76-78. Callim. H. Apoll. 5-8 οὐχ δράας; ἐπένευσεν δὲ Ἀήλιος ἡδὺ τι φάινε' Ἐξαπίνης, ὃ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἡέρι καλὸν αἰεῖει. Αὐτοὶ νῦν κατοχῆς ἀνακλίνεσθαι πύλαων· Αὐταὶ δὲ κληίδες· ὃ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκέτι μακρὴν.

77. **adest**, the reading of all the MSS, follows naturally upon **pandite** as giving the reason. 'Open the door; the bride is ready to come forth; and our procession, bride, is ready with its torches to escort you.' The sudden change, **pandite**, **adest**, **Viden** accords with the eager expectation of the crowd: much as *Flet* in 81 is followed by *flere desine* in 82. **Viden** is perhaps general, as in Tib. ii. 1. 15 *Cernite* is followed by *uiden* 25; yet in 94 *Viden* must be addressed to the bride. **faces**. Torches were naturally introduced in a ceremony which originally took place at night. Servius on Ecl. viii. 29 *Varro in aetiis ait sponsas ideo faces praeire, quod antea non nisi per noctem nubentes ducebantur a sponsis*. Plutarch (Quaestt. Rom. 2) states that the number of torches lighted at a marriage was always five, a specially *γαμήλιος ἀριθμός*, as made up of the male number 3 and the female 2<sup>1</sup>; something of which feeling we retain in the proverbial 'there's luck in odd numbers.' (Rossb. Röm. Ehe p. 339). This division I believe to be observed by Catullus throughout the poem. Each strophe falls into two systems, the former of 3 glyconics, the latter of 1 glyconic + 1 pherecratean, as laid down by Haupt and Lachmann.

78. **omas**. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 306 *φλογὸς μέγαν πάγωνα*, also in Eurip. fr. 833 Nauck; Shakespere's 'red and bearded fires;' and more nearly *πυρὸς ἀμφήκης βόστρυχος* of lightning, Prom. 1044.

79. The lacuna must have contained something like this, 'The bride delays; it is time she should get the better of her shame. Yet she listens to the voice of shame more than to us, and weeps because she must go.' **Tardet** possibly from *tardere*, cf. *lentel* from *lentere* in Lucilius ap. Priscian. 880. P., i. 397 K. **ingenuus**, 'the shame of one gently born.' Stat. quotes Philetas (fr. 16 in Bergk's Anthologia Lyrica) *ἀγαθὴ δ' ἐπὶ ἥθεσιν αἰδώς*.

81. **Flet**. Plutarch Quaestt. Rom. 105 *ὁ Βάρρων εἶρηκεν ὅτι λυπούμεναι μὲν αἱ παρθέναι γαμοῦνται, χαίρουσαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες*.

82. Titinius ap. Non. 227 *Accede ad sponsum (sponsam Iunius) audacter, uirgo nulla est tali (= talis) Setiae*.

83. **Au-Runculeia**. Robortello<sup>2</sup> (1548) has the credit of restoring to the text of the poem the right name of the bride, Arunculeia; but it was reserved for Turnebus Aduers. xv. 22 to show that Catullus used the longer form Aurunculeia, and distributed the name between two verses. **Non periculum est**, often in Cicero. Tusc. Disp. v. 40. 118 *Quae qui recordetur haud sane periculum est ne non mortem aut optandam aut certe non timendam putet*. de Orat. i. 48. 299 *Nullum est periculum ne quid tu eloquere nisi prudenter*. Plin. Paneg. 7 *Non enim periculum est ne, cum loquar de humanitate, exprobari sibi superbiam credat*.

84-87. Sappho fr. 106 Bergk οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἑτέρα πάϊς, ὃ γάμβρε, τοιαῦτα. Eur. Hec. 635 *Ἑλένας ἐπὶ λέκτρα, τὰν Καλλίσταν δ' χρυσοφαῆς Ἄλιος αἰγάξει*. **diem Viderit uenientem** is an inversion of Callim. H. Dian. 249 τοῦ δ' οὐτι θεώτερον ὕψεται Ἡώς.

<sup>1</sup> Τοῦ δὲ περὶ τοῦ μάλιστα γαμήλιος ἡ πέντας ἐστὶ· τὰ γὰρ τρία πρῶτος περὶ τὸς καὶ τὰ δύο πρῶτος ἀρτίος· ἐκ δὲ τούτων, ὥσπερ ἀρρενός καὶ θήλειος, ἡ πέντας μέμικται.

<sup>2</sup> A singular proof of the *odium philologicum* is connected with this. The great Sigonius (Emendat. p. 147<sup>b</sup>) severely censures Robortello for this very real service to Catullus' text, on the ground that Arunculeia could not be connected with Arunca, ignoring the fact that for fifty years *Herculeia* of the Aldine had supplanted the right name in the editions of Catullus.

84. *femina*, 'uis inest uoci "femina" h. e. puella ex uirgine iam facta coniunx.' Bährens.

85. *Clarum*. Landi finds here an allusion to the superstitious feeling of being married on a fine day, comparing Serv. on Aen. iv. 166 *nihil tam incongruum nubentibus quam terrae motus uel caeli*.

87. *uario*, 'many-hued,' a sense into which it easily passes from the earlier one of 'streaked' which is found in Cato R. R. 33 and 73.

88. *Diuitis domini* (Aen. xii. 473) who might plant it for ornament, not for food or medicinal purposes. Il. xi. 68 *ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἀρουραν*. Even in Quintilian's time flower-gardens were the privilege of the rich few, viii. 3. 8 *An ego fundum cultiorem putem in quo mihi quis ostenderit lilia et uiolas et amoenos fontes surgentes, quam ubi plena messis aut graues fructu uiles erunt? sterilem platanum tonsasque myrtos quam maritam ulmum et uberes oleas praeoptauerim? habeant illa diuites licet: quid essent si aliud nihil haberent?* *hortulo*, 'pleasure-garden,' the *κηπίον* καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου of Thuc. ii. 62.

89. *Stare*, not merely 'stand,' but 'rise tall or straight.' *flos hyacinthinus*, an exact translation of Homer's *ὑακινθινὸν ἄνθος* Od. vi. 231, to which the locks of Odysseus are compared. Daubeny, who examines the question what the flower was at some length (Roman Husbandry pp. 236-238) concludes 'that the term *ὑακινθος* was in general applied to some plant of the lily tribe; but that the poets confounded with this the larkspur, which has upon it the markings alluded to (ΑΙ ΑΙ); and that the name Hyacinth was given in the first instance to the plant which most distinctly exhibited them.' The figured *ὑακινθος*<sup>1</sup> in the Vienna MS of Dioscorides agrees very well with the straight upstanding flower Catullus seems to have had in view. Vergil says more correctly *florem hyacinthi* Aen. xi. 69.

90. Catullus may have had in view Cas. iv. 3. 6 *Nam quid illaec nunc tam diu intus remorantur remeligines?* *abit*. Rud. iv. 3. 62 *Verba facimus: il dies*.

91. *Prodeas*, *ἐξίους ἄν*, a polite imperative. *noua nupta* was a formula, Varro fr. Agatho ap. Non. 167, Plin. H. N. viii. 194, xviii. 10, xxviii. 142, xxxv. 78.

92. *si iam uidetur*, 'if at last you are pleased to do so,' a gentle rebuke for delaying. *Si uidetur*, a rather urgent 'if you please,' is common pro Quinctio v. 19 *Nunc hoc uelim cures, si tibi uidetur, quod dixisti*. Fam. vii. 23. 4 *Tu et ad omnia rescribes et quando te expectem feceris me, si tibi uidetur, certiorum*.

94. Perhaps an allusion to the *nupta uerba* which marriage made lawful. Fesius p. 170 M. *Nupta uerba dicebantur ab antiquis quae uirginem dicere non licebat, ut Plautus in Dyscolo, Virgo sum nondum didici nupta uerba dicere*.

95. *Aureas*. Pind. fr. 57 B. Bergk *αἰθόμενα δὲ δᾶς ὑπὸ φαντασίᾳ πνεύματι*.

97. *leuis*, 'truant,' 'fickle,' Prop. ii. 24. 18. *in mala Deditus adultera*, as Lucr. iii. 647 *Et semel in pugnae studio quod dedita mens est*, iv. 815 *quibus est in rebus deditus ipse*.

98. The rhythm is unique, and unusually harsh.

<sup>1</sup> In *Cabinet du Duc d'Orléans* (1784), vol. i. p. 207 Hyacinthus is represented in the act of changing into the flower. This flower is like our hyacinth (1) in its shape, (2) in the double row of flowers down the stem.

99. **Probra**, 'scandals,' *probrum castis inferre* Cael. xviii. 42, in the special sense of adultery, with which it was very early identified. Gell. i. 23. 4 *Verba M. Catonis adscripta ex oratione quae inscribitur de dote... si cum alieno uiro probri quid fecit, condemnatur*. Cic. Phil. ii. 38. 99 *Probri insinulasti pudicissimam feminam*. MSS give *proca*, perhaps *b* fell out and *r* was confused with *c*.

100. **tuis teneris**, like Lucretius' *meo diti de pectore* i. 413, *tuo corpore sancto* i. 38, seems to be an imitation of Ennius' antique manner (Munro on Lucr. i. 413). Here it adds something of simplicity quite in harmony with the feeling of the passage.

103. **Vitis**. Perhaps suggested by Sapph. fr. 104 Bergk  $\tau\iota\phi\sigma\tau'$ ,  $\delta\phi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\rho\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\varsigma\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\omega$ ;  $\text{'}\text{Ορπακίβραδίν}\phi\sigma\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau'\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\omega$ . **adsitas**, planted near or by it. Cato R. R. 32 *arbores facito uti bene maritae sint uilesque uti satis mullae adserantur*. Varro R. R. i. 16. 6 *uitis adsita ad holus*. Ov. Her. v. 47 *adpositis uitibus ulmus*. Phillipps Glossary 4626 *Adsita arbor dicitur cui aliud aliquid quod sustentet adiungitur quemadmodum uitis ulmo uel populo, unde oratius quo populus adsita surgit* (Epp. ii. 2. 270), on which verse of Horace A. S. Wilkins quotes a nearly identical passage from Agroeius p. 2274 P. = Grammat. Lat. vii. p. 125 Keil *quod uidelicet uitibus mariletur quas portat*. **implicat**. E. R. Wharton in his *Etyma Graeca* s.v. accepts Pott's derivation of  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  from  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\iota$  Aeolic for  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota$  and  $\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ .

107. The *lectus genialis* was similarly apostrophized by Ticiada in his Epithalamium, *Felix lectule talibus Sole amoribus*. Prisc. i. 189 Keil.

108. Probably refers to the ivory feet of the bed. The comic poet Plato ap. Athen. 48 speaks of such couches as  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\phi\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  fr. 208 Kock. Cf. Varro's *eburnei, eborati lecti* (Non. 378, 229). **pede lecti**, so Lucilius ap. Macrobi. S. vi. 4. 18, Sen. de Ben. ii. 34. 2.

110. **uaga**, 'fleeing.' Chaucer Romaunt of the Rose p. 25 Bell *The tyme that passeth night and day, And restlesly travayleth ay, And steleth from us so pryvely, That to us semeth sikerly That it in one point dwelleth evere, And certes it ne resteth nevere*.

111. **medio die**, at the mid-day siesta, XXXII. 3. Ovid Am. i. 5. 1 *Aestus erat mediamque dies exegerat horam. Apposui medio membra leuanda toro. Pars adaperita fuit, pars altera clausa fenestrae, Quale fere siluae lumen habere solent... Illa uerecundis lux est praebenda puellis, Qua timidus latebras speret habere pudor*. The Romans regarded noon as the end of their working day, Plut. Q. R. 84.

114-158. The bride at last appears, the boys who carry the torches before her lift them in the air, and taking up the cry *Io Hymen Hymenae io*, move on in procession, together with the rest of the crowd assembled, to the bridegroom's house. This *domum deductio* or solemn procession of the bride to her husband's house was in actual life the occasion of loud and open merriment; verses called *Fescennine*, containing coarse allusions to marriage and its obligations, were sung, and walnuts scattered amongst the crowd. Catullus represents this thoroughly Italian characteristic by the five strophes 124-148 **Da nuce pueris, iners—Io Hymen Hymenaeae**: all of which are more or less coarse, and may all therefore be supposed to belong to the *Fescennina locutio* (120). It is true that the two strophes 124-133 **Da nuce pueris, iners Concubine—Concubine, nuce da**, which might be sung *alternis* (Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 145),

which contain the specially Italian allusion to *nuces* the *comites Fescenninorum* and the specially Roman cry *Talasio*, and from which the Greek epiphonema *Io Hymen Hymenae io* is excluded (Rossbach Röm. Ehe p. 345) stand in a sense by themselves, and might be supposed, as they have been by Peiper, to represent the Fescennines alone. The rhythm too of the twice repeated verse **Concubine, nucea da** (see on 128) is unusually harsh and seems to correspond with the rugged rhythm of the old Fescennines. But (1) noise and coarseness seem to have been the distinctive feature of the *domum deductio* as a whole; nothing proves that either the throwing of *nuces*, or the flute-playing or the jokes habitual on this occasion were confined to the *beginning* of the procession: (2) the allusion in 124-133 is carried on in 134-143; the four strophes therefore can hardly be separated from each other: (3) the boys who are called upon in 116 to chant in measure *Io Hymen Hymenae io*, *Io Hymen Hymenae* may be presumed to sing from 124 to the end of the *domum deductio*, when the bride steps over the threshold of her new home (159) and a new scene begins: (4) Varro and Festus state that the licence of coarse speech was the special prerogative of boys on these occasions. Varro Agatho fr. 1 (Non. 357) *pueri obscenis uerbis nouae nuptulae aures relurant*. Festus p. 245 M. *Praetextum* (*Praetextatum* Paulus) *sermonem quidam putant dici quod praetextatis nefas sit obsceno uerbo uti. Alii quod nubentibus depositis praetextis a multitudine puerorum obscena clamentur*. Therefore 124-133, the most characteristic specimen of the *praetextatus sermo* which the poem presents, cannot be excluded from the song of the boys or marked off by themselves without a great violation of artistic propriety. If we suppose the boys to sing *Diceris male te a tuis—Scimus haec tibi quae licent—Nupta, tu quoque quae tuus*, we may be sure that they also sing *Da nucea pueris, iners* and *Sordebant tibi uillicae*. Whether the crowd chime in, as Rossbach thinks and as the words *Nostra uerba* 94 might lead us to suppose, there is not much to determine. The only strophe where such a view seems more than possible is *Scimus haec tibi quae licent* 139-143.

**115. uideo.** This is the first time an express personality is introduced. It occurs again 189 *ita me iuuent Caelites*, 210 *uolo*, perhaps 225 *lusimus*. It seems most natural to suppose the poet himself to be the speaker in every case, as Statius in his Epithalamium of Stella and Violantilla addresses the bridegroom in his own person. Bährens thinks the choragus is meant.

**117-118. Io Hymen Hymenae io, Io Hymen Hymenae.** Munro shows that *io* has two different metrical values in this refrain. At the beginning of each verse it is a monosyllable *Io (Yō)*, at the end a disyllable. This is clear from a verse preserved by Varro L. L. vi. 68 M. *Io bucco! quis me iubilat? Vicinus tuus antiquus*, and from Mart. xi. 2. 5 *Clamant ecce mei 'io Saturnalia' uersus*. So Dawes, Umpfenbach Meletem. Plautin. p. 23 'ut monosyllabum et bisyllabum *io* se contingant, ut in Catulliano *Io Hymen Hymenae io*,' and Key Lat. Dict. s. v.

**119. procax, 'saucy.'**

**120. Fescennina.** I follow Fröhner in retaining this form, which is found in *D* and *B*, and to which *Falcennina* of *La*<sup>1</sup> points against *Fescennina* of *G* and many other MSS. The *a* is seen also in Dionysius' *Φαοκέννινον* Antiqq. i. 21. Paul. D. p. 85 M. *Fescennini uersus*

*qui caneantur in nuptiis ex urbe Fescennina dicuntur allati, siue ideo dicti quia fascinum putabantur arcere;* and so Servius on Aen. vii. 695. Fescennia or Fescennium was an old Pelasgic town near Falerii (Aen. vii. 695, Plin. iii. 52, Dionys. i. 21). Dionysius says it existed in his time i. 21, but its only historical importance is in its being supposed to have given its name to the Fescennines, in the time of Catullus restricted, it would seem, to the meaning of licentious verses sung at weddings. Liu. vii. 2 *non, sicut ante, Fescennino uersu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant.* Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 145 *Fescennina per hunc inuenta licentia morem Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.* Luc. ii. 368 *Non soliti lusere sales, nec more Sabino Excepit tristis conuicia festa maritus.* Sen. Med. 113 *Festa dicax fundat conuicia Fescenninus, Soluat turba iocos.* Sen. Controvers. vii. 21 (p. 223 Bursian) *Inter nuptiales fescenninos in crucem generi nostri iocabantur.* Plin. xv. 86 *Nuces iuglandes nuptialium fescenninorum comiles* (Teuffel Hist. of Rom. Lit. § 5). *locutio* I prefer to *iocatio* in accordance with the definition ad Heren. iii. 13. 23 *Iocatio est oratio quae ex aliqua re risum pudentem et liberalem potest comparare.* It may be doubted whether the *Fescennina licentia* could come under this. [Yet *locacio* of O, *lotatio* of G, point strongly to *iocatio*. Jestng too was the special characteristic of Fescennines.]

121. Walnuts (Plin. H. N. xv. 86) were scattered amongst the crowd while the Fescennines were sung. From Verg. Ecl. viii. 30 *Sparge marile nuces*, and the words of Servius there *dicitur ideo a nouo marito nuces spargi debere quod proiectae in terram tripudium solistimum faciant* it is clear that they were thrown by the bridegroom. This would not prove that they were thrown by no one else. Catullus makes the singers of the Fescennines call upon the *concupinus* or favorite slave of the bridegroom to do so. This is artistically an improvement in two ways. (1) the position of the *concupinus* becomes more effective poetically. He is taunted by those whose youth reminds him of his own prime, now past, while it irritates him by the inversion of the natural position which he ought to occupy towards them. They are younger, therefore should be his inferiors; yet it is just because they are younger that he is inferior to them. (2) The turn from the *concupinus* to the husband exalts by contrast the position of the latter, and so enhances the dignity of marriage. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his Rhetoric ii. 8 speaking of the topics to be introduced in an oration on Marriage, says *προοιμιαστίον χαριέντως ὅτι εἰ καὶ οἱ ἐρασταὶ τὰ αὐτῶν παιδικὰ ἐπαινοῦσι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ πρέπει τὸν γάμον ἐπαινεῖν ἢ τὰ αὐτοῦ παιδικά.* This passage seems conclusive as to the meaning of *concupinus*.

122. The meaning of *Desertum* will slightly vary according as *domini amorem* is taken to mean 'his master's love for him' or 'his love for his master.' In the latter case *Desertum* would be 'is left forlorn,' viz. by his master moving off to a new affection. But this is harsh; *domini* is more naturally taken as subjective genitive, *Desertum* will then be 'is forsaken,' a change from the more ordinary *desertum domino* like *templo summi Iouis sacro* LV. 5 (Doering). Another way would be to take *Desertum* as 'outstript,' 'that his master's love for himself is left behind (outstript) by a new passion (for his wife):' so A. A. ii. 725 *Sed neque tu dominam uelis maioribus usus Desere, nec cursus anleat*



*illa tuos*: but this is too artificial. *audiens*, when he hears in the Fescennine song (Landi), not the *puellae uocem uirginitatem deponentis* (Serv. on Ecl. viii. 29).

**123. Concubinus**, a favorite slave, i. q. *delicatus*. Quint. i. 2. 8 *Nec mirum*; *nos docuimus, ex nobis audiunt, nostras amicas, nostros concubinos uident*. Plin. H. N. viii. 180 *Concubino procaci*. Sen. Excerpt. Controuers. p. 378 Bursian *Memini illum cum libertinum reum defenderet cui obiciebatur quod patroni concubinus fuisset, dixisse 'inpudicitia in ingenio crimen est, in seruo necessitas, in liberto officium.'* Martial vi. 22. 1, 2 uses the word of a slave who shared his mistress' bed *Quid nubis, Proculina, concubino Et moechum modo, nunc facis maritum?* and Rich Companion s. v. explains it here of the bridegroom who till now had lived in concubinage with a female slave; 122-123 will then mean 'he who has lived in concubinage when he hears that the love once permitted him as master for his female slave is a thing of the past, now that the only legitimate union marriage is come,' and so Rossbach and before them Scaliger. But the strophe 129-134 has then little, if any, force; and the sudden turn to the bridegroom in 134 becomes comparatively tame.

**124. nuces pueris**, as in 121, looks like a regular combination, and may perhaps have been a common-place in Fescennines. Marquardt shows from an inscription that nuts were thrown amongst boys on birth-days as well as at weddings. *Nuces* were used in all kinds of games and are thus synonymous with playthings Pers. i. 10, Hor. S. ii. 3. 171, Sueton. Aug. 83 *modo talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis*. Servius on Ecl. viii. 29 *Meritorii pueri i. e. catamiti quibus licenter utebantur antiqui recedentes a turpi seruitio nuces spargebant i. e. ludum pueritiae, ut significarent se puerilia cuncta iam spernere*, seems to have had Catullus in view. *iners*, in reference to the soft and unlaborious life which he led as a *delicatus*: de N. D. i. 36. 102 *Quasi pueri delicati nihil cessatione melius existumat*. In Plin. Epist. ix. 32 *nihil est pigrius delicatis*, the meaning is uncertain.

**125.** 'You have done with playthings now. Your master discards them for a manlier duty, and so must you.' Such would seem to be the connexion of thought; but there is some difficulty in the sudden change from the *concubinus* to his master.

**126. Iubet**, the reading of a MS in the British Museum, as also of Landi in his Commentary, may be right, as *Talasio* is nominative as well as dative.

**127.** Ter. And. i. 2. 17, 18 *Dum tempus ad eam rem tulit, siui animum ut expleret suum: Nunc hic dies aliam uitam adfert, alios mores postulat*. **Talasio**, Liu. i. 9 *Vnam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Talasii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus cuinam eam ferrent, identidem ne quis eam uiolare Talasio ferri clamitatum; inde nuptialem hanc uocem factam*: and so Plutarch Q. R. 31 *Διὰ τί ὁ πολυθρύλ- λητος φέρεται Ταλάσιος ἐν τοῖς γάμοις; πότερον ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης; καὶ γὰρ τὸν τάλαρον τάλασον ὀνομάζουσι* καὶ τὴν νύμφην εἰσάγοντες, νάκος ὑποστρωνίσουσιν αὐτῇ δ' εἰσφέρει μὲν ἡλακάτην καὶ τὴν ἀτρακτον, ἐρίαν δὲ τὴν θύραν περιστέφει τοῦ εὐδρός. ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἀληθές, ὅτι νεανίας ἦν τις λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς καὶ τέλλα χρηστός, ὄνομα Ταλάσιος . . . ὅθεν εὐτυχοῦς γάμου γενομένου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰβίσθησαν ἐπιφωνεῖν τὸν Ταλάσιον ὥσπερ Ἕλληνας τὸν Ὑμέναιον; A shorter form *Talassus* is found in the vocative Mart. xii. 42. 1

and in Festus p. 359 M., another *Talassio*, *omis* in Festus s. v., Mart. i. 35. 6, 7, iii. 93. 25, xii. 95. 5. In the *Catalepta* iv. 9, v. 16 where the cry is given as it was commonly uttered, it is doubtful whether *Talasio* is dative or vocative. Livy and Plutarch seem to think it dative; Festus and Martial vocative. Rossbach connects Talasius with the other agricultural gods associated with Italian marriage ceremonies, perhaps with Consus. Livy's account proves that tradition connected the name with the primeval custom of ravishing the bride.

**128. Concubine, nuces da.** The harsh rhythm, made up of three words, the first of which has twice the number of syllables in the second, and this twice as many as the third, is perhaps a relic of the original Fescennines, which themselves were probably in Saturnian metre. (Rossb. Röm. Ehe p. 342.)

**129. Sordebant,** 'were of no account,' Verg. Ecl. ii. 44 *Sordent tibi munera nostra*. Benoist adds Plin. xxxv. 88 (*Prologenes*) *sordebat suis* (his countrymen), *ut plerumque domestica*. *uiliçae* (so *O* rightly, see Lachm. on Lucr. i. 313), wives of *uiliçi* (Cato 143, Colum. xii. 1, Iuven. xi. 69, Mart. i. 55. 11, ix. 60. 3, x. 48. 7), whom the favorite slave would show his contempt for, not, I think, when they attempted to kiss and pet him (*Muretus*), nor to assert his superiority over all his master's establishment, in which the superintendents of the *uillae* would hold a high position and their wives rank correspondingly (*Pleitner*), but as too homely in their appearance and occupations to please his gentility or give him any concern as rivals in his master's favor. In Martial's time it was the custom to take young *delicati* who belonged to the town establishment into the country (iii. 58. 29–32 *Exerceat hilares facilis hortus urbanos, Et paedagogo non iubente lasciui Parere gaudent uilico capillati, Et delicatus opere fruitur eunuchus*); there they would come under the jurisdiction of the *uiliça*; and if disinclined to work, as too dainty or indolent, would thus be placed in a situation such as Catullus may have had in view. This would be equally possible if the master had no town house at all; but so distinct a word as *uiliçae* is more likely to have been introduced with the express intention of contrasting town-bred effeminacy with the healthy manners of the country.

**130. hodie atque heri,** 'only yesterday,' like *χθές καὶ πρόηρ*.

**131.** 'Now the curler shaves your face,' you are no more young. Mart. xi. 78. 3 *Flammea texuntur sponsae, iam uirgo paratur. Tondebit pueros iam noua nupta tuos*. The word *Tondet* perhaps includes not only the shaving of the first hair on the cheeks and chin (Anth. P. xii. 191. 1 *Οὐκ ἔχθες παῖς ἦσθα καὶ οὐκ ὄναρ οὗτος ὁ πάγων* "Ἠλυθε; πῶς ἀνίβη τοῦτο τὸ δαμόνιον, καὶ τριχὶ πάντ' ἐκάλυψε τὰ πρὶν καλὰ; cf. Anth. P. xii. 30. 1, 31. 3, 35. 3, 174. 4, 195. 8, 26. 4, 27. 3); but the removal of the long locks habitually worn by *delicati*, Anth. P. xii. 233. 3. 4, 192. 1. Horace mentions both together in this reference C. iv. 10. 2, 3. The *cinerarius* or *ciniflo* curled the hair of women, sometimes of men (Asin. iii. 3. 37) with irons heated in ashes. Varro L. L. v. 129 *Calamistrum quod his calefactis in cinere capillus ornatur. Qui ea ministrabat a cinere cinerarius est appellatus*. Here he plays the part of a barber generally. Charisius 101 K. and Servius on Aen. iv. 698 explain *cinerarius* as a slave who prepared or applied a yellow powder (perhaps a soap, Plin. xxviii. 191) to dye the hair, quoting Cato's *Origines* (vii. fr. 9 Iordan) *Mulieres nos-*

*trae capillum cinere unctitabant ut rutilus esset*, cf. Val. Max. ii. 1. 5, and grammatically this is more probable than Varro's explanation, as *cinerarius* naturally means the powder man, not the man who merely uses ashes for the ulterior object of heating an iron. But Varro's authority on a point of contemporary fashion is not to be gainsaid; possibly the older sense passed into the later. *Cinerarius* was the title of one of the plays of Afranius. Gloss. Bodl. Auct. i. 2. 24 *Calamistrant a calamistro id est aco ferreo in calami similitudine facto in quo crines obtorquentur ut crispī sint. quem in cinere calefacere solent qui capillos crispant ut calamistrati sint.*

132. *Miser a miser*, τάλαν τάλαν Theocr. vi. 8, Athen. 580.

134. *Diceris*, future. *te Abstinere*, a construction very common in connexion with love. Turpilius Paedum (ap. Non. 40 Ribbeck 163) *Vt ille hac sese abstineret, ego supersederem nuptiis.* Declam. in Sallust. iii. 9 *Facilius se mulieres a uiris abstinerunt quam tu uir a uiris.* Hec. i. 2. 64 *Sese illa abstinere ut potuerit.*

135. *Vnguentate* and *glabris* are in relation to each other: the meaning seems to be 'when they see you essenced and perfumed for your wedding, they will say, So spruce a bridegroom will surely slip again into his early habits, his former pleasures will not quite lose their attractiveness for such a dandy.' *glabris*, slaves who acquired an artificial smoothness by the use of depilatories, perhaps an Etruscan introduction. Athen. 518 πολύ γε μέντοι χαίρουσι συνόντες τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς μαιρακίαις καὶ γὰρ γίνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς πανὶ καλοὶ τὰς δ' ψεῖς ἄτε τρυφερῶς διασώμενοι καὶ λεανόμενοι τὰ σώματα. Phaedr. iv. 5. 22 *eunuchos glabros.* In *marite*, *marito* 140, *marite* 184, as also *ualentem* 227, the last syllable is hypermetrical and is elided before the first vowel of the following line. So XI. 19, 22. All these instances except the last seem to give an idea of exuberance; in XI. 22 the elision of *prati* suggests the excision of the flower on the edge of the meadow.

139. Pro Cael. xx. 48 *Quando denique fuit ut quod licet, non liceret?* where Cicero speaks of *meretricii amores*. Catullus probably means by *quae licent* any connexion, however disreputable, which was not punishable by law: he excludes *adulterium incestum* and *stuprum* with *ingenui*. Plut. Q. R. 65 Διὰ τί τῇ νύμφῃ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐντυγχάνει μετὰ φωτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ διὰ σκοτίους; ἢ διαβολή τις ἐστὶν ἀφροδισίων παρανόμων τὸ γινόμενον, ὥς καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις ἀισχύνης τιμὸς προσοῦσης;

140. *cognita* is chosen as a sexual word. Ovid Her. vi. 133 *Turpiter illa uirum cognouit adultera uirgo.*

141. *non eadem*, 'not as before,' 'not equally.' Tusc. Disp. ii. 22. 52 *Opinio est quaedam effeminata ac leuis nec in dolore magis quam eadem in uoluptate.* Sen. Controuers. p. 120 Bursian *Nam neque feris inter se bella sunt, nec si forent, eadem hominem deceant.* *licent*. For this personal use of *licere* Key L. D. s. v. quotes Sen. de Clem. i. 18. 2 *Cum in seruum omnia liceant.*

144. *Nupta, tu quoque*. Vulp. quotes Mart. xii. 96. 5-8 *Plus tibi quam domino pueros praestare probabo. Hi faciunt, ut sis femina sola uiro. Hi dant quod non uis uxor dare. 'Do tamen' inquis 'Ne uagus a thalamis coniugis erret amor'* sqq. where Martial seems to have Catullus in view. This is not necessary: Catullus more naturally refers to the obligations by which, in a state of society when man

had to be enforced by penalties and rewards, the wife was in an especial degree bound to avoid everything which could be a pretext for unfaithfulness.

**146.** *Ni* is used very similarly in Lucr. iii. 286, and so *niue* Lucr. ii. 734 answers to *ne* in 731: in Cato R. R. 143 *ne—neue—neue—neue* is followed by *ni—neue*, as Keil's app. crit. shows. That *ni* (*nei*) is only another form of *ne* is expressly stated by Donatus on Eun. ii. 3. 36, Servius on Aen. iii. 686, Priscian Tom. ii. 61 K., and is proved by MSS and Inscriptt. Ritschl (Opusc. ii. p. 625) rejecting the hypothesis that *ni ne* are both abridged forms of *nei*, shows that the S. C. de Baccanalibus, belonging to the sixth cent. A.V.C., has *ne* twenty times for *nei* once; *ni* does not occur. The seventh cent. Inscriptt. show *ne* only rarely, *ni* and *nei*, especially the latter, very often; in the Lex Iulia, at the beginning of the eighth, *ne* occurs forty or fifty times for *nei* eight times, *ni* three; and Ritschl concludes that *ni* or *nei* was the predominant form in the seventh cent., *ne* in the sixth and eighth. The MSS of Plautus still retain *ni* in Epid. iii. 2. 3, Most. ii. 1. 67, iv. 2. 21, Pseud. ii. 2. 59. Alex. Guarinus (1521) already noticed this archaic use of *ni*, and illustrated it from Stat. Theb. x. 16 *Hostilem seruire fugam, ni forte Mycenae Contenti rediisse petant*, citing besides the words of Servius on Aen. iii. 686.

**149–158.** In these two strophes Catullus expresses in his own way the ceremony usual when the bride reached the door of her new home. The husband asked 'What is your name?' she replied, 'Where you are Gaius, I am Gaia;' words probably of great antiquity, and implying her admission as mistress to the household in which her husband was master, *οπου σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης, καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκοδέσποινα* Plut. Q. R. 30.

**149.** *potens*, 'rich,' W. Wagner on Ter. Eun. ii. 3. 62. So Phaedr. i. 24. 1 *Inops potentem dum uult imitari perit*; Stat. S. i. 2. 158 *Exultat uisu lectisque potentis alumnae*, ii. 7. 56 *Priami potentis aurum*. Capitolin. Vita Maximi et Balbini 16 *Domus Balbini etiam nunc Romae ostenditur in Carinis magna et potens, et ab eius familia huc usque possessa*. Macrob. S. vii. 3. 20 *potens ex hortulano*. So *ἀσθενής* sometimes = 'poor.' Shilleto on Thuc. i. 5.

**150.** *uiri tui* suggest the first part of the formula *ubi tu Gaius*, the following lines the latter *ibi ego Gaia*.

**151.** *seruiat* reminds the bride of her new importance as mistress of all her husband's slaves: some allusion to this very prominent feature of Roman life may have been part of the old tradition, which connected the name Gaia with Gaia Caecilia, otherwise Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, *quam summam asseuerant lanificam fuisse* (Paulus D. s. u. Gaia Caecilia). In the early legends the Roman matron is surrounded by her maids spinning, and it was part of her duties to deal out to the female slaves of her household the amount of wool (*pensum*) which each had to make up by the end of the day. A distaff and spindle accompanied the bride, and the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil were still preserved in the temple of Sancus in the time of Varro (Plin. H. N. viii. 194). MSS give *Quae tibi sine seruiat*. The emendation *seruiat*, which dates from the fifteenth century, seems confirmed by a gloss from an obviously ancient source in the Glossae ad Apollinarem Sidonium published by me in

Anecd. Oxoniensia, Classical Series, vol. i. part v. p. 38 *Pronuba est illa quae cum noua nupta domum uiri (nupti) petit ut eam custodiat et ei seruiat.*

152-153 interrupt the sentence; the continuation of which in two successive strophes perhaps conveys the idea of the continuity of married life. Theocritus similarly interrupts a sentence by an interjected refrain, ii. 103-105.

154. *tremulum* is explained by *mouens*, 'shaking into a tremor.'

155. *anilitas* is not found elsewhere in good authors. *tempus*, a singular rejected by Charisius but found in its strict sense of one of the two temples in Vergil, Silius, Statius and others, is used somewhat more vaguely by Auct. ad Heren. iv. 55 *dubitanti Graccho percutit tempus*, and so here. The hair of the eye-brows when white with age is particularly conspicuous, hence *canities* and *tempora* are often combined, cf. *πολιοκρόταφον γήρας* Bacchyl. fr. 3. 2, and so Lucian Dial. Meretr. xi. 3.

156. 'Nods universal assent on all.' A good description of the effect produced by the perpetual jerking of a very old woman's head. Similarly in a fragm. of Menander Incert. xvii Didot *Εἶτα τήθη παραλαλεῖ τις, εἶτα βαρύφωνος γέρων, Τηθίδος πατήρ, ἔπειτα γραῦς καλοῦσα φίλτατον* 'Ο δ' ἐπινεύει πᾶσι τοῦτοις, if *ὁ δὲ* is the *βαρύφωνος γέρων*<sup>1</sup>. Prof. Key (Language p. 60) following the Datanus reads *amnuit* = *abnuit*, as *amnégauerit* = *abnegauerit* in Orelli Insc. 1175 (to which I add Gloss. Bodl. Auct. T. ii. 24 *amnuit contra dicit*), and translates 'Until palsied Age deny to thee, as to all others in like case, every kind of pleasure:' a rather violent interpretation. In its more natural sense 'refuses everything to everybody,' i. e. 'shakes its head as in disapproval of everything and everybody,' *amnuit* = *abnuit* would be possible, but less in harmony with the euphemistic tone of the surrounding verses<sup>2</sup>. Key was however right in signaling this lection of the Datanus *amnuit*: it is one of the many undeniable proofs of the early and, as a whole, uninterpolated character of this MS. Thus in the Laud MS of Sidonius' Epistles (which the new editors Lütlohann and Mommsen regard as primary, and which was not only written early but represents in its orthography an uncorrupt tradition) *libellos illos quos tuo nomine nobilitari non amnuis* (so *L*, *annuis MFP*) the meaning is clearly *non abnuis*, and it seems equally clear from the Bodleian Gloss above cited that the writer of the letter, Claudianus Mamercus, may have so spelt the word. *annuit* after *usque dum*, 'sill on to the time when,' as in Asin. ii. 2. 62. (Holtze Synt. ii. p. 129). For the juxtaposition *Omnia omnibus* see Mayor on Plin. Epist. iii. 11. 7.

159 sqq. With the halt at the husband's door begins a new division of the poem, describing what takes place within the house up to the moment when the bride having been placed on the lectus genialis, the bridegroom is summoned to join her. Catullus makes no mention of the ceremony which immediately preceded the lifting of the bride over her husband's threshold, the anointing of the door-posts with the fat of pigs (Plin. xxviii. 135), in earlier times of wolves (ib. 142, Serv. on Aen. iv.

<sup>1</sup> Kock, after Meineke, takes *ὁ δὲ* to refer to the master of the house, who is receiving a domestic lecture on extravagance from his elderly relatives (Menander fr. 923).

<sup>2</sup> *Abnuis* as a v. l. in this verse of Catullus is mentioned by Alex. Guarinus 'uel omnia omnibus abnuis, quia senectus omnia omnibus eripere uidetur. Virg<sup>i</sup> Omnia fert aetas animum quoque.'

458), and wreathing them with wool (Plut. Q. R. 31, Serv. u. s.) As this rite was believed to be the origin of the word *uxor* (Donat. ad Hecyr. i. 2. 60 *uxor dicitur uel ab ungendis postibus et figenda lana, id est quod cum puellae nubarent maritorum postes ungebant ibique lanam figebant, uel quod lotos maritos ipsae ungebant*, Servius on Aen. iv. 458 *uxores dictae sunt quasi unxores*, Isidor. Orig. ix. 8), it is noticeable that Catullus passes it over. Perhaps it was too commonplace or too much associated with commonplace obscenity.

159. The bride was lifted over the threshold of her husband's house by those who formed her immediate escort (*οἱ προπέμποντες* Plut. Q. R. 29), including, it would seem from Lucan<sup>1</sup> ii. 358, 9 *Turritaque premens frontem matrona corona Tralata uetuit contingere limina planta*, one or more married women. Plutarch gives three reasons; *πότερον ὅτι τὰς πρώτας γυναῖκας ἀρπάσαντες οὕτως εἰσήμεγκαν, αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον; ἢ βούλονται δοκεῖν εἰσιέναι βιαζομένας, οὐχ ἐκούσας, ὅπου μέλλουσι διαλύειν τὴν παρθενίαν; ἢ σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦ μηδὲ ἐξίέναι δι' αὐτῆς, μηδὲ καταλιπεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν εἰ μὴ βιασθεῖη, καθάπερ καὶ εἰσῆλθε βιασθεῖσα*; Varro connected it with the sanctity of the threshold, *ne a sacrilegio incoherent si depositurae uirginitatem calcant rem Vestae, id est numini castissimo consecralam* (Serv. on Ecl. viii. 29), Isidorus with the symbolical union or separation of the married pair signified in the meeting or parting of the two valves of the door (Orig. ix. 7). Another reason seems to have been the wish to avoid the bad omen of a possible stumble (Ovid Met. x. 452), to which Catullus perhaps alludes in *omine cum bono*. Rosbach is no doubt right in tracing the rite to times when the bride was ravished and only entered her husband's dwelling by force: it corresponds to the formal abduction from her mother's bosom before the procession started. **Transfer Limen pedes**, like Plautus' *Sensim super attolle limen pedes, noua nupta* Cas. iv. 4. 1.

160. **aureolos**, from the colour of the shoes, cf. II. 12. 'propter sandalia,' Landi.

161. It might seem from Ovid's *Custos in fore nullus erat* (Fast. ii. 738) that *foris* sometimes = 'door-way'; **Rasilem** would then refer to the polished floor of the door-way, in crossing which there would be a greater chance of stumbling. On the more usual interpretation **Rasilem** refers to the polished material, wood or perhaps metal of some kind (*fibula rasilis auro* Stat. Theb. vii. 658) of which the door, as part of the house of a rich man, was composed: the singular *forem* as in Bacch. ii. 2. 56, iv. 7. 35, Amph. i. 2. 34, Adelp. ii. 3. 11 (Key. s. v.).

164-173. On entering the atrium, the bride sees the nuptial supper, and her husband reclining at it on a couch to which no other guest is admitted. How he pores over the thought of her; he must love her as deeply as she loves him; but the flame is deeper and more silent.

164. **unus** singles out the bridegroom as an isolated personality, marked off from the rest of the banqueters and distinguishable by the bride, 'one special guest reclining on a Tyrian couch.' So Andr. i. 1. 91 *inter mulieres Quae ibi aderant forte unam adspicio adulescentulam*: see Key L. D. s. v. This seems better than to make **unus** = *solus* (Voss),

<sup>1</sup> The Bern Scholiast on this passage says *Hic secundum Romuli morem, ut regiam uelut raptae uideantur ingressae, aut ne offenderent, quod esset omen intransitibus* (p. 72, ed. Usener).

for which, however, Lucan v. 806 *uiduo tum primum frigida lecto Atque insueta quies uni, nudumque marito Non haerente latus* might be quoted; *unus, uni* the single bridegroom, the single wife would then be in antithesis to the husband and wife together.

165. **Tyrio**, a proof of his wealth, Mart. xii. 17. 8. **toro**, a banquet-ing-couch: not in the *thalamus* as Castalio (Obs. ii. 3) and Barth (xxi. 19) suppose.

166. **immineat**. Ov. Met. i. 146 *Imminet exitio uir coniugis, illa mariti*, Am. iii. 4. 18 *Sic interdictis imminet aeger aquis*, and so Sen. Phaedr. 855 *fletusque nostros spernit ac morti imminet*. Cul. 90 *huc imminet: omnis Dirigit huc sensus*: in all these the sense is mainly, if not wholly, mental, 'is intent upon.' Arnobius adu. Gent. iii. 25 quoted by Stat. *nisi uirginalia uincla iam feruentes dissoluerent atque imminentes mariti* applies the word to the fixed and menacing glances of violent desire: and so Muretus, Stat., and Caspar Barth Aduers. xlv. 20 explain here, the last finding in **immineat** 'uernile quid et nuptiale.' But though Catullus may include an absorbed look, the notion of violence is alien to the passage, and is not required by the usage of the word. It seems more probable that **immineat** expresses bending or poring in thought over the absent person whom, if present, the bridegroom would be actually bending or poring over, as seen in the well-known picture, cf. Iuuen. ii. 119, 120 *Ingens Cena sedet, gremio iacuit noua nupta mariti*, and see on 171. The *cena nuptialis* is here in the bridegroom's house, as in Plaut. Curc. v. 3. 50, Cic. ad Q. Fratr. ii. 3. 7. Elsewhere it is celebrated in the bride's house before the *domum deductio*. (Rossb. Röm. Ehe pp. 325, 6).

169-170. Anth. P. x. 120 Πᾶσα γυνή φιλέει πλέον ἀνέρος· αἰδομένη δὲ Κεύθει κέντρον ἔρωτος ἑρωμανέουσα καὶ αὐτή.

169. **non minus ac** is rare. Dräger quotes Att. v. 11. 2 *mihi uidetur non minus stomachi nostro ac Caesari fecisse*, ii. p. 56.

170. **uritur**, as colours are said *uri*, and as a brand *inurit*.

171. **penite** seems to be ἀπ. λεγ. but was probably Plautine, cf. *pectore penitissimo* Cist. i. 1. 65. The inwardness of the bridegroom's love is inconsistent with any strong or violent expression in his features. Ov. Heroid. 4. 19, 20 *Venit amor grauius quo serius. Vrimur intus, Vrimur et caecum pectora uolnus habent*.

173. After this verse a strophe seems to be lost, as the transition is otherwise unusually abrupt. It perhaps described the bride's approach to the marriage-chamber.

174. **brachiolum** in this sense seems ἀπ. λεγ., but Key gives an adj. *brachiolaris*.

175. Of the three boys who escorted the bride (see on 15), one carried a torch, the others supported her on each side; how then does Catullus speak of only one? It would seem either (1) that one of them withdrew on entering the husband's house, or at any rate that one only was permitted to lead the bride to the marriage chamber, or (2) as Varro, quoted by Servius on Aen. iv. 167 *Aqua et igni mariti uxores accipiebant. Vnde hodieque et faces praelucent et aqua petita de puro fonte per felicissimum puerum aliquem aut puellam interest nuptiis*, speaks of a single boy being employed to bring in fresh spring-water, with which the bride's feet were then washed, and there is nothing to prove that this was one of the three

who had escorted her in the procession, the *praetextatus* addressed by Catullus may be this one. As *felicissimus* he would no doubt be *patrimus et matrimus*, the son of parents still living, but this would not necessarily identify him with any of the other three. *Praetextatus* is in relation both to *puellulae* and *uiri*; the *praetexta* is the dress of boyhood and girlhood, the symbol of innocence still under control (Q. Cic. de Pet. Cons. iii. 10 *prope in parentum gremiis praetextatos liberos*, Suet. Gramm. 16); the bride is escorted by a *praetextatus* up to the door of the marriage-chamber but not beyond, because she is still a virgin, but a virgin who from that moment passes into a wife; henceforth she has to do with men, not with *inuestes* but *uesticipes* (cf. Rossb. pp. 336, 7). *puellulae* shows that Aurunculeia was very young, perhaps little over the age of puberty, which began with the twelfth year. (Rossb. p. 274.)

176. Most of the MSS have *adeant*, 'let them, i.e. the bride with her train of pronubae approach the couch of the husband.' Cf. Claudian Rapt. Pros. ii. 562 *Ducitur in thalamum uirgo: stat pronuba iuxta Stel-lantes nox picta sinus, tangensque cubile Omina perpetuo genitalia foedere sancit*. But *adeat* the reading of *O* is simpler and more effective, as it places in juxtaposition, and thus in contrast, the three personalities, girl, boy, husband, and these only: *adeant* introduces a fourth, the pronubae, and thus takes from the unity of the picture. *uiri* suggests by contrast the virginal couch hitherto occupied by the bride.

179. Addressed to the pronubae, matrons who had lived through their married life with one husband, and thus auspicated the marriage happily. Festus s. u. *Pronubae*, Servius on Aen. iv. 166, Isid. Orig. ix. 8. *bonae feminae* as in the verse of Ennius quoted in reference to marriage rites by Donatus on Hec. i. 2. 60 *Exin Tarquinius bona femina lauit et unxit*. Such women were called *uniuirae* or *unicubae*.

180. *Cognitae*, XCI. 3. *bene*. The MSS have either *berue* or *breue* (see on 140). If *breue* is retained, it can only mean that the women acting as pronubae had married old men and had enjoyed the pleasures of married life for a shorter time than other women; were therefore selected as specially chaste. Probably Paulus' gloss *Proculos sunt qui credant ideo dictos quia patribus senibus quasi procul progressis aetate nati sunt*, refers to the children of such marriages.

181. *Collocare*, 'lay out,' in the lectus genialis. Eun. iii. iv. 45 *deinde eam in lecto conlocarunt*, where Donatus observes that the word was technical of the occasion (Passerat).

184-228. This is the last division of the poem; it falls into three sections 184-198, the summons to the bridegroom to join the bride, ending with some words of encouragement to him; 199-223 the Epithalamium proper, a song to the newly-wedded pair sung by virgins outside the marriage-chamber; 224-228 a few words calling upon the virgins to leave the lovers to themselves with a final benediction.

184. Pleitner thinks the words *Iam licet uenias, marito*, as also *Bona te Venus Iuuerit* are parts of a regular form observed in Roman marriages.

186. Nearly all the MSS give *est tibi*. Bentley, to avoid the hiatus before the first vowel of *ore*, changed this to *tibi est*, and so Dawes, Lachmann and Haupt. Haupt observes (Quaestt. Catull. 24-27) that this



and 216 *omnibus Et* are the only cases where Catullus, who seems to have followed Anacreon, allows the continuity of the glyconic rhythm to be interrupted by a final syllable either short or *in hiatus*, the ten apparent exceptions are not really such, as they all precede *Io Hymen Hymenaeae io*. With regard to 216 the explanation suggested by Haupt and adopted by Lachmann seems sufficient; *omnibus* is the last word of the third line of the strophe, as are also all the other ten, and as Catullus appears to have divided each strophe into two systems of 3 and 2 lines respectively, the pause before the beginning of the second system might justify there, if anywhere, a hiatus or a short syllable. This does not account for *est tibi*, and I have admitted *tibi est* as highly probable, the more so that it is pointed to by *ubi est*, the reading of *A* and *L*. The question is not much affected by the fact that the hiatus of *tibi* before the open vowel of *Ore* is less harsh than it would be before any other vowel; for the synapheia is so constant as to amount to a rule.

186. *floridulo*, 'like a fair flower.' The bride's complexion was probably *μελίχλωρος*, a sort of olive, now looking pale, now yellow or like honey: hence the comparison to two flowers, and, if parthenice be the fever-few, to a flower in which both colours are combined.

187. *parthenice* is usually identified with *parthenium* or *perdicium*, a sort of chamomile or fever-few. Plin. xxi. 176 *Parthenium alii leucanthos alii amaracum uocant, Celsus apud nos perdicium et muralem. Nasctur in hortorum sepibus, flore albo, odore mali, sapore amaro*. Dioscorides iii. 145 (155) describes the flower more exactly *λευκά κύκλω, τὸ δὲ μέσον μῆλων*, cf. Nicand. Ther. 863. Catullus would then be speaking much in the same way as any modern poet who should compare a bride to a daisy: though he might have in his eye some species of parthenium, in which the white petals were so much the larger part of the flower, as to conceal or obscure the yellow centre. But from Plin. xxii. 41 and the Scholiast on Nicander Ther. 537 it appears that *parthenium* was also a name for helxine. Schol. Nicand. Theriac. 537 *ἐλξίνη καλεῖται παρὰ τὸ ἴλαιον εἰς ἐαυτήν· ἡ γὰρ συσφρησις αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἐλκυστική*; ib. *Κλύβατις, ὅτι καὶ χυλὸν ἔχει κολλώδη κηρὸς ὀλκείον καὶ τὸν προσιώντα κρατεῖ· ἐλξίνη δὲ καὶ κλύβατις, σιδηροῖς, παρθένιον, περδίκιον, πάντα γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐνὸς φυτοῦ*. Cf. Schol. on 863 where *ἐλξίνη, παρθένιον, περδίκιον* are similarly identified. And so Dioscorides iv. 86, who states that it grows on house-walls and eaves. This circumstance and the fact that Kühn identifies helxine with *parietaria officinalis*<sup>1</sup>, makes it perhaps hardly probable that it can be Catullus' *parthenice*.

188. *papauer*. Alex. Guarinus, Robortello and Passerat think the poppy alluded to is the *erraticum flore rufo* of Plin. H. N. xix. 169, the *ρῶϊας* of Theophr. Hist. Pl. ix. 12. 4. Perhaps *glauccum luteum*, which has a fine but not particularly elegant flower, is meant. Glaucea are mentioned with poppies by Columella x. 104. See Daubeny Roman Husbandry p. 278.

189. *ita me iuuent Caelites*. See on 115. The exclamation *ita me iuuent Caelites* can scarcely come from any but an actual eye-witness: we may suppose the poet present in the bridegroom's house, as before he stands waiting for the appearance of the bride.

190. *nihilo minus*, not 'none the less that she is so fair,' which is

<sup>1</sup> Sibthorp ii. p. 44 of his *Flora Graeca* gives a picture of *parietaria Cretica*.

too nearly like prose, but 'not less at all than she,' as Cic. de Off. i. 21. 72 *Capessentibus rem publicam nihilo minus quam philosophis*.

191. Vulp. quotes Il. iv. 127 Οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λαλάσωντο Ἀθάνατοι, Weil a nearer parallel in a fragm. of Sappho (Madrid Bibl. Nat. N. 101) *τερίμακ' ἔξοχα σ' Ἀφροδίτα*.

193. *remorare*, used by Plautus Cas. iv. 3. 7 of the delay of the *bride* and her attendant women.

195. *Iam uenis* is a more natural sequence of thought than *Iam uenis?* (Pleitner) 'you have not delayed long; I see you are coming,' than 'you have not delayed long; what? already on the way?' We should have expected either two questions, or, what we have, two affirmations. *Bona te Venus Iuuerit*, 'may the grace of Venus help you for making no secret of a gracious love.' *Bona*, as in *Sis bonus o felixque tuis* Ecl. v. 65, *saepe cupido Huic malus esse solet, cui bonus ante fuit* Prop. ii. 18. 21, cf. *bona uenia*, etc., but with an allusion to the *bona Venus*, *bonus amor* of 44, 5, a gracious or worthy as opposed to an ungracious or illicit love.

196. *palam*. We must suppose the door of the thalamus open; it is shut in 224.

197. *cupis capis*. The similarity of sound adds to the effect of promptness produced by the juxtaposition of the two verbs, with which cf. Ovid's *Mars uidet hanc uisamque cupit politurque cupila* Fast. iii. 21; *caeduntque caduntque* Sil. xii. 385. *cupis, cupis* the reading of the Oxford MS (*O*) is not impossible: cf. Enn. Phoenix i. Vahlen *Stultus qui cupita cupienter cupit*, and the Lucretian juxtaposition *quae ueniunt, ueniant* iv. 723. But poetically, the reading of all other MSS *Quae cupis capis* is in every way superior, and, I have little doubt, is what Catullus wrote. Our poet would probably not have cared to have his style judged by a comparison with the antiquated repetitions of Ennius, the prosaisms of Lucretius, or the slave-turned-freedman vulgarities of Petronius, as has been done by his latest commentator.

199. Pind. Ol. 2. fin. Ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφηνεν Ἐκείνος ὅσα χάρματ' ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναιτο; Callim. H. Dian. 253 Ψαμάθφ ἴσον. *Africe*, VII. 3. Anth. P. xii. 145. 3, 4 ἴσον ἐπὶ ψαφαρὴν ἀντλεῖν ἄλα, κἀπὸ λιβύσσης Ψάμμον ἀριθμητὴν ἀρτιάσαι ψεκᾶδα. Schwabe adds a nearer parallel (perhaps an imitation) from the pseudo-Theocritean poem first discovered in the Ambrosian library by Ziegler, and published by him in 1865. Wordsworth gives it as emended by Bergk and with Fritzsche's commentary pp. 218-222, ed. 2, ὅστις δοκίμοι τὸν δολομάχανον Νικάσειν Ἔρον, οὗτος δοκίμοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἁμμέων Εὐρην βραδίῳ ἀστερας ὀπποσσάκις ἔννεα (how many times nine, i.e. what multiple of 9, will make up the number of the stars).

200. *Siderum*, VII. 7.

201. *Subducat* is explained by Munro as an imperative, 'let him who wills to reckon up your joys first take the task of the sands and stars.' He would doubtless have treated similarly Trist. v. 6. 43, 44 *His qui contentus non est, in litus harenas, In segetem spicas, in mare fundat aquas*. Ovid, who much affects this formula, generally has the subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis, e.g. Trist. v. 2. 28 *quae si comprehendere coner, Icariae numerum dicere coner aquae*, or a fut. indic. followed by *quam* and pres. subj. *citius numerabis . . . quam statuatur summa* (Pont. ii. 7. 25-29),

*citius erit . . habebit . . uincet . . quam ueniant* (ib. ii. 4. 25-29). It seems therefore more probable that Catullus meant *Subducatur* to be the ordinary apodosis to a hypothetical protasis, as in most instances of this formula, than an imperative, which though undeniable in some cases, e. g. Ecl. iii. 90 *Qui Bauium non odit, amet tua carmina, Maui, Atque idem iungat uulpis et mulgeat hircos*, is here unnatural, especially with *Ille* preceding. Metre too may have determined *uolt*. The late writer Calpurnius<sup>1</sup> Ecl. ii. 72, 3 *Qui numerare uelit, quam multa sub arbore nostra Poma legam, tenuis citius numerabit harenas* has also deviated slightly from the normal sequence of moods.

203. *Multa milia*, which in XVI. 12 is joined with *basiorum*, is here followed by *ludēi* as a collective noun like *frumenti* Hor. S. i. 1. 45, *scripti* Ov. Pont. iv. 16. 24, *membri* Asin. iv. 1. 41. Lucretius has *numerus corporis* i. 436. *ludēi* like *lusus* Prop. i. 10. 9.

204. *Ludite* = ἀφροδισιάζετε. Pomp. Inscriptt. 1781 [ME]A · VITA · MEAE · DELICIAII · LV DAMVS · PARVM PER. Cf. παίζετε Xen. Symp. i. 2.

207. *indidem*, i.e. *indidem unde oritur* Cist. i. 1. 64, 'from the same stock.'

208. The subject to *ingenerari* is *Nomen*; less probably *ingenerari* is impersonal, 'that engendering should be made from the same stock continually.' The idea is expressed in its physical relation by Lucr. iv. 1220-1222.

209-218. The bride on her marriage-day, probably when she first reached the *lectus genialis*, prayed for the good-will of her husband's *genius* (Arnob. ii. 67); we may perhaps be supposed to hear in this strophe and the two following the form such prayers would usually take, *uolo* being an actual reminiscence of the beginning of the prayer (cf. Rossb. Röm. Ehe p. 369).

209. *uolo*, with a bare subjunctive, is here used not in its most common sense 'I should like' (see the instances from Plautus and Terence in Holtze Synt. ii. 166), but as an optative formula. Pers. ii. 4. 23 *Amicus sum, eueniant uolo tibi quae optas*. *paruulus*, 'a baby.' Vergil Aen. iv. 328-9 seems to imitate Catullus. The passage is extraordinarily modern.

210. Alex. Guarinus observes that *Matris* may be the nurse, as in Menaechm. Prol. 19-21 *mater sua Non internosse posset, quae mammam dabat, Neque adeo mater ipsa quae illos pepererat*. But this is scarcely consistent with *patrem* in 212, or with the repetition in inverse order of *patri, matris* in the next strophe, or the double *matre matre* in 220, 222; the two words are throughout in relation, and the same relation, to each other. Besides, the fondness for connecting the ideas of mother and child which has so long marked the Italians, and so greatly influenced their art and religion, can hardly have been strange to the Romans, however few traces of it survive in their literature.

212. *Dulcor* is more subjective than objective: it is the father's pleasure at the preference which his child shows him by stretching out his hands, rather than the softness of the smile itself. So Lucr. iv. 1253

<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. Garnett makes it very probable that Calpurnius wrote in the reign of Gordian III A.D. 238 (Journal of Philology xvi. pp. 216-219). This poet cannot, I am persuaded, have been contemporary with Nero.

*partu possent dilescere dulci.* *rideat ad patrem*, 'send a smile towards his father,' as if expecting a smile in return, Verg. E. iv. 61-3.

**213. Semihiante** like *semihominis* the reading of all Ribbeck's MSS in Aen. viii. 194, *semihorae* pro Rabir. ii. 6, *semihulco* Gell. xix. 11. 4, where see Hertz' critical note, *semihiantibus* Apul. Flor. ii. 15 against *semiulco* of Macrob. S. ii. 2. 17, *semianti*<sup>1</sup> Apul. Met. v. 18. *labello*. Apul. Flor. ii. 15 *Canticum ore tereti, semihiantibus in conatu labellis diquare* (Marcilius).

**214-221.** Hesiod makes it a sign of happiness in a state when *Τῆρ-  
τουςιν γυναῖκες εὐκότα τέκνα γονεύσιν* E. 235: cf. Theocr. xvii. 44, 63, Hor. C. iv. 5. 23.

**214. similis patri.** The passages quoted by Holtze (Synt. i. 336) show that the genitive was used by Plautus and Terence habitually of similar appearance: and so *MVLIER · FEREBAT · FILIVM SIMILEM SVI* Inscript. Pomp. 1877. Cicero also prefers the genitive in this sense (Madvig on Fin. v. 5. 12). Lucretius iv. 1211, 12 combines genitive and dative with little if any difference, see Munro. In the Augustan writers the dative with *similis* almost wholly supplanted the genitive (Madvig u. s.); Cicero would thus represent the more ancient, Catullus the newer, and, as Ritschl suggests Opusc. ii. p. 581, the more exalted and poetical style.

**215. inscieis**, according to its ordinary usage, would mean 'without their knowing it,' 'unconsciously.' Catullus seems to use it here as = 'without their knowing him,' nearly i. q. *alienis*. The MSS have *insciens*, and so Pleitner, 'without his knowing it,' as in And. iv. 4. 43, Heaut. iv. 1. 19, v. 2. 17: the picture is thus very well defined; the boy described in this strophe as the babe in the former, the *adulescens* in the following, when he passes in the street is easily recognized by every one who meets him, but is himself perfectly unconscious of the fact; an innocence which forms an integral part of their perception.

**216. Noscitur.** Caelius in Antonium (Quintil. iv. 2. 124) *Quarum cum omnium uocem tactumque noscicaret, proximae cuiusque collum amplexu petebat.* Liu. xxii. 6 *facie quoque noscitant consulem.* **ab omnibus** followed by **Et** in 217 violates the synapheia, whence Dawes and Haupt proposed to read *omnibus Noscitur ab inscieis*. I should prefer adopting from Pleitner *obuieis*, to retain *omnibus*, and read *omnibus Noscitur ab obuieis*, with which Apul. Apol. 75 *quasi insanus ab omnibus obuieis teneretur* would form a close parallel. Bährens absurdly conjectures *auonculis*. In my edition of the text the ordinary reading is retained, and may be right, as it is observable that **omnibus** ends the third line of a strophe, and each strophe seems to fall into two systems of 3 + 2: the metrical pause before **Et** would thus justify the unusual short syllable preceding. At any rate **omnibus** ends the clause with a force which would be impaired by any inversion<sup>2</sup>.

**217.** Mart. vi. 27. 3, 4 *Est tibi quae patria signatur imagine uultus Testis maternae nata pudicitiae.* Tzetzes on Lycophr. 111 quotes Malalas as stating that in prehistoric Hellas the intercourse of the sexes was pro-

<sup>1</sup> Otto Iahn in his edition of the *Psyche et Cupido* gives this reading of the Lombard MS (Laurentianus lxviii. 2) as *semante*.

<sup>2</sup> I see however that Baumann de arte metrica Catulli p. ix considers the passage corrupt.

miscuous, a sign of which was that the children represented the features of their *mothers* alone. *suae* is slightly weak: Mr. Postgate may be right in preferring *suo*, which is found in a congener of the Datanus (Brit. Mus. a).

**218-223** passes to the child as *adulescens*: 'May he show himself as good as was Telemachus, as clearly the noble son of his mother as Telemachus was of Penelope.' As before the physical, so here the moral, likeness is dwelt upon. It is remarkable that in the Odyssey (iv. 138 sqq.) Helen recognizes Telemachus by his likeness to his *father* Ulysses. But this is in bodily traits (148-9). In character Telemachus is the true son of his mother, as was natural in the long absence of his father from home, Od. i. 222, 3 quoted below.

**220. approbet**, 'establish.' Suet. Aug. 46 *iis qui e plebe sibi filios filiasue approbarent*.

**221. unica**, 'singular,' 'unmatched,' quite an old usage, e.g. *sagaci corde atque ingenio unico* Afran. Brundisinae fr. 1 Ribbeck cf. XXIX. 11.

**222. Telemacho manet Penelopeo**. Ov. Trist. v. 14. 35, 6 *Adspicis ut longo maneat laudabilis aevo Nomen inextinctum Penelopea fides?* Od. i. 215-220 where Telemachus speaks doubtfully of his father, and is answered by Athene (222, 3) *Οὐ μὲν τοι γενεήν γε θεοὶ νόονυμον ὀπίσσω θῆκαν, ἐπεὶ σέ γε τοῖον ἐγένετο Πηνελόπεια*. The strong word **Penelopeo** sums up the three strophes 209-223 in a name which expresses their central idea, the wife's chastity.

**224.** If we suppose the poet to be speaking in the poem throughout, his personality reappears here. So Alex. Guarinus and Doering, the latter of whom supposes him to act the part of a precentor. It is perhaps more probable that one of the chorus, probably the leader (Conr. de Allio), addresses the rest of the company (so Pleitner). **Lusimus** will then be a strict plural, referring to the song just ended, the Epithalamium proper 199-223. **ostia**, with a singular meaning, hardly belongs to the age of Catullus. Varro uses it as a strict plural R. R. i. 51. 1.

**225. Lusimus**, here of singing a festive song, see on L. 2. **At**, resumptive. **bonei** . . . **bene**, see on 195.

**226. bene uiuite**, 'good-luck to you,' an expression of good-will at leaving them, as Sappho fr. 103 *χαίροισα νύμφα, χαίρέτω δ' ὁ γαμβρός*, ib. 105 *χαίρε νύμφα Χαίρε, τίμιε γάμβρε, πόλλα*. Theocr. xviii. 49 *Χαίροις, ὦ νύμφα, χαίροις εὐπένθερε γαμβρέ*. Tib. iii. 5. 31 *Viuite felices*.

**227. Munere** for 'married duty' is very harsh, even if the MS reading **assidue** be changed to **assiduo**. Catullus says above of Hymen 42 *Se citatier ad suum munus*, Claudian makes Venus address a married pair with the words *Viuite concordēs et nostrum discite munus* Epithal. Pallad. et Celerinae 130, but the absence of a pronoun, or at least an epithet, makes **Munere** hardly comparable with these passages. Cf. however Petron. S. 87 where *munus* seems i. q. *devoir*. Possibly Vergil alludes to this meaning in *quo munere* G. iv. 520, 'by which display of marital duty.' 'Perhaps **MVTVE ASSIDVEI** was by confusion of **TV** and **N** read as **MVNE ASSIDVEI**; a copyist perceiving that this needed an additional syllable, would naturally add "re" to complete the word.' C. B. Huleatt<sup>1</sup>, Journ. of Philology, xiii. 303.

<sup>1</sup> In the same article Mr. Huleatt has recovered the true reading of Prop. iv. 4.

The following translation of vv. 209-222 by Benedetto Giussani forms the opening of his drama *Gli Amori di Catullo* (Como, 1879):

E un piccolo Torquato, dal materno  
seno, le braccia tenere sporgendo,  
arricci il labbro al dolce amor paterno  
söavissimamente sorridendo.

Persino chi l' ignora, in lui del padre  
tosto ricordi il nobile sembiante;  
e nel volto, eredata della madre,  
l' alma onestà gli legga sfolgorante.

La materna virtù lo irradii, quanto  
d' Ulisse il figlio ebbe splendor di gloria  
da Penelope illustre; e il sommo vanto  
narri ai nepoti la romana storia.

#### EXCURSUS ON LXI. 68.

THE reading of MSS *uincier* of which *uicier* might be a corruption (*uincier* = *uicier*), would be certain if the ideas of the later Roman Empire represented the ideas of the Republic in its decline. Savaron in his learned Commentary on Apollinaris Sidonius brings together the following passages from the *Epistulae*: iii. 2. 2 Lütlohann *Sed tamen hinc uel maxime, parentes ambo uenerabiles, este securi: idcirco ceteros uincitis, quod uos filii transierunt.* vii. 9 Contio fin. *Filios ambo bene et prudenter instituunt, quibus comparatus pater inde felicius incipit esse, quia uincitur.* viii. 7. 3 *Tu uero inter haec macte, qui praefecturae titulis ampliatus, licet hactenus e prosapia inlustri computarere, peculiariter nihilo segnius elaborasti ut a te gloriosius posteris tui numerarentur. nil enim est illo per sententiam boni cuiusque generosius, quisquis ingenii corporis opum iunctam in hoc constans operam exercet ut maioribus suis anteponatur. quod superest, deum posco, ut te filii consequantur, aut quod plus te decet uelle, transcendant.* Claudian. de iv Cons. Honorii 430 *Iam natus adaequat Te meritis, et quod magis est optabile, uincit.*

These passages are enough to show that the idea of a father being surpassed by his children in excellence or distinction, and giving way to them with pleasure, was a common one in 400 A.D. In the passage of Catullus, nearly five centuries earlier, such an idea seems less appropriate, except perhaps in a vague and general way, 'No house can bear children without Hymen, nor can parent give way to descendants;' i.e. yield to the natural course of time and see the younger generation step into the parents' place.

#### LXII.

THERE is no reason to suppose that this Hymeneal was written for the same occasion as the preceding, the marriage of Manlius and Iunia. Neither the allusions nor the language are specially Roman, with the exception perhaps of 58; whilst the *form* of the poem, an amoebean

*Cras, ut rumor ait, tota furebitur urbe* (MSS *furebitur*). This was published in 1884. It has since been made (1888) in Wiener Studien by Fleischmann.

song equally distributed between a number of youths and maidens, is obviously taken from Greek models, Theocritus, perhaps Sappho<sup>1</sup>. Theocritus indeed has supplied Catullus with one of the most marked features of the poem, the iteration in 59-64 of the same word, as in the Epithalamium of Helen 49-54: but this occurs also in a fragment of Sappho's Epithalamia 93: and he seems to have had both poets before him. If indeed we follow the natural suggestion of 1, 7 in which Olympus and Oeta are mentioned successively, the scene is Greek, and the whole poem purely ideal.

The situation seems to be as follows: A banquet has been given in the bridegroom's house, in anticipation of the arrival of the bride. A hymeneal is to be sung by a company of youths and maidens alternately, as soon as she appears. The youths recline at one table, the maidens at another. The evening-star is suddenly seen by the youths rising over the ridge of Olympus, and is the signal for rising to their feet. One of them addresses the others to that effect in 1-4, and all sing the refrain *Hymen—Hymenae* (5). The sudden rising of the youths and their joint song cause the maidens to rise similarly; one of them addresses the rest to that effect, and then they sing in chorus the same refrain as the youths *Hymen—Hymenae* (10). A pause ensues, during which the bride may be supposed to be approaching or perhaps entering the house, and in which the youths (apparently in two hemichoria) speak (a) of the visible labour of the maidens in recalling their forthcoming song, (b) the necessity of careful attention on their own part if they are to secure victory (11-19). Then begins the amoebean song proper, 20-58, consisting of 3 strophes sung by the maidens, 3 antistrophes by the youths; these are general, speaking first of the evening-star, his cruelty or kindness, his unwelcomeness or welcomeness; secondly, of women, their virginal and their married state; the maidens in each case representing the dark side of marriage, the youths the brighter (Pleitner). In 59 the bride is for the first time individually addressed, not by the maidens either with or without the youths, but by the youths alone, as is clear (1) from the omission of the refrain *Hymen—Hymenae* after 58, which shows that the youths go on to *Et tu ne pugna* without any interruption; (2) from the agreement of the address in tone with the sentiments of the youths throughout, as well as in the peculiar repetition of words which characterizes this and the previous isolated speech of the youths (11-19) before the amoebean song begins.

1. *Vesper*, the name of Venus when an evening star. Plin. H. N. ii. 36 *Infra solem ambit ingens sidus appellatum Veneris, alterno meatu vagum ipsisque cognominibus aemulum solis ac lunae. Praeueniens quippe et ante matutinum exorients luciferi nomen accipit ut sol aller diemque ma-*

<sup>1</sup> B. Schmidt (Proleg. p. lxxv) collects the passages of Sappho which may have been imitated by Catullus. Some of them are fanciful: but Sappho's *Ἑσπερα πάντα φέρει δαυ φαίνεσθαι ἰστέδας αὐτοῦ* (fr. 95) seems to have belonged to an address to Hesperus like Catullus in 20, 26: fr. 97 *δάσσομεν ἦσι πατήρ* is like 28, 61: the famous *ἀνὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐν οὐραῖσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες Ποσειδάωνος καταστειβούσι, χάμαι δὲ τὰ πύργων ἀνδρῶν* (fr. 94) have some resemblance to the simile 39 sqq.: lastly the amoebean character of LXII can be traced in the extant fragments of Sappho's Epithalamia, in which a dramatic element is at times perceptible, notably in the fragm. quoted in *Παρθενία παρθενία τοῖς με λήποισι' ὄλχη*;

*turans, contra ab occasu refulgens nuncupatur Vesper, ut prorogans lucem uicemque lunae reddens.* Varro L. L. vi. 6 says its evening name was *Vesperugo*, its morning *iubar*. **Vesper adest.** Vulpius and Riese are perhaps right in believing that these two words are cited from Catullus by Varro de L. L. vii. 50 *Vesperugo stella quae uespere oritur, a quo eam Opilius scribit Vesperum; itaque dicitur alterum (alternum Riese, i.e. ἀμειβόμενον) Vesper adest, quem dicunt Graeci διανοίριον (i.e. a song sung alternis at evening).* If this is so, it is one of the very earliest quotations from Catullus. See on XXV. 2. **Olympo** is generally explained as = *caelo*, for as Varro L. L. vii. 20 states, 'all the Greeks' used Olympus for the sky (e.g. Soph. Aj. 1389), and at any rate this use is of constant recurrence in the Alexandrian poets, e.g. Theocr. xx. 38, xvii. 132, Callim. H. lupp. 62, H. Del. 220, Cer. Cal. 59, where χέρσω and δλύμπω are opposed as land and sky, Apoll. R. iii. 1357, on which passage the schol. observes *δλυμπον εἶπεν ὁμοίως τοῖς νεωτέροις τὸν οὐρανόν*. So certainly Cicero in the fragm. *de consulatu suo* quoted in de Diuin. i. 11. 17 *Nam pater allitionans stellanti nixus Olympo.* Vergil Ecl. vi. 86 *inuilo processit Vesper Olympo* imitates Catullus, but leaves undetermined whether he means sky or mountain, though *limen Olympi* Ecl. v. 56 favors the former. But (1) the careful antagonism which Catullus has made in the songs of the youths and virgins throughout demands a contrast of mountains, as it necessitates a contrast in the name of the star; *Vesper* rises from Olympus for the youths, the *night-bearer* from Oeta for the virgins. (Cf. Turnebus Aduers. xxiv. 27.) (2) To combine an actual mountain in γ with a nominal mountain in ι would be a grave artistic fault. (3) Whether as a fact the evening-star could be seen at the same time rising from Olympus and Oeta hardly affects the question. Probably they could from some point in the Aegean: but it would be enough for Cat. if the poetry with which he was familiar, much of it highly artificial, associated the rising of the star with each of the two mountains. The Danish translator Andersen (Mindre Abhandlinger 1887) seems to follow this view, *Op, kammerater, i flok! Det er kvæld, og aftenens stjerne Sender ned fra olymp de længe savnede straler.* B. Schmidt thinks that Sappho introduced both mountains in one of her Epithalamia. But in a Lesbian epithalamion, Olympus would naturally be the Olympus of Lesbos. **Olympo**, 'from Olympus,' see Dräger Synt. i. p. 457. The simple abl. follows *tolli* as it follows *surgere* in a fragm. of Sallust's *Historiae* Non. 397 *sella surgere*.

2. **Expectata . . . uix tandem.** Anth. P. v. 223. 5 *νύκτα μόγις ὀρθίοντι φανίσαν.*

4. **dicet̄ur** before *Hymenaeus*, as *auct̄us hymenaeo* LXVI. 11, *despex̄it hymenaeos* LXIV. 20.

6. Mr. James Mowat's conjecture *consurgere contra*, though less lively than the usually accepted **consurgite contra**, is not only palaeographically ingenious but agrees very well with **Nimirum** in γ, which is then, as it should be, more decidedly ironical. 'Virgins, do you see the youths rise to their feet opposite? No doubt the star that brings night is showing his fires over Oeta.' From the same assumed disparagement of marriage and its preliminaries, the virgins perhaps use *Noctifer* (Calp. v. 120 *Et iam sole fugato Frigidus aestivas impellit Noctifer horas*), not *Hesperus* or *Vesper* (Pleitner).



7. **Oetaeos.** As the youths had looked towards Olympus, so the virgins look towards Oeta, as the rising-place of the evening-star. Servius on Ecl. viii. 30 (*Oeta mons Thessaliae, in quo Hercules exustus est uolens, et post in caelum receptus est. De hoc monte stellae uidentur occidere, sicut de Ida nasci . . . In eodem monte Hesperus coli dicitur, qui Hymenaeum speciosum puerum amasse dicitur*) connects Oeta with an actual worship of Hesperus, apparently also with Hymenaeus. It seems probable that the connexion arose from some natural, perhaps atmospheric, circumstance about Oeta like those mentioned by Lucr. v. 663, Mel. i. 94, 95, about the Phrygian Ida. Servius represents the two ideas, that of Oeta as the setting-point, that of Ida as the rising-point of constellations, as correlative; and if they were, the origin of the idea was probably nautical, and the starting-ground of both observations the Aegean. But in the Roman poets Oeta is recurringly the place where constellations *rise*; the evening-star here, Verg. Ecl. viii. 30, Cul. 203, Stat. S. v. 4. 8, the sun Sen. H. F. 133, H. O. 861-2, the morning Cir. 350.

8. **Sic certest,** 'Be sure it is so.' LXXX. 7.

9. **canent quod uisere par est,** 'they will sing something we may well give an eye to,' 'something worth looking at.' *Visere* of looking at a sound κρίνον διδωρκα Aesch. Theb. 103, cf. χεῖρ ὄρῃ τὸ δράσιμον Theb. 554. Conversely Pratinas fr. i. 17 Bergk ἀκουε τῶν ἐμῶν Δωρίων χορείαν. If Bentley had remembered this verse of Catullus he would not have referred *mirabile uisu Caelatumque nouem Musis opus* Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 91 to a temple, instead of a poem. [Munro on Lucr. iv. 598 *Conloquium . . . uidemus*, 'there is in this a mixture of seeing and hearing, exactly as in Hor. S. ii. 8. 77 *uideres stridere . . . susurros*,' and he cites as parallel Lucr. iv. 262, i. 256, Aen. iv. 490, Prop. ii. 16. 49, Varro Atac. ap. Victorin. 2503.] **par est.** Attius Armorum Iudicium 152 Ribb. *Huius me diuidia cogit plus quam est par loqui.* Hor. Ep. i. 15. 25.

12. **secum with requaerunt,** 'are inwardly recalling their studied song.' Doering quotes Plin. Paneg. 3 *gratiorem existimari qui delubris eorum puram castamque mentem quam qui mediatum carmen intulerit.* With *requaerunt* cf. *iniacta* LXIV. 153.

13. **meditantur,** 'their study is not in vain,' a general present, including the previous study of, and the present labour in recalling, their song. **memorabile quod sit,** 'worth speaking of,' ἀξιωματόνευρον; nearly as in Curc. i. 1. 8 *nec bellumst nec memorabile*, where Lambinus explains the word as = *laudabile*.

14. This line is found only in the Thuanian Anthology at Paris; it occurs in none of the other MSS. As all of these are traceable to one very imperfect original, no weight can be laid upon their omission. The line is a good one in itself; is not unlike Catullus in language or rhythm; and divides the strophe into two equal parts. **laborant,** of course allusively, of mental *travail* (Hor. C. iii. 22. 2); the change to *laborent* (Voss) is unnecessary and weak: see on XLIV. 21.

15. **dimisimus** is supported by Vergil's *animum nunc huc celerem, nunc diuidit illuc* Aen. iv. 285. Cf. Trach. 272 τὸτ' ἄλλοσ' αὐτὸν ὄμμα θάτερά δι τῶν Ἑχώρα. One MS gives *dimisimus*, and *dimisimus* is conjectured independently by Pleiner, who compares Ovid Met. iii. 381 *aciem partes dimisit in omnes*, ib. viii. 188 *ignotas animum dimittit in artes*, translating 'wir dagegen haben unsere Gedanken und unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf

andere Dinge, bald diese, bald jene (*dis-*), nur nicht auf unsere Aufgabe gerichtet gehabt.' And so Turnebus *Aduers.* xxi. 29 'nos et animi aliis rebus intendimus et aduertimus, et aures aliis sermonibus praebuimus.' On this view *alio*—*alio* would *both* mean something different from the task which the youths have before them, of singing; cf. Ter. And. ii. 1. 19 *Nunc hic dies aliam uitam adfert, alios mores postulat.* But the meaning is obviously as in Verg. Aen. iv. 285 *animum nunc huc celerem, nunc diuidit illuc*, 'we have parted off our thoughts in one direction, our ears in another,' i.e. have been distracted by what we hear around us from thinking over our song. So Passerat, who compares Cic. Sull. xi. 33 *adestote omnes animis, qui adestis (corpore).* Aul. ii. 2. 4 *egomet sum hic, animus domist.* Rem. Amor. 443 *Secta bipertito cum mens discurrit utroque.* The combination *mentes, aures* as in Sull. xi. 33 *erigite mentes auresque uestras.*

16. *amat uictoria curam* looks like a proverb. Soph. fr. 364 Nauck ὄδοι ποθ' ἀψι τῶν ἀκρων ἀνευ πόνου. Eurip. fr. 719 Μοχθεύ ἀνδραγα τοῦ βέλοντας εὐτυχεῖν.

17. *animos.* 'Come then, in even race let thought their melody rival.' Metric. Transl. *saltem*, your thoughts if not your voices. *committite*, 'match with theirs,' often of gladiators matched in pairs, cf. Iuven. i. 163, vi. 436. The Thuanian MS has *conuertite*, 'bid your thoughts turn round, recall them from where they have been straying,' as in Sull. xxiv. 69 *nunc iam reuocandi estis eo quo uos ipsa causa etiam tacente me cogit animos mentisque conuertere,* Milo xiii. 34 *conuertite animos nunc uicissim ad Milonem.*

20. *fertur.* Germanicus Prognost. 41 Breysig has *Cythereius ignis Fertur* of Venus. It is Aratus' *φοεῖται* (Passerat). *crudelior.* Theocr. viii. 91.

21. *complexu auellere.* Font. xxi. 46 *de matris hunc complexu auellet. possis*, 'can endure.' Passerat compares Aen. ix. 482 *potuisti linquere solam Crudelis?*

22. *retinentem*, 'as she clings to it,' viz. to her mother's embrace.

23. *ardenti*, the *fero iuueni* of LXI. 56.

24. *urbe.* The horrors of a town under sack are stock illustrations of cruelty. After the fall of Avaricum in Gaul, out of 40,000 inhabitants only 800 remained (Caes. B. G. vii. 28), women and infants were butchered (B. G. vii. 47). Aen. ii. 746 *Aul quid in euersa uidi crudelius urbe?* Liu. xxix. 17 *Omnia quae captae urbes patiuntur passi sumus.* They are all perhaps traceable to Homer. Il. ix. 592 sqq. Κῆδε' ὅσ' ἀθρόωποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἀλώη. Ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει, Τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἀγούσι, βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας (Passerat).

26. *iucundior.* Apoll. Rhod. i. 775-780 Ἀστέρι . . Ὅν ῥα τέ νηγατέησιν ἐργόμεναι καλύβησιν Νύμφαι θήσαντο δάμνην ὑπὲρ ἀντίλλοντα, καὶ σφισι κναπέοιο δι' ἥρος ὄμματα θέλγει καλὸν ἐρευνθόμενος, γάννται δέ τε ἡβέοιο Παρθένους ἱμείρουσα μετ' ἀλλοδαποῖσιν ἐόντος Ἄνδρασιν, ᾧ καὶ μιν μνηστὴν κομέουσι τοκῆς.

27. 'Spondet puellae pater, despondet adulescentis,' Donatus on Andr. i. 1. 75, a remark which he repeats in other words on Ad. iv. 7. 16. Catullus may be speaking technically, though the words are often used without such distinction; e.g. Varro L. L. vi. 71 seems to show that both *spondere* and *despondere* were used of the bride's father, *qui sponponderat filiam despondisse dicebatur, quod de sponte eius id est de uoluntate exierat.*

28. *Quae*, Thuan. *Quod* (quo most MSS), 'whatever,' gives rather more liveliness, but does not accord quite so well with *iunxere*. *pepigerere* . . . *pepigerunt* is very unusual, but we need not with Muretus suspect the verse. Similarly Lucilius ap. Gell. N. A. xvi. 9 *Susque omnia deque fuerunt Susque haec deque fuere, inquam*. Ovid M. xiv. 562 *odere Pelasgos Neritiaeque ratis uiderunt fragmina laetis Vultibus et laetis uidere rigescere puppim Vultibus*. Mart. i. 103. 4 *Riserunt faciles et tribuere dei*. Stat. S. ii. 1. 226 *Nil flecteris istis? Sed flectere libens*. These passages, like Orat. xlvii. 157, prove that the ancient theory of *-re* representing a dual had little corresponding to it in the actual feeling of the language (Quintil. i. 5. 44, Serv. on Aen. ii. 1). *parentes*. Gellius N. A. iv. 1 quotes from Servius Sulpicius the form of sponsalia usual in Latium (*ea parte Italiae quae Latium appellatur*) up to the Lex Iulia B.C. 90 *Qui uxorem ducturus erat, ab eo unde ducenda erat stipulabatur eam in matrimonium daturum; [ductum] iri qui ducturus erat iidem spondebat. Is contractus stipulationum sponsionumque dicebatur Sponsalia. Tum quae promissa erat sponsa appellabatur, qui sponderat ducturum, sponsus*. From this passage it would seem that the father of the bride first (*ante*) entered into a contract with the suitor to give him his daughter in marriage; then that the suitor engaged to marry her. So Hertzberg in his Transl. 'Welches die Aeltern zuvor und nachmals schlossen die Männer.' *parentes* and *uiri* are thus general plurals = *uir* (the husband), *parens* the father of the bride. (So Bährens.) Yet, as in 62, 63, *parentum* is defined to be the bride's father and mother, it is perhaps more probable (despite some violation of symmetry) that this is the meaning here. Riese's view that *uiri* are the two fathers as opposed to the two sets of parents (*parentes*) seems impossible.

29. *iunxere*, like *iungere laedas, foedera*, etc.: in LXXXVIII. 3 *iungit amores* is used of the person who brings lovers together. If *Quod* be kept in 28, *iunxere* = 'closed by union.' *prius*. Plin. H. N. ii. 38 *Huius natura cuncta generantur in terris. Namque in alterutro exortu genitali rore conspergens non terrae modo conceptus inplet, uerum animantium quoque omnium stimulat. se tuus extulit ardor*, a beautiful collocation.

30. *optatius*, 'more desirable,' often in Cicero.

32. The only line of this strophe which seems to have survived. The general purport of it must have been a renewed attack on Hesperus as the foe of virginity, the thief who takes the maiden from her companions. From 36, where the youths declare that it is the pleasure of the virgins to rail at Hesperus, it is possible that this renewed railing (cf. 20, 24) at Hesperus included an attack on *Night*, the Devirginator, the foe of sun and daylight, that nips all things with frost, that brings harm (*nocet*) and is rightly called the *harmer* (*nox*). Such at least is a natural inference from Varro L. L. vi. 6 *Nox quod ut Catulus (Catullus some MSS) ait, omnia nisi interueniat sol, pruina obriguerint, quod nocet, nox*: a passage which immediately precedes an etymology of *uesper*, *uesperugo* and connects it with *tonipa*. It is true that Scaliger in his *Coniectanea in Varro-nem de lingua latina* p. 84, ed. 1565, and Fulvio Orsini in his note on Varr. R. R. i. 2. 5 (1587), would alter *Catulus* into *Pacuius* (*Pacuius*) from Varr. R. R. i. 2. 5 *uerum enim est illud Pacuii (paculi Keil's PB, piaculi A) sol si perpetuo sit aut nox, flammeo uapore aut frigore terrae fructus omnis interire*. But the resemblance of the two passages is in

vague to justify a palaeographical change not in itself very likely. It makes little difference that the MSS of the L. L. give preferably *Catuli*, for not only in Catullus' own poems (VII. 10, VIII. 1, 19, XI. 1, XIV. 13, XLIV. 3, XLVI. 4, LII. 1, 4, LVI. 3, LVIII. 2, and in many other places), but habitually in all MSS where the poet's name occurs, it will be found so written. (Cf. Süss Catulliana p. 19.) To Bährens is due the ascription of this passage of the L. L. to Catullus; but whereas he believes it taken, like fragm. VIII on the Rhaetic grape, from a lost prose work, I hold that its proper place was in this Epithalamium.

**82. aequalis.** Thuan. here, and all the MSS in 11, no doubt rightly. In both places *aequalis* = *ἴλικες*, Thesmoph. 1030, Pind. P. 3. 17 *παμφάνων λαχὼν ὑμναίων, ἴλικες οἷα παρθένου φιλέουσιν ἐταῖραι Ἑσπερίαις ὑποκουρίζεσθαι οἰδαῖς*.

**83.** 'Who is more the lover's friend than Hesper? At his approach the watch must be set, for he ushers in night, the kind concealer of love's stolen delights. It is true the virgins pretend to hate him; but they only do this to conceal their real fondness.' *uigilat custodia semper*, perhaps with a reference to watch-dogs, which are often mentioned in this connexion. Ov. Trist. ii. 459, Tib. i. 6. 32, cf. Varro L. L. vii. 32 *Canes . . . quod ea uoce indicant noctu quae latent, latratus appellatus*. But Tib. i. 6. 10 and iv. 6. 11 *Nec possit cupidus uigilans deprendere custos*, an imitation of Catullus, Ov. Am. i. 6. 7, point to a less special interpretation, viz. the person (Am. iii. 4. 1) or persons employed by the master of the house to keep a look out. *uigilat*, 'is awake.'

**84. Nocte latent fures.** According to the ridiculous etymology of Catullus' contemporary Varro *fur* was derived from *furuus*, because *fures per noctem quae atra sil facilius furentur* (Gell. i. 18. 4), cf. Non. 50, who quotes Hom. Il. iii. 11 *κλέπτη δέ τε νυκτὸς ἀμείνω*. Both the Greeks and Romans associate the ideas of theft and stolen, especially adulterous, love. So *φώριος εὐνά* Theocr. xxvii. 68, *κλέπτειν γάμον* xxii. 151, Tib. i. 5. 7, i. 9. 55, Prop. ii. 32. 17, iii. 8. 39, Ov. Trist. ii. 461, Am. iii. 4. 25. Artemidor. Oneirocr. iv. 58 *τὰ δὲ νυκτερινὰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πράσσοντας, μοιχοὺς ἢ κλέπτας*. *idem*, 'whom, when often thou returnest the same star, Hesper, still, though thy name be changed, thou surpiseest the same thieves of love still.' *idem*, according to the mistaken idea, that the evening-star was at the same time and on the same day the morning-star, a natural confusion caused by the fact that Venus is seen at different times both at sunset and dawn. Plat. Epinomis 987 quoted by Passerat *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἑωσφόρος ἑσπερός τε ὃν αὐτὸς Ἀφροδίτης εἶναι σχεδὸν ἔχει λόγον*. Cramer Anecd. Oxon. 413. 16 *ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἑωσφόρος καὶ ἑσπερος καίτοι γε τὸ παλαιὸν ἄλλος ἐδόκει εἶναι ὁ ἑωσφόρος καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ἑσπερος πρῶτος δὲ Ἰβυκος ὁ Ῥηγίνοσ συνήγαγε τὰς προσηγορίας*. Tim. Locr. περὶ ψυχ. κόσμου 97 *δύο δ' ἰσοδρομοὶ ἀελίῳ ἐντί, Ἑρμᾷ τε καὶ Ἥρας, τὸν Ἀφροδίτας καὶ Φωσφόρον τοὶ πολλοὶ καλεῖσιν. νομῆς γὰρ καὶ πᾶς ὄμιλος οὐ σοφὸς τὰ περὶ τὰν ἱερὰν ἀστρονομίαν ἐντὶ οὐδ' ἐπιστάμων ἀνατολῶν τὰν ἑσπερίαν καὶ ἑφῶν ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς πῶκα μὲν ἑσπερος γίγνεται, ἐπόμενος τῷ ἀλίῳ τοσούτου, ὁκόσον μὴ ὑπὸ τὰς αὐγὰς αὐτοῦ ἀφανισθῆναι, πῶκα δὲ ἑφός, αἱ καὶ προαγέηται τῷ ἀλίῳ καὶ προανατέλλῃ ποτ' ἔσθρων. φωσφόρος οὖν πολλὰκις μὲν γίγνεται ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτας διὰ τὸ ὁμοδρομῆν ἀλίῳ, οὐκ αἰεὶ δέ. saepe, 'time after time,' as in *magno in populo cum saepe coorta est Seditio* Aen. i. 148. *reuertens*, a common idea: Callim. fr. 52 Blomf. *Αὐτοὶ μὲν φιλέουσ' αὐτοὶ δὲ τε πεφρίκασιν, Ἑσπέρῳ φιλέουσιν*,*

ἐπὶ στυγίονσιν ἑῶν. Meleager in Anth. P. xii. 114 Ἡὸς ἄγγελε χαῖρε, φαισφόρε, καὶ ταχὺς ἔλθοις Ἑσπερος, ἣν ἀπάγεις λάθριος αὖθις ἄγων. Cinna fr. Smyrna quoted by Servius on Geor. i. 288 *Te matutinus flentem conspexit Eous Et flentem paulo uidit post Hesperus idem*. Varr. R. R. iii. 5. 17 *Stella Lucifer interdium, noctu hesperus*. Ciris 351 *Quem pavidae alternis fugitant optantque puellae, Hesperium uitant, optant ardescere solem*<sup>1</sup>. Manil. i. 177 *Nec matutinis fulgeret Lucifer horis Hesperus immerso (emenso Bentley) dederat qui lumen Olympo*. Carmen de Maecenate 129-132 *Quaesiuerunt chori iuuenem sic Hesperon illum, Quem nexum medio soluit in igne Venus. Quem nunc infuscis placida sub nocte nilentem Luciferum contra currere cernis equis*. Sen. Ag. 819-821 *Retulit pedem nomen alternis Stella quae mutat, seque mirata est Hesperum dici*. Phaedr. 749-752 *Qualis est primas referens tenebras Nuntius noctis, modo lotus undis Hesperus, pulsus iterum tenebris Lucifer idem*. H. O. 149 *Commisitque uices Lucifer Hespero*. Colum. x. 290 *Ore corusco Hesperus, Eo remeat cum Lucifer ortu*. Lucan ap. Lactatium ad Stat. Theb. ix. 424 *Luciferum ter iusserat Hesperon esse*. Stat. Theb. vi. 238-241 *Rosida iam noues caelo dimiserat astra Lucifer et totidem Lunae praeuenerat ignes Mutato nocturnus equo, nec conscia fallit Sidera et alterno deprenditur unus in ortu*. Boet. de Consol. Philosophiae i. 5 *Et qui primae tempore noctis Agit algentes Hesperus ortus Solitas iterum mutat habenas Phoebi pallens Lucifer ortu*. Anth. Lat. 427. 4 *Riese Hesperus hoc uideat, Lucifer hoc uideat*. Liutprand Antap. iv. 15 *Et quibus nomen dedit Hesper almus Lucifer rursus uocitatus idem Surgit Eo properans corusco*<sup>2</sup>. Tennyson in Memoriam cxx *Sweet Hesper-Phosphor, double name For what is one, the first, the last, Thou, like my present and my past, Thy place is changed; thou art the same*.

35. *comprendis* in the same sense as *ortu conuiuia solis Deprensa* Sil. xi. 42. *eosdem*. This ingenious mode of suggesting what the Greeks called *πᾶννυξις*, *πᾶννυξ* occurs several times in the Anthology v. 172, 201, 223. xii-114. *eosdem* after *idem* as in Iuven. vii. 153 *eadem cantabit uersibus isdem*. *Eous*, the conjecture of Schrader, is clever but weak.

37. *Quid tum* refers to and is explained by *si carpunt*, 'what, if they do rail?' like Ecl. x. 38 *Quid tum si fuscus Amyntas? requirunt*, 'look for longingly,' both here and in VIII. 13 of an absent object, and so de Sen. x. 33 *cum absit ne requiras*.

39-58. One of the most frequently imitated passages in Catullus. It has been paraphrased by Ariosto (i. 42), and closely translated by Ben Jonson (The Barriers). More lately Browning has transfused it, The Ring and the Book iii. 233-240.

<sup>1</sup> *Eoum* Ribbeck, after Bentley and Näge. Yet *solem* seems defensible, cf. Plin. ii. 36 *Præueniens quippe et ante matutinum exoriens luciferi nomen accipit ut sol alter diemque maturans*.

<sup>2</sup> 'The first to identify *ἑσπερος* and *ἑσπερος* was according to Apollodorus *περὶ θεῶν* in Arias Didymus p. 467, and Aristoxenus ap. Diog. L. viii. 14 *Pythagoras*, according to Favorinus ap. Diog. L. ix. 23 *Parmenides*, according to Achilles Isag. p. 136 *Ibycus*. On this view the *motif* of Catull. LXII. 35 would not be ascribable to Sappho: this is possible, and Catullus may have been influenced by Callimachus fr. 52. Yet I hold it more probable that the data supplied by the grammarians are imperfect, and that Sappho already identified the Morning- and Evening-star.' Wilamowitz-Möllendorf in *Hermes* xviii. p. 417.

39. *septis*, 'inclosed,' as Ovid says of guarding women *Cingenda est altis sepibus ista seges* A. A. iii. 562. *secretus* with *nascitur*, 'grows sequestered.'

40. Stat. quotes Columella x. 27 *Talis humus uel parietibus uel sepibus hirtis Claudatur, ne sit pecori, neu peruia furi*. *contusus*, 'bruised,' a less violent word than *conuulsus* (Thuan.), 'torn away,' 'shattered,' which Catullus uses in LXIV. 40 of the plough tearing up clods. *conuulsis*, *contusis* occur side by side, medically, Plin. H. N. xv. 98.

41. *mulcent*, 'stroke,' Ben Jonson, cf. XI. 23. *educat*, the showers play the most important part in the gradual development of the flower; they alone can be said to *rear* it to perfect growth. Vulp. quotes from Plato Legg. viii. 485 ὕδωρ δὲ πάντων μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς κητείας διαφερότως τρόφιμον, εὐδιάφθαρτον δέ. οὐτε γὰρ γῆν οὐτε ἥλιον οὐτε πνεύματα τοῖς ὕδασι ζῆντροφα τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστανόντων ῥάδιον φθείρειν.

42. *illum*, *κείνον* or *κείνων* δὲ of Greek similes. The line with 44 is imitated by Ovid Met. iii. 353 *Multi illum iuuenes, multae cupiere puellae. Sed fuit in tenera iam dira superbia forma Nulli illum iuuenes, nullae tetigere puellae*. The perfects *optauere coluere accoluere* 42, 44, 53, 55 are aoristic, Madvig Opusc. ii. 115.

44. *tenui ungui* (Her. iv. 30) defines *carptus*: the flower is *nupt*; in itself *carptus* would, I think, imply a ruder action, pulling or plucking. *defloruit*, 'has shed its blossom,' as is shown by 46, and so Plin. H. N. xviii. 120 *Faba aquas in flore maxime concupiscit; cum uero defloruit, exiguas desiderat*.

45. *dum . . . dum* is the reading of the Bolognese and some other MSS, as well as of Quintilian ix. 3. 16, for though Halm's MSS of the *Institutio* have in the second clause *tum*, the context shows that Quintilian read *dum* twice. He explains the line 'as long as she remains unwed, so long is she dear to her kinsmen.' On this view *dum—dum* would be literally 'the while she remains unwed, the while she is dear.' Cf. Truc. ii. 1. 21 Schöll *Dum habeat, dum<sup>1</sup> amet*. Cf. the use of *cum—cum*, and more closely of *τόσσα μὲν—τόσσα δέ* in Callim. Del. 39, 40, *τίως—τίως*. It is not necessary to interpret Catullus so harshly. *Sic* may contain the predicate *optata est* implied in the protasis of the simile, 'so is the virgin desirable while she remains unprofaned, while she is dear to her kinsmen.'

46. *florem*, in the sense of youth in its prime, is common, not only in Catullus (XVII. 14, LXIV. 402) and other poets, but even in prose, sometimes with *aetatis acui* etc., sometimes without, Eun. ii. 3. 28, Lucr. vi. 1105, Suet. Jul. 49. But here the word is not yet a mere metaphor; the comparison is not between a flower in its freshness or decay with a maiden in her prime or decline, but between a flower unplucked and a maiden in her virginity. Hence *castum florem* is not so much 'the pure

<sup>1</sup> *Dum amet* is Lambinus' conj. for *tum amet* of MSS: but the conjecture is accepted or repeated by Hand, C. F. W. Müller, Fleckeisen, Haupt, Schwabe, Schöll, and Key, L. D. s. v. In the v. of Catullus also *tum cara* is given by most MSS, including *GO* and the Thuanus, and may be right; I have followed the authority of Quintilian, who must have had access to MSS of Catullus of much greater authority than ours. More decisive is the parallel verse 56 *Sic uirgo dum intacta manet, dum inculta senescit*, as K. P. Schulze observes: for here *dum inculta* is given by all MSS except Thuan.

flower of her prime' as 'the flower of her chastity;' in other words *castum* defines *florem*.

49. *nudo*, 'bare,' i.e. without trees or other signs of fertility. Sall. lug. 79 *per loca inaequalia et nuda gignentium*.

50. *mitem* is in close relation to *educat*, but must not be joined in construction with it, as also Ovid's *Non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uvas* Pont. i. 3. 51, cf. Colum. x. 13 *Sponte sua frondosas educat ulmos*.

51. *prono pondere*, Ciris 26. Conr. de Allio quotes de Senect. xv. 52 *Vitis quae natura caduca est et nisi fulla sit ad terram fertur*.

52. *Iam iam*, 'is on the point to,' as in Aen. ii. 530 *iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta*. *flagellum* is explained by Varro R. R. i. 31. 3 *Eiuncidum enim sarmentum propter infirmitatem sterile neque ex se potest eicere uilem, quam uocant minorem flagellum, maiorem etiam unde uuae nascuntur, palmam*. The *radix* and *flagellum* are correlatives, as old English crop and moore, i.e. top and root. *contingit radice flagellum*, an inversion for *contingit radicem flagello*. For the comparison cf. Shakespere Henry the Sixth, Part i. Act 2. sc. 5 *And pithless arms like to a wither'd vine That droops his sapless branches to the ground*. Chapman Alphonsus v. 1 *My heart is of the nature of the palm Not to be broken till the highest bud Be bent and tied unto the lowest root*.

53. It is not easy to decide between *coluere* and *accoluere*, the reading of Thuan. In 55 I have little doubt that *accoluere* is right, and it might be said that if read there it should be read in 53. Lachmann rejects it here, perhaps as less supported by MSS; but such variations are quite in accordance with the artificial usages of the school to which Catullus belonged: so *fertur* in 20 is responded to by *luceat* in 26, *pepigerunt* and *pepigere* occur in the same line 28.

54. *ulmo marito*, 'to the elm as her husband,' contrasts with Quintilian's *maritam ulmum* viii. 3. 8. Is it impossible that Catullus meant *marito* to be adjective, and notwithstanding retained the termination in *o*, where a feminine sign was out of place? Ennius used *cupressus*, Cato *ficus masc.* Servius on G. iv. 145 adds *spinus*, Priscian *platanus populus laurus*, Donatus *pinus* (Neue Formenl. i. 645); *fagus* seems to be masculine in a poem ascribed by Bücheler to the age of Nero, Riese Anthol. L. 726. 16: Horace uses *lepus*, Plautus *elephantus* feminine, where the notion of sex made it natural or necessary, S. ii. 4. 44, Stich. i. 3. 14: see Bentley on the former passage. Riese and Bährens retain *marita* of the Thuanus, both as nominative. But the light *ā* sound at the end of a hexameter is avoided by Catullus. It would be better to take it as abl. after *coniuncta*, a construction often found in Cicero<sup>1</sup>.

55. *accoluere*, 'till about,' a sense which seems not found elsewhere.

56. *inulta*, 'untended,' 'uncared for.' *senescit*, cf. Lysist. 593 *Περὶ τῶν δὲ κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκουσῶν ἀνιώμαι*.

57. *par*, 'with one that is her equal,' *ὁμαλὸς γάμος* Prom. 901, Ovid Heroid. ix. 29-32 *Quam male inaequales ueniunt ad aratra iuuenti, Tam premittit magno coniuge nupta minor. Non honor est sed homus, species laesura ferentem. Si qua uoles apte nubere, nube pari*.

<sup>1</sup> Aufrecht in Rhein. Mus. xxxv. p. 320 thinks that originally only feminine trees like *oliva*, *nitis* were called *maritas* when joined to trees of a larger growth (elms, poplars &c.), and that the application of *maritus* adj. to these last was later, when the original feeling of the word had been obscured.

**58. inuisa.** Eurip. fr. Nauck 944 Καὶ παῖδας εἶναι πατρὶ μὴ στυγόν μένους. Catullus uses a strong expression for the distaste which a parent feels at the sight of an unmarried daughter. Passerat quotes from Menander Ἀλλεῖς fr. 6. Mein., 18 Kock Χαλεπὸν γε θυγάτηρ κτῆμα καὶ δυσδιάθετον, and Ἀνεψιοὶ fr. 2, Kock 60 Θυγάτηρ κτῆμ' ἐστὶν ἐργάτης πατρί, and Meineke a fr. of the philosopher Lycon ap. Diog. Laert. v. 65 βαρὺ φορτίον πατρὶ κόρη διὰ σπάνιν προικὸς ἐκτρέχουσα τὸν ἀκμαῖον τῆς ἡλικίας καιρόν. Possibly there is a reference to the increased importance which a childless parent, at least in later times, obtained, Sen. Cons. ad Marciam 19 *adeo senectulem solitudo ad potentiam ducit ut quidam odia filiorum simulent et liberos eiurent et orbitatem manu faciant*. But family affection was not a Roman virtue. Fronto p. 135 Naber *Nihil minus in tota mea uita Romae repperi quam hominem sincere φιλόστοργον, ut pulem, quia reapse nemo est Romae φιλόστοργος, ne nomen quidem huic uirtuti esse Romanum*. ib. p. 176 *philostorgus cuius rei nomen apud Romanos nullum est*. **parenti.** Hom. H. Cer. 136 Δοῖεν κουριδίου ἀνδρας, καὶ τέκνα τεκίσθαι, ὧς ἐθέλουσι τοκῆς.

**59-65.** Final apostrophe to the bride, in close connexion with the lines immediately preceding, and enforcing them. The youths take up the thought which would be most predominant at such a time, the loss of virginity, and remind the bride that this is a possession which she can only call partly her own; the larger share her parents and her husband claim. In two fragments of Sappho the bride dwells similarly on the approaching loss of her virginity, fr. 102 Bergk Ἥ ῥ' ἐτι παρθενίας ἐπιβάλλομαι; and fr. 109 which seems to represent the struggle of mind in the form of a dialogue, Παρθενία, παρθενία, ποί με λίποις οἴχη; Οὐκετι ἤξω πρὸς σέ, οὐκετι ἤξω.

**60.** Callim. H. Apoll. 25 κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν.

**63.** This arithmetical division of the whole into three parts is well known from Pindar's ἐν παρ' ἐσλὸν πῆματα σὺν δύο δαίονται βροτοῖς Ἀθάνατοι. P. iii. 81 Bergk, cf. Aesch. Supp. 1069 τὸ βέλτερον κακοῦ καὶ τὸ δίμοιρον αἰνῶ. Soph. fr. 129 Nauck τῶν τριῶν μίαν λαβεῖν Εὐσοιαν ἀρκεῖ. 'This leaning to the threefold was also Pythagorean: cf. de Caelo i. 1. 268 a 10 καθάπερ γάρ φασι καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῖς τρισὶν ὀρισται . . . Aristotle himself is inclined to say τελευτᾷ δ' ἐν τρισὶ πάντα.' W. L. Newman, Politics of Aristotle, ii. p. 298.

**64. pugnare duobus.** Plat. Legg. xi. 919 πρὸς δύο μάχεσθαι καὶ ἐναντία χαλεπὸν. Phaed. 89 πρὸς δύο οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς. It was a proverb (Passerat).

**65. genero.** Cat. may have introduced this word from Sappho. Servius on G. i. 31 *Generum pro marito positum multi accipiunt iuxta Sappho, quae in libro, qui inscribitur Ἐπιθαλάμια, ait χαιρε νύμφα, χαιρε τίμιε γαμβρὲ πολλά, ἀντὶ τοῦ νυμφίε, sic et Pindarus ἐν τοῖς παιᾶσιν* (quoted by Fürst in his Mölk dissertation 1887 p. 31). **cum dote.** Dig. xxiii. 3. 5 *Profecticia dos est quae a patre uel parente profecta est de bonis uel facto eius*. There could be no *matrimonium* without a *dos*, ib. 3.



## LXIII.

IN the *Attis* Catullus presents an idea which, by contrast, works into the series of poems connected with marriage, the frenzy of self-emasculation, and the agony of mind which its reaction produces. Common as the sight of the eunuch priests of the Great Mother must have been in antiquity, and frequent as are the allusions to the worship in Greek and Roman writers, it cannot be said to have greatly influenced their poetry. The externals of the cultus are indeed often mentioned; the short Homeric hymn *eis μητέρα θεῶν* already speaks of her as a power

Ἦι κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σὺν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν  
 Ἐθαδεν ἦδ' ἰύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων,  
 Οὐρεά τ' ἤχηντα καὶ ὕληντες ἔναυλοι.

Pindar, in a dithyramb of which Strabo has preserved a fragment, x. 469, says

σοὶ μὲν κατάρχειν  
 Μᾶτερ μεγάλη, πᾶρα ῥόμβοι κυμβάλων,  
 Ἐν δὲ κεχλάδευ κρόταλ', αἰθομένα δὲ δᾶς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις

(Bergk fr. 57 B).

Sophocles, identifying the Great Mother with Earth, invokes her as 'the blessed one who sits on bull-slaughtering lions,' Philoct. 400; and Euripides, besides numerous allusions to her rites scattered through his plays, e.g. *Orest.* 1453, identifies her, *Hel.* 1301, with Demeter, and describes the search she made for her daughter over the snowy woods of Ida, to the sound of cymbals and tambourines. (Cf. *ἡ ἄλῃ τῆς Πείας* Paus. viii. 10.) The dithyrambic poet Telestes (circ. 400 B.C.) associates the introduction of Phrygian music into Greece with the Mountain Mother (*Athen.* 625)

Πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατήρας Ἑλλάνων ἐν αὐλοῖς  
 Συναπαδοὶ Πέλοπος ματρὸς ὀρείας  
 Φρύγιον δεισαν νόμον (Bergk fr. 5).

Diogenes tragicus ap. *Athen.* 636 speaks of noble Phrygian ladies as celebrating her rites

Καίτοι κλύω μὲν Ἀσιάδος μιτρηφόρους  
 Κυβέλας γυναῖκας, παῖδας ὀλβίων Φρυγῶν,  
 Τυπάνοισι καὶ ῥόμβοισι καὶ χαλκοκτύπων  
 Βόμβοις βρεμούσας ἀντίχερσι κυμβάλων  
 Σοφὴν θεῶν ὑμνοῦδ' ἰατρὸν θ' ἄμα.

A custom which found its way to Greece, and was ridiculed by Menander in his comedy *Ἱέρεια*. (See Meineke *Fragm. Com. Graec.* iv. p. 140, Kock 245.) We may form some conception of the extravagant behaviour of these women from the description of Nicander *Alex.* 215-220. Speaking of a particular form of madness he compares the shrieks which attended it to those of a priestess of Rhea (κερνοφόρος ζάκορος βωμίστρια Πείης) on the ninth day, when she makes those whom she encounters in the streets tremble at the hideous howl of the Idaean Mother.

The earliest connexion of these rites with Attis is perhaps traceable in Aristoph. *Aves* 875-877, where Cybele is mentioned with Sabazius; †

the cry *Εὐοὶ Σαβοί, Ὑῆς Ἀττης, Ἀττης Ὑῆς*, associates if it does not identify Sabazius with Attis. Anecd. Bekk. 202 Ἀττης ὕης, τὸ μὲν ὕης υἱός, τὸ δὲ ἄτης θεὸς Σαβάσιος. Ἄλλοι δὲ Ὑῆν τὸν Διόνυσον (Lob. Aglaoph. 1045). Theopompus, who belonged partly to the old, partly to the new comedy, quoted by Suidas i. p. 370 Ἀττις παρὰ Φρυγί μάλιστα τιμᾶται ὡς πρόσκοτος τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. Ἀττιν, οὐχὶ Ἀττια Δημοσθένης. κατάρχεις τοῖς Σάβοις Ἀττις Ὑῆς, Ἀττις. Θεόπομπος ἐν Καπηλίσι (Kock i. p. 740)

κολάσομαι σ' ἐγὼ

καὶ τὸν σὸν Ἀττιν

is already familiar with Attis; and this appears to be the first actual notice of him. About a century later Hermesianax the elegiac poet, a friend and disciple of Philetas, wrote a poem on Attis, an abstract of which is given in Paus. vii. 17. 9. This account made him the eunuch son of a Phrygian Calaus; he migrated to Lydia, there instituted the rites of the Mother, and was killed by a boar, sent by the anger of Zeus. Attis is also mentioned with Cybele in the Anacreontea 11 Bergk, but the date of these is very uncertain; in Theocritus xx. 40 καὶ τὸ ῥέα κλαίει τὸν βώκολον, Cybele's passion for him is a familiar story, like that of the moon for Endymion, and of Aphrodite for Anchises and Adonis; Apollonius in the passage describing the rites performed near Cyzicus by the Argonauts in honour of Rhea i. 1092-1152 does not speak of Attis; but in the Alexipharmaca of Nicander 8, the underground chambers (θαλάμῃ) where the votaries of Rhea underwent castration, and the place of Attis' mysterious rites (ὀργαστήριον Ἀττιῶ) are combined as a description of that town. To the same period<sup>1</sup> perhaps belongs the earliest extant specimen of the Galliambic metre peculiarly associated with the cultus (Hephaestion xii. p. 39 Westphal) Γαλλὰι μητρὸς ὀρεῖς φιλόθυρσοι δρομάδες, Αἰς ἔντα παταγείται καὶ χάλκεα κρόταλα. Neanthes of Cyzicus (circ. 250 B.C.) wrote a μυστικὸς λόγος on Attis (Harpocrat. s. v. Ἀττης). Alexander Polyhistor, a contemporary of the dictator Sulla, in the third book of his work περὶ Φρυγίας, spoke of the Galli; Gallus and Attis both castrated themselves; Gallus gave his name to the river Tyrras where he had settled after his castration, and from the river the

<sup>1</sup> Bergk Poet. Lyr. fr. adesp. 121 inclines to ascribe these verses to the writer of Priapea, cited by Hephaestion xvi. p. 57 Westphal as Euphorion Chersonesita, by Strabo 382 as Euphronius. Meineke (Anal. Alex. pp. 341-348) makes it probable that this Euphorion (so he prefers to name him) was a contemporary of Ptolemaeus Philopator, whom he celebrated as ὁ νέος Διόνυσος. If so, his date would be 222-205 B.C. But the Galliambic metre had been used before by Callimachus (Schol. Hephaest. p. 194 Westphal) and Wilamowitz, Hermes xiv. p. 197, concludes from this scholion that the two Galliambics cited by Hephaestion were written by Callimachus. The words of the scholion δ (?) καὶ Καλλιμαχος κέχρηται no doubt indicate that the metre was used by Callimachus, and this would agree with Wilamowitz' view that the inventor belonged to the creative period of Greek poetry, therefore not later than the first half of the third century B.C. But these very words seem to me to disprove the attribution of the two Galliambics in question to Callimachus. The natural sense of the Scholion is that amongst the poets who had employed the Galliambic metre described by Hephaestion was Callimachus. If the Scholia call the two νν. Γαλλὰι μητρὸς κ.τ.λ. τὰ πολυθρύλλητα ταῦτα παραδείγματα, this in no way proves that they were written by the only poet who could be called πολυθρύλλητος among the νεότεροι. I cannot therefore accept Couat's words, 'Il reste surtout que le mètre galliambique doit être ajouté au mètre sotadique parmi les inventions du lyrisme alexandrin.' Poésies Alexandr. p. 197.

name passed to similar votaries generally. (Steph. B. s. v. γάλλος, cf. s. v. Μητρόπολις.)

These passages are quoted from writers anterior to Catullus; but it is from writers of his own or later periods that we derive most of our information as to the origin and details of the cultus, especially in its connexion with Attis. Its original seat, so far as it can be traced historically, was Phrygia. Marmor Parium Epoch. 10 (1506 B.C.) in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* vol. i. p. 544 (p. 6 in Flach.) [βρέτας θ]εῶν μητρός ἐφάνη ἐν Κυβέλοις, καὶ Ὑάγνις δ' Φρύξ αὐλοῦς πρῶτος ἤρην ἐγκ[ε]λ[α]ί[ναι]ς πόλει τῇς Φρυγίας καὶ ἀρμονίαν τὴν καλ[ο]υμένην Φρυγιστὶ πρῶτος ἤλυσσε καὶ ἄλλους νόμους Μητρός, Διονύσου, Πανός. Strabo 472 φησὶ δὲ ὁ Σκήψιος (Demetrius of Scepsis, fl. circa 190 B.C.) ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τὰς τῆς Ῥέας τιμὰς μὴ νομίζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐπιχωριάζειν. . . . ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ μόνον καὶ τῇ Τρωάδι. ib. 469 οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες Φρυγίων τι φύλον καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰδην κατοικοῦντες Ῥέαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτην, μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἀγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σικυλήνην καὶ Πισσινουνηίδα καὶ Κυβέλην. It was in an especial manner connected with the town of Pessinus; at Pessinus Attis was buried (Paus. i. 4. 5), and a coin of Pessinus containing the heads of Cybele *ταυρίτα* and Attis in a Phrygian cap and a pine-crown with stars, and on the reverse a lion with his paw on a tympanum, and two crotala, is stated to be the earliest relic of the worship. (Labatut in *Revue Numismatique Belge* for 1868.) Pessinus was on the southern slope of Mount Dindymon, or, as it seems also to have been called, Agdistis (Paus. i. 4. 5, Strabo 567), a word peculiarly local and which was sometimes used to denote the goddess herself (Strabo 469 and 567, Hesychius s. v. Ἀγδιστίς) as well as the mythical hermaphrodite who sprang from the seed of Jupiter and from whose own genitals Attis was said to have arisen (Paus. vii. 17. 11, Arnob. v. 5).

The Phrygian language was Indo-European, as may be inferred from the extant inscriptions (see that on the tomb of Midas, and another quoted from Texier's *Asie Mineure* ii. 157, in Rawlinson's Herodotus i. 692), in which the verbal and substantival suffixes closely resemble those of Latin or Greek; from the assertion of Plato *Cratyl.* 410 that πῦρ ὕδωρ κύνες existed with slight variations in Phrygian; and from the fact that many Phrygian names are found in Zend, Persian or other Indo-European languages, e.g. *Baraiios*, the Phrygian Zeus (Hesych.) = Old Persian *bagā*, Zend *bagha*, Ind. *Baghavat*, Slavonic *boh*; Mazeus (ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυγίᾳ Hesych.) = Medineus the Lydian Zeus (ib.) = Zoroastrian Mazda; Men, the lunar god (Strabo 557, 577) = μήνη *mensis* *mond* *month* (Rawlinson i. 692 note, Robiou Hist. des Gaulois d'Orient p. 137); and it might seem that the worship of Cybele was Indo-European<sup>1</sup> were it not that other names connected with it are either doubtful, as *Ma* the mother, *Rhea* perhaps = *Ri*, the Babylonian word by which the Great Goddess of the Assyrians Bilita or Miliha is commonly known, (Sir H. Rawlinson in Rawlinson's Herod. i. p. 627), or distinctly Semitic as *Nana* the legendary eater of the almond from which Attis is conceived, cf. Babylonian *Nana*, modern Syrian *Nani* (Sir H. Rawlinson p. 658). However this may be,

<sup>1</sup> Robiou thinks Bactrian, and many names connected with the cultus are traceable in Zend, e.g. *Berecynius* = *Beresat*, *Corybantes* = *Gereuant*, Labatut p. 286.

the worship of Cybele rapidly spread over the whole of Asia Minor; Herodotus iv. 76 describes it as fully established at Cyzicus in the sixth century B.C., mentions the burning of her temple at Sardis v. 102, and knows her by the name of the Dindymenian Mother i. 80. From Poly-aenus viii. 53. 4 it would seem that about 500 B.C. the rites were already solemnized in Caria with eunuchs, women, flute- and tambourine-players; Herodotus iv. 76 adds night-processions: perhaps a Greek addition, Pindar fr. 57 B. In Greece itself Achaia seems to have been a special seat of the worship; temples of the Dindymenian Mother and Attis are mentioned at Dymae and Patrae (Paus. vii. 17. 9, vii. 20. 3). In Phrygia proper, its native seat, the cultus was of far greater antiquity: tradition ascribed it to Midas (Justin xi. 7, Clem. Al. Protrept. 13 Dindorf<sup>1</sup>): Arrian, quoted by Eustathius on Dionys. Periegetes 809, says λέγονται Φρύγες παλαιότατοι ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι καὶ ὅτι μαίνονται τῇ Ῥῆϊ καὶ πρὸς Κορυβάντων κατέχονται· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς κατὰσχη τὸ θεῖον, ἐλαυνόμενοι καὶ μέγα βοῶντες καὶ ὀρχούμενοι προθεσπίσουσι τὰ μέλλοντα θεοφορούμενοι καὶ μαινόμενοι. Diodorus Sic. iii. 58, 59 gives a condensed account of the collective traditions which had gathered round the Mother and her votary. Παραδίδονται δὲ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν γένεσις. Οἱ γὰρ ἐγγχώριοι μυθολογοῦσι τὸ παλαιὸν γενέσθαι βασιλείᾳ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας Μήονα· γήμωστα δὲ Δινδύμην γεννησάι μὲν παιδίον θῆλυ, τρέφειν δ' αὐτὸ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς ἕως ἐκθεῖναι τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Κύβελον. Ἐνταῦθα τῷ παιδίῳ κατὰ τινα θείαν πρόνοιαν τὰς παρδάλεις καὶ τινα τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀλκῇ διαφερόντων θηρίων παρέχεσθαι τὴν θηλὴν καὶ διατρέφειν. Γύναια δὲ τινα παρὰ τὸν τόπον ποιμαίνοντα κατιδεῖν τὸ γινόμενον, καὶ θαυμάσασα τὴν περιπέτειαν ἀνελεῖσθαι τὸ βρέφος, καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι Κυβέλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου. Αὐξομένην δὲ τὴν παιδα τῷ τε κάλλει καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διενεγκεῖν, ἔτι δὲ συνέσει γενέσθαι θαυμαστήν. Τὴν τε γὰρ πολυκάλαμον σύριγγα πρῶτην ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὰς παιδίας καὶ χορείας εὐρεῖν κύμβαλα καὶ τύμπανα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καθαροὺς τῶν νοσούντων κτηνῶν τε καὶ νηπίων παῖδων εἰσηγήσασθαι· διὸ καὶ τῶν βρεφῶν ταῖς ἐπαφαῖς σωζομένων καὶ τῶν πλείστων ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐναγκαλιζομένων, διὰ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοστοργίαν ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτὴν ὀρεῖαν μητέρα προσαγορευθῆναι. Συν-ααστρέφεσθαι δ' αὐτὴ καὶ φιλίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ πλεόν φασὶ Μαρσύαν τὸν Φρύγα, θαυμαζόμενον ἐπὶ συνέσει καὶ σωφροσύνῃ. Καὶ τῆς μὲν συνέσεως τεκμήριον λαμβάνουσι τὸ μιμήσασθαι τοὺς φθόγγους τῆς πολυκαλάμου σύριγγος καὶ μετενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐλοὺς τὴν ὅλην ἁρμονίαν· τῆς δὲ σωφροσύνης σημεῖον εἶναι φασὶ τὸ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπείρατον γενέσθαι τῶν ἀφροδισίων. Τὴν οὖν Κυβέλην εἰς ἀκμὴν ἡλικίας ἐλθοῦσαν ἀγαπήσαι τῶν ἐγγχωρίων τινὰ νεανίσκον τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἄττιν, ὕστερον δ' ἐπικληθέντα Πάπαν· συνελθοῦσαν δ' εἰς ὀμιλίαν αὐτῷ λάβρα καὶ γενομένην ἔγκυν ἐπιγνωσθῆναι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων. Διόπερ ἀναχθείσης αὐτῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὥς παρθένον προσδεξαμένου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γνόντος τὴν φθοράν, καὶ τὰς τε τροφούς καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ἀνελόντος καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐκρίψαντος ἄταφα, φασὶ τὴν Κυβέλην διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον φιλοστοργίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς τροφαῖς λύπην ἐμμανῆ γενομένην εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐκπηδήσαι. Καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὀλολύζουσαν καὶ τυμπαρίζουσαν μόνην ἐπιέναι πᾶσαν χώραν, καταλελυμένην τὰς τρίχας, τὸν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Ὁλοῖτο οὖν ὁ τῆσδε ὄρας τῆς ἀπάτης ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε ὁ Δάριδρος, ὁ μητρεὶ θεῶν καταδείξας τὰ μυστήρια, εἴτε Ἡετίαν ὁ τὰ Σαμοθρακῶν ὄρη καὶ τελετὰς ὑποστησάμενος, εἴτε ὁ Φρύξ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μίδας, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Ὀδρύσου μάθαν, ἔπειτα διαδοὺς τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις ἐντεχνον ἀπάτην.

Μαρσύαν ἐλεούτα τὸ πάθος ἐκουσίως αὐτῇ παρακολουθεῖν καὶ συμπλανῶσθαι διὰ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν φιλίαν. . . . Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐμπεσούσης νόσου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀκάρπου γενομένης, ἐπερωτησάντων τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς, προστάζει φασὶν αὐτοῖς θάψαι τὸ Ἀττιδὸς σῶμα καὶ τιμᾶν τὴν Κυβέλην ὡς θεόν. Διόπερ τοὺς Φρύγας διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἠφανισμένου τοῦ σώματος εἰδῶλον κατασκευάσαι τοῦ μειρακίου, πρὸς ᾧ θρηνοῦντας ταῖς οἰκείαις τιμαῖς τοῦ πάθους ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὴν τοῦ παρανομηθέντος μῆνιν ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς διατελεῖν. Τῆς δὲ Κυβέλης τὸ παλαιὸν βωμοὺς ἰδρυσμένους θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν κατ' ἔτος ὕστερον δὲ ἐν Πεσινοῦντι τῆς Φρυγίας κατασκευάσαι νέων πολυτελῆ καὶ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καταδείξαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας, Μίδου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ταῦτα συμφυλοκαλήσαντος τῇ δ' ἀγάλματι τῆς θεοῦ παραστήσαι παράδαιεις καὶ λέοντας διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τούτων πρώτως τραφῆναι. Περὶ μὲν οὖν μητρὸς θεῶν τοιαῦτα μυθολογεῖται παρὰ τε τοῖς Φρυγῇ καὶ τοῖς Ἀτλαντίοις τοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν οἰκοῦσι.

This account of Diodorus illustrates most of the prominent ideas of the worship.

(1) Emasculation and its connexion with chastity. As here Marsyas is ἀπείρατος τῶν ἀφροδισίων, so in another version of the legend is Attis; Ovid Fast. iv. 223 *Phryx puer in silvis facie spectabilis Attis Turriteram casio uinxit amore deam. Hunc sibi seruari uoluit, sua templa tueri; Et dixit, Semper fac puer esse uelis.* Similarly Cybele herself *casta est accipienda manu* ib. 260; her image is met by the Vestal virgins 296; Claudia appeals to the goddess as umpire of chastity *castas casta sequere manus* 324. Euripides Κῆρυες fr. 475. 9-19 Nauck

Ἀγρόν δὲ βίον τείνομεν, ἐξ οὗ  
Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμεν,  
καὶ νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βροντὰς  
Τάς τ' ὁμοφάγους δαίτας τελέσας,  
Μητρί τ' ὀρεῖα δῶδας ἀνασχών,  
καὶ Κουρήτων  
Βάχχος ἐκλήθην ὀσιωθείς.  
Πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἴματα φεύγω  
Γένεσιν τε βροτῶν καὶ νεκροθήκης  
Οὐ χριμπτόμενος, τὴν τ' ἐμψύχων  
Βρώσιν ἐδεστών πεφύλαγμαi.

Origen Philosophumena v. 9 Πάνυ γὰρ πικρῶς καὶ πεφυλαγμένως παραγγέλλουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι ὡς ἀποκεκομμένοι τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκα ὁμιλίας. Minucius Octau. xxii. 4, Lact. i. 17 *Deum mater et amauit formosum adolescentem et eundem cum paelice deprehensum exsecis uirilibus semiuirum tradidit.* Arnob. v. 7, Plin. xxxv. 165. And this is perhaps the most prominent feature of the ritual.

(2) Its connexion with wild nature. Cybele is fed by panthers, as she is drawn by lions; *κύβελα* are according to Hesychius caves<sup>1</sup>; Cybele is the μήτηρ ὀρεῖα and μήτηρ Ἰδαία (Ἰδη a wild wood)<sup>2</sup>; and the same idea is strongly expressed by Apollonius Argon. i. 1092-1152. Jason is to go to the top of Dindymon and there appease the mother of all the gods, the supreme sovereign of nature. Then a statue of the goddess is planted

<sup>1</sup> *Κύβελα* ὄρη Φρυγίας καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θάλαμοι. θάλαμοι would seem to mean chambers, natural or constructed, like the Λοβρίνης θαλάμοι of Nicander Alexiph. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ροβίου* p. 137.

on the hill overarched by the highest oaks; an altar is wreathed with oak-leaves, and youths dance a war-dance, clashing swords and shields together. It is part of the same idea that her temples were sometimes open to the sky (Paus. viii. 44. 3), that the oak is sacred to her (Schol. on Apoll. Rhod. i. 1124), perhaps also that the pine tree figures so prominently in her rites. This conception naturally passes into the later one of a supreme civilizing power as exhibited by Lucretius ii. 600 sqq. and Varro ap. Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei vii. 24; an interpretation which the recurring story of a lion overawed by the gestures and tambourines of the Galli (Varro ap. Non. 483, Anth. P. vi. 217-220) shows to have been common. But the other and earlier idea is the truer, and is obviously connected with the rocks, woods and caverns of Phrygia. Statius S. i. 5. 37, ii. 2. 85 associates the castration of Attis with the marble caverns of Synnada; Vitruvius ii. 1. 5 mentions the Phrygian habit of excavating hills and forming in them passages and rooms; that subterranean chambers were connected with the rites of Attis is expressly stated by the schol. on Nicander Alex. 8; and these, whether in the natural form of rock-caverns or as excavated to form rock-temples or sanctuaries, may plausibly be considered the earliest seats of the mysteries of Cybele, as the mountain-tops of her more open rites.

(3) A third point mentioned by Diodorus is the identification of Attis with Papas. This is also stated by Arrian in a fragment of his Bithyniaca quoted by Eustathius on Il. v. 408 ἀνόντες εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλουν Πάπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄττιν τὸν αὐτόν<sup>1</sup>, and again in the Philosophumena ascribed to Origen, v. 9 ed. E. Miller<sup>2</sup>. Herodotus iv. 59 says Papaeus was the Scythian name for Zeus; if Attis was worshipped as Papas, it would seem that he must first have been identified with Zeus, the *father*<sup>3</sup> par excellence; perhaps the Παπίας Σωτήρ of an inscription in Leake's Asia Minor p. 20. Both names seem to be true Phrygian; *Ales* and *Baba* are found on the tomb of Midas; but at what period they became identified, and how, is probably undiscoverable.

(4) The prominence given to the dead body of Attis, and the annual mourning for him, with the various symbolical interpretations of successive

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plin. v. 143 *Vrbis fuit immensa Attusa nomine, nunc sunt xii ciuitates inter quas Gordiucomae, quae Iuliopolis uocatur* (in Bithynia); and the Ἄτιος λόφος near Smyrna (Aristides xxv, vol. i. p. 318 ed. Jebb, i. p. 498 ed. Dindorf), like the similar Ἄτης λόφος on which Ilium was built (Apollod. iii. 12. 3, Hesych. s. v. Ἀτιόλοφος) was probably a relic of this worship. Professor W. M. Ramsay connects the Sinyrmaean 'Hill of Atys' with the worship of Meter Sipylene, whom he identifies with Cybele. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii. p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Χαῖρε τὸ κατηφές ἀκουσμα Ῥέας, Ἄττι· σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι τριπόθητον Ἀδανν, ὅλη δ' Αἰγυπτος Ὅσιριν ἐπουράνιον μὴνδς κέρας, Ἕλληνες σοφίαν, Σαμοθράκες Ἀδὰμ σεβάσμον, Αἰμόνιοι (Μαιώνιοι Schneidewin) Κορύβαντα, καὶ οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, πότε δὲ νέκυν ἢ θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἀκαρπον ἢ αἵπολον ἢ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμνηντα, ἢ δὲ πολὺκαρπος ἐτικτεν ἀμύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρκετάν. Τοῦτον φησὶν εἶναι πολύμορφον Ἄττιν, δὲ ὑμνοῦντες λέγουσιν οὕτως. Ἄττιν ὑμνήσω τὸν Ῥέης οὐκ ὠδινῶν (καὶ ὠδινῶν Schneidewin) συμβόμοις, οὐδ' αὐλῶν Ἰδαίων Κουρήταν, μύκτητα (l. μυκτητάν), ἀλλ' οἷς (eis Schneidewin) Φοιβείαν μῆζω μοῦσαν φορμίγγων, εὐοῖ, εὐῶν (εὐάν Schneidewin) ὥς Πόν, ὥς Βακχεύς, ὥς ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἀστρων. The two passages are obviously lyrical, and are arranged by Schneidewin Philol. iii. 261 and Bergk Poet. Lyr. p. 1320. Bergk considers them to be late, which is indicated by the syncretistic confusion of various deities.

<sup>3</sup> Buschmann Transact. of the Philol. Society vol. vi shows that the types *pa* and *ta*, with the similar forms *ap* and *at*, preponderate as names for father, while *ma* and *na*, *am* and *an*, preponderate as names for mother. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* i. 203.

ages are found in most of the accounts. Theocr. xx. 40, Mart. xiv. 204. 1

*Aera Celaeneos lugentia Matris amores.*

Stat. Theb. x. 170

*Sic Phryga terrificis genetrix Idaea cruentum  
Elicit ex adytis consumplaque brachia ferro  
Scire uelat: quatit ille sacras in pectora pinus  
Sanguineosque rotat crines et uolnera cursu  
Exanimat: pauet omnis ager, respersaque cultris  
Arbor, et alloniti currum erexere leones.*

Stat. S. ii. 2. 87

*Synnade quod maesta Phrygiae fodere secures  
Per Cybeles lugentis agros.*

Carmen contra paganos ed. Morel 77<sup>1</sup> (Bährens P. L. M. iii. 287)

*Plangere cum uocem soleant Megalensibus actis.*

Arrian Tactica xxxiii. 4 δρᾶται δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ καὶ Φρύγια· καὶ γὰρ ἡ 'Ρέα αὐτοῖς ἡ Φρυγία τιμᾶται ἐκ Πιερσινούοντος ἐλθοῦσα, καὶ τὸ πένθος τὸ ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀττῇ Φρύγιον ἐν 'Ρώμῃ πενθεῖται, καὶ τὸ λουτρὸν δὲ ἡ 'Ρέα ἐφ' οὗ τοῦ πένθους λήγει τῇ Φρυγῶν κόμῃ λούται. What seems to be a purely Phrygian account of Attis and the origin of the mourning for him is given by Pausanias vii. 17. 10 sqq. and more fully, probably on the most ancient authority he could procure, by Arnobius v. 5-7<sup>2</sup>. In various ways it is often alluded to by the Christian fathers, Lact. i. 17, Minuc. vi, vii, xxii. 4, xxiv. 4, Firmicus iii. 2, viii. 3, xviii. 1.

The worship of the Magna Mater was introduced into Rome in the second Punic war. In accordance with an injunction of the Sibylline books, that a foreign foe might be driven from Italy if the Idaean mother were brought to Rome from Pessinus, an embassy was sent in 205 B.C., (Liu. xxix. 11) to Attalus king of Pergamus, who made over to the Romans a sacred stone, not larger than could easily be carried in the hand, and of a black colour (Prudent. Perist. x. 156) which the Pessinuntines affirmed to be the Mother of the Gods. The next year (*P. Sempronio M. Cornelio consulibus, quintusdecimus is annus Punici belli erat* Liu. xxix. 13) it was transferred to Rome and placed in the temple of Victoria on the Palatine on the twelfth of April, which was kept as a holiday. There was a lectisternium and games called Megalesia. (Liu. xxix. 14.) The Megalesia are mentioned in ancient calendars, as well as in Ovid's Fasti, as beginning on the 4th of April, and lasted six days. So Fasti Maffeiiani, CIL. i. 305, F. Praenestini ib. p. 316 where they are thus described *Ludi M.D.M.I. Megalensia. uocantur. quod. ea. dea. Migale. appellatur. Nobilium. mutitationes. cenarum. solitae. sunt. frequentier. fieri. Quod. mater. magna. ex. libris. Sibullinis. arcessita. locum. mutauit. ex. Phrygia. Romam.*, F. Philocali p. 340. Lucretius ii. 600 sqq., and Ovid Fast. iv. 179 sqq. describe the procession of castrated priests carrying the towered image of the great Goddess through the streets to the sound of cymbals, tambourines and flutes, collecting contributions (*stips*) as they pass on, whence the name *μητράγυραι*; a word of

<sup>1</sup> See my article in the Cambridge Journal of Philology for 1868, On a recently discovered Latin poem of the fourth century.

<sup>2</sup> It is in this account that the name Nana appears.

worse association than that by which Cicero mentions them Legg. ii. 9. 22 *famuli matris Idaeae*, cf. ii. 16. 40. According to Servius on G. ii. 394, the hymns to the Mother of the Gods were always in Greek, a peculiarity which must for a long time have given them a distinctive character. But it is remarkable that none of the Roman authors either prior to Catullus or contemporary with him have in speaking of the rites made any allusion to Attis. This is perhaps mere accident; Caecilius, the friend of Catullus, may have introduced Attis in his poem on the Magna Mater (XXXV. 18); the fragments of the *Saturae* of Varro speak of the Mother with her priests and orgiastic rites and mention her connexion with Ida, Eumen. fr. xxxiii sqq. Riese, "Ὀνός λύρας xi; in his *Antiquitates rerum diuinarum* Varro would scarcely omit some mention of the ritual, though according to Augustine De Ciu. Dei vii. 25, as Mr. Bywater has shown me, he turned away from any discussion of the meaning of the Attis legend<sup>1</sup>. It seems probable that this legend was imported to Rome from Pessinus with the worship of the Mother; for Attis, like Batacus or Bataces, seems to have been the traditional title of her priests there (Polyb. xxii. 20, Plut. Marius 17); and Servius expressly states (on Aen. xii. 836) that the rites of the Mother of the Gods were observed by the Romans according to the use of Phrygia, of which the Attis legend may be said to form the most prominent part. At any rate the century subsequent to Catullus seized on the story with avidity; in the time of Nero *Berecynthius Attis* was a stock subject for the effeminate poets of the day, including Nero himself (Pers. i. 93, Dion C. lxi. 20), and it was about the same time, perhaps under Claudius (Lydus de Mens. iv. 41) that a festival was instituted, which in successive days commemorated the sufferings of Cybele for the loss of Attis and her joy at his restoration. The Fasti Philocali give the days in order. Mart. 22 *Arbor intrat*, 23 *Tubilustrium*, 24 *Sanguem*, 25 *Hilaria*, 26 *Requ(i)etio*, 27 *Lauatio* (CIL. i. p. 338). On the first day a pine, on which was hung an image of Attis, was carried in procession amidst the lamentations of priests called *Dendrophori Matris Deum Magnae*, or simply *Dendrophori*<sup>2</sup>, to the temple of the great goddess, and there wreathed with wool and flowers, in commemoration of the suicidal self-mutilation of Attis under a pine tree, the violets which had risen from his life-blood, and the removal of the tree by Cybele to her cavern (Arnob. v. 7, Preller Römische Mythologie p. 736). On the second day there was a *περισαλπισμός*<sup>3</sup> or sounding of trumpets, either, as Julian Orat. v. p. 169 Spanh. suggests, to sound the retreat and humiliation of Attis, or as a signal of mourning; on the third, the *Sanguen* or *dies sanguinis*, the priests castrated themselves (Trebell. Pollio Vita Claudii

<sup>1</sup> If we may believe Clement of Alexandria Protrept. 19 Dind., the Corybantic rites of Dionysus were early carried into Etruria; and the castrated Dionysus, whose genitals were conveyed thither in a cista, was by some identified with Attis; with this compare the *lepós λόγος* mentioned by Lucian de Syra Dea 15; according to this Attis was a Lydian by birth; Rhea castrated him and he then assumed the form and dress of a woman and travelled from place to place chanting Rhea, recounting his own sufferings, and initiating men in his rites, *καὶ τὰ Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Σαρδοῦρες ἐπιτελέουσι, Ἀττίῳ πάντα ἔμαθον*.

<sup>2</sup> The original meaning of *tubilustrium* is shown by Mommsen in his note on this day of the calendar to have been quite different; but, as he observes, Julian evidently considers it part of the Attis ceremonial.

<sup>3</sup> Drunkards were excluded from the rites, Arnob. v. 2.



iv. 1, Tertullian Apol. xxv). During this time a *castus* or abstinence<sup>1</sup> from bread (Arnob. v. 16), pomegranates, apples and herbs of which the root was eaten was observed; at the expiration of the three days of mourning, which collectively seem to have been called *catabasis*<sup>2</sup>, a period of joy called the Hilaria set in; this, it would seem, commemorated the restoration to Cybele of the body of Attis, with the privilege of remaining unputrified, and of retaining vitality in the little finger and the hair (Paus. vii. 17. 12, Arnob. v. 7). The fifth was a day of repose, *requietio*; on the sixth the image of Cybele was carried to the Almo, and there washed as (according to Ovid F. iv. 337 sqq.) it had been after its first landing at Ostia before entering Rome. (See Mommsen CIL. i. pp. 389, 390, Preller pp. 735-738.) No inscription of the republican period has preserved the name of Attis; but it is found in a Balearic inscription combined with the Magna Mater CIL. ii. 3706, IRN. 4054, with Minerua Berecintia or Paracenia IRN. 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, with the Magna Mater and Bellona IRN. 5354; the Archigallus Matris Deum is mentioned IRN. 3583. The symbols of the worship are exhibited with great clearness on each side of a brazen hand engraved in the *Magnae Deum Matris Idaeae et Attidis initia* of Pignori; the same work exhibits a figure of Attis, as ἡμίθελος, wearing a dress which reaches in one piece from the feet and legs, round which it forms slashed trousers, to the head which it covers in the form of a Phrygian cap; the female breasts and imperfect male genitals are exposed, the right hand points to the latter, and the throat wears a necklace. The same subject is not uncommon in other works of art, as well as on coins. A bas-relief, engraved by Zoega i. 13, represents a towered Cybele holding a tympanum and a pine-branch and drawn on a car by two lions. At the side is a pine on which a cock is perched, and from which cymbals hang. Attis supports himself on the trunk, in a Phrygian dress and holding a tympanum: near him is a crook; on the reverse side is a tree with birds and implements, by it a bull and a ram; on one of the sides two *tibiae*, one *recurva*, and a syrinx: on the other torches and cymbals. Another given by Zoega ii. 105, represents a sacrifice to the Mother. In Donaldson's *Architectura Numismatica* is figured a medallion of the elder Faustina, on the reverse of which is MATRI. DEVM. SALVTARI; beneath, a towered Cybele seated with her feet upon a stool, her left hand rests upon a tympanum or cymbal, on each side of her is a lion. Attis in a Phrygian cap and chlamys stands outside, holding in his right hand a pastoral stick, in his left a Pan's pipe. Others are described by Labatut, and in Creuzer's Symbolik ii. 2. taf. iv. Creuzer (ii. pp. 378-382) gives a *résumé* of the various symbolical meanings attached by successive ages to the details of the ritual. Cf. Varro ap. Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei vii. 24, Lucret. ii. 604, Servius on Aen. iii. 111, Ovid F. iv. 189 sqq., Plutarch *de Iside et Osiride* 69, Macrobian S. i. 21. 9, 22. 5, Iulianus Orat. v. εἰς τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, Eusebius Praep. Evangelica

<sup>1</sup> The Dendrophori formed a collegium, and occur in Inscriptt. IRN. 2624, 6352; in IRN. 2559 a long list of them is given, and they are described as *sub cura xv vir. s. f.* (see Mommsen Inscript. Regni Neapolitani p. 482).

<sup>2</sup> Macrobian S. i. 21. 10 *ritus eorum catabasi finita, simulationeque luctus peracta, celebratur laetitiae exordium a. d. octauum Calendas Aprilis, quem diem Hilaria appellant, quo primum tempore sol diem longiorem nocte protendit.*

110, 120, Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4, Origen *Philosophumena* v. 7, 8, 9, 14 ed. E. Miller.

Catullus in his *Attis* has not followed any of the legends as they have been transmitted to us: he has taken the bare outline of the story and worked it up as his own imagination suggested. His *Attis* is a youth, who surrounded by all the happiness of Greek life, the gymnasia with their group of applauding spectators, the crowd of admirers who hang garlands in his vestibule and wait his rising at day-break to escort him to the palaestra, is suddenly roused by a call which he cannot resist, to leave all and follow Cybele. With a band of companions ready to bind themselves by the same laws and share his exile, he sails to the Trojan *Ida*; there the rest of the troop castrates himself; and amid the sound of tambourine and cymbals, the instruments of Cybele's worship, hurries with them to the sanctuary of the goddess on the top of *Ida*. Sleep dispels their frenzy and at sunrise Attis, now repentant, returns to the shore, and looking across the sea to his country, declares his regret. Cybele, roused by his passionate complaint, sends a lion to frighten him again into obedience; he returns into the forest and there remains all his life her votary. It will be seen from this that the main idea of the poem is the revolt against nature, or as it might more truly be called, the passion of unnaturalness. This is expressed partly in the description of the self-mutilating frenzy of *Attis*, partly in the agony of regret with which he recalls his life before it. This regret is intensified by the completely Greek, quite un-Roman cast of feeling of 59-67, in which a peculiar glow is thrown over the associations of home which had hitherto found little, if any, expression in Roman poetry, as it had comparatively little influence on Roman life. Only in the *Phaedrus*, the *Charmides*, the *Lysis*, the *Symposium* of Plato, can we realise that intense admiration of perfect male form to which Catullus has here given such splendid expression. On the other hand the horror to us so familiar, of the loss of virility, is more Roman than Greek, and is skilfully combined by Catullus with the Roman conception of country as an aggregate fatherhood (see on 49). In the background of the picture is the aspect of a wild forest and mountain scenery, the snowy ridges of *Ida* which house the hind and the boar, the sanctuaries and pillared caverns of Phrygia, and supreme over these, Cybele, the lion-chariot mountain mother, on whom the winds and sea and all the earth beneath and the snowy seat of Olympus depend, to whom when she ascends from the mountains into the great heaven Zeus himself gives way (Apo. R. i. 1099-1101). This stern power, whose rule is absolute and unrelenting, whose devotees lash themselves into frenzy as the lions that draw her chariot work themselves into rage (76), is, as has been observed by Prof. Sellar, thrown into relief by slight touches of sympathy for the feminine youth of *Attis*, such as *teneris digitis, roseis labellis, tenera Attin*, as well as by the beautiful description of day-break, a passage unusually modern in its colouring and in its association of revivified nature with restored reason.

It can hardly be doubted that Catullus derived at least some part of his inspiration in this, the most famous of his poems, from an actual inspection of the localities. We know that he visited the plains of Phrygia XLVI. 4, and the neighbourhood of *Ida* must have been known to him from his brother's grave at *Rhoeteum* LXV. 7. It is not impossible that

Attis and his company are supposed to land at Lecton; at which point Homer places the beginning of Ida, Il. xiv. 283

Ἴδην δ' ἰκίσθην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν,  
Λεκτόν, ὅθι πρῶτον λιπέτην ἄλλα· τὼ δ' ἐπὶ χέρσου  
Βήτην ἀκροτάτῃ δὲ ποδῶν ὑπὸ σείετο ὕλη·

Where Strabo observes 583 τοῖς οὖσιν οἰκείως τοῦ ποιητοῦ φράζοντος τὸ Λεκτόν. καὶ γὰρ ὅτι τῆς Ἰδης ἐστὶ τὸ Λεκτόν καὶ διότι πρώτη ἀπόβασις ἐκ θαλάσσης αὕτη τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἴδην ἀνιούσιν εἰρηκεν ὁρθῶς. This would agree with the not very distinct words of the first lines of the poem, which seem to imply that Attis and his troop landed after crossing the sea on ground sacred to Cybele, and at no great distance from the sanctuary of the goddess on Ida. It corresponds also with 47 sqq. in which Attis is described as returning in the morning to the shore and looking over the sea, on this view the Aegean, to his native country Greece. This will also account for the introduction, borrowed from the same Homeric episode, of Sleep and Pasithea Il. xiv. 270-276.

It was a happy remark of Joseph Warton's<sup>1</sup> (Essay on Pope p. 312, ed. 2, 1762) that Catullus' *Attis* gives us a better notion of what the Greek dithyramb may have been than any extant remains of antiquity. The rush, the *abandon*, the intentional neglect of some of the commonest rules of art, e. g. that the same word is not to recur frequently, the long compounds *siliucultrix nemoriuagus*, the sequences of short syllables, the preference throughout for light sounds such as *ä* and *ë*, are enough to show that Catullus was not following here Alexandrian models in particular, but a wider range of Greek lyric, specially perhaps dithyrambic poets.

Meursius in the Appendix to his *Criticus Arnobianus* (2nd ed. 1599) quotes a passage from the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus xxv. 310-320 which is obviously an imitation of Catullus' *Attis*.

κατηφύωντι δὲ Βάκχω  
Ἐλκεχίτων Σκυθικοῖο δι' οὖρεος ἄσπορος Ἄττις  
Ἴκετο μαστίζων μετανάστιον ἄρμα λεόντων,  
Ῥεῖης θεσπεσίης ταχὺς ἄγγελος, ὅς ποτε χαλκῷ  
Φουίξας γονέοντα τελεσσιγάμου στάχυν<sup>2</sup> ἦβης  
Ῥίψεν ἀνυμφεύτων φιλοτήσιον ἔγμον ἀρότρων  
Ἄρσενος ἀμνητοῖο θαλύσιον, αἰμαλήν δὲ  
Παιδογόνῃ ραθάμυγι περιρραίνων πτύχα μηροῦ  
Θερμὸν αἰουητῇ δέμας θήλυτε σιδήρῳ.

Nonnus had the Attis in view in another passage, xx. 39-41:

Ἀντιτύποις μελέεσσι νόθος μορφούμενος Ἄττις  
Καὶ θρόον ὀξύν ἔχων ἀπαλόχροος ἄρσενι μορφῇ  
Ἡρώχον Κυβέλης ἀπεμάξατο θήλει φωνῇ.

Both are suggestive for illustrating Catullus' text.

<sup>1</sup> 'The whole poem being of a strain superior to anything in the Roman poesy, and more passionate and sublime than any part of Virgil, and being also so much above the tender and elegant genius of Catullus, whose name it bears, inclines me to think it a translation from some Grecian writer; and perhaps if the reader would peruse the whole, it will give him the truest notion of an old dithyrambic of any poem antiquity has left.'

<sup>2</sup> Attis was called by the Phrygians *χλωερὸς στάχυς* τεθερισμένος Origen Philosoph. v. 8.

1. The opening is like the chorus in the Helena 1301 Ὀρεία ποτε δρόμαδι κώλῳ describing the wanderings of the Mountain Mother in quest of her daughter. *celeri* not otiose (βοῇ νηὶ Od. iii. 61) but as part of the general rapidity.

2. *citato* may be adj. as in 26 *cilatis tripudiis*, and the rhythm of the line which makes a break between *citato* and *cupide* is in favour of this; on the other hand *cupide* is more naturally constructed with *citato* (participle) than with *teligit*; the rhythm will then be like *furēti rabie* 4, *siliis redimila* 3.

3. *deae*. If we might trust a passage of Hesych., *Dea* was the Tyrrhenian name of Rhea. Δέα, δέα ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν, for which Musurus conj. Δία 'Ρέα ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν. Luc. Müller indeed would write here *Rheae*, as also in 20 and 68: but so thorough a depravation of the MSS is hardly credible.

4. *Stimulatus*, σεσσοβημένος ὁστρω, applied to a votary of Cybele Anth. P. vi. 219. 1. *uagus* here of *mental* bewilderment; in 13, 25, 31, 86 of rapid *bodily* motion. It expresses the ἄλῃ ἀλάνειν of the Greek Anthology vi. 218. 6 Τύμπανον ἐξ ἱερᾶς ἐπιδαγγήσεν ἄλῃς, used of a Μῆτρος ἀγύρτης. *uagus animis* is like *furēns animis* Aen. viii. 228; the plural seems to give the idea of conflicting feelings or emotions.

5. *Deuoluit*, 'dashed to the ground,' Apul. M. i. 19 *Spongia repente de eo deuoluitur*. Ovid has *Corpora deuoluunt in humum* Met. vii. 574. The word gives the idea of falling with some weight, of course in reference to the testicles. *ile*, the conjecture of Lachmann, is defended by Haupt from Servius on Aen. vii. 499, Ecl. vii. 26, 'hoc ile et haec ilia facit' and as 'ipsa formae raritate et fortasse uetustate huic carmini imprimis aptum.' It seems to occur in the *Aegritudo Perdicae*, a hexameter poem of the second or third century A.D., first edited by Bährens (PLM. v. 112) 167 *tum quae fuit ile* (MS *ille*) *tenenti*, where it probably means the groin. Cat. avails himself of a rare word to express an extraordinary act, and is slightly vague in his application of it. The plural *ilia* (XI. 20) is defined by Plin. H. N. xi. 208 as *inter uesticam et aluum arteriae ad pubem tendentes*. The use of *inguen* = 'genitals' is very similar. *silicis*. Arnobius vi. 11 says the Pessinuntines worshipped a *silex* as the mother of the gods, hence a special propriety in the use of flints for emasculation. *pondere*, 'mass,' perhaps implying that it was used just as taken up, without any detraction; a characteristic mark of unreflecting frenzy.

6. *sine uiro*, 'robbed of their virility.' Lucan x. 133 *ferro mollita iuuentus Atque exsecta uirum*. Stat. quotes Arnob. v. 39 *Pinus illa solemniter quae in Matris infertur sanctum Deae, nonne illius imago est arboris sub qua sibi Attis uirum demessis genitalibus abstulit?* 13 *Quid admiserat Gallus . . . ut se uiro . . . priuaret?* Cf. Meursius *Criticus Arnobianus* p. 21.

7. Imitated by Nonnus Dionys. xxv. 316 αἰμαλή δὲ Παιδογόνῃ ραδάμγγι περιρραίνων πτύχα μηροῦ (Meursius). *Etiam* with *maculans*, 'whilst still staining.' And. i. 1. 89 *Nil suspicans etiam mali*. The MSS have *maculas*, like *requires* CXVI. 1; the *n* was indistinctly pronounced before *s*, not only in the nom. sing. of participial forms in *-ns*, but in the adverbial suffix *-iens*, as well as in the adjectival forms found in Inscriptions *Pisaurese Thermesium Narbonesium* etc., as Corssen shows at length, *Aussprache* i. pp. 252-5.

8. *citata*, change of gender to denote the now ἡμυγύνακα θεῆς λάτρω

Anth. P. vi. 217. 9. So Parthenius Erotica 15 of a man in woman's dress, "Ἔτυχε δὲ πως αὐτῇ κατὰ νοῦν γενόμενος, οὐ μεθείε τε αὐτὴν ἀμφιπεσοῦσά τε καὶ ἐξηρημένη πᾶσαν ὥραν. For the same reason the hands are snow-white. Cf. Babr. 137. 6 Rutherford *Tis γὰρ ἀγροίκων Οὐκ οἶδεν Ἄττιν λευκὸν ὡς ἐπηρώθη*; *leue*, to distinguish it from the larger and more ponderous kettle-drum (Rich, Companion p. 704).

9. Anth. P. vi. 219. 19 *Χεὶρ δ' ἀνασχόμενος μέγα τύμπανον ἐπλάτυσεν, Διωστὸν ῥείας ὄπλον Ὀλυμπιάδος*. The form *τύμπανον* occurs as early as the Homeric Hymns xiv. 3; cf. Aesch. fr. 56. 10 Nauck. Both here and in the passage from Varro's Eumenides (Non. 49) as well as the verses of Maecenas quoted by Atil. Fortunatianus i. 4 *Ades inquit o Cybelle fera montium Dea Ades et sonante typano quale flexibile caput the word is wrongly written in the MSS with m*. It was 'a wooden hoop covered on one side with hide (*terga taurei*) like a sieve, and set round with small bells or jingles. It was sounded by beating with the hand or running the forefinger round the edge, sometimes also with a stick (Phaedr. iv. 1), Rich, Companion p. 704. Lucret. ii. 618 *Tympana tentia ionant palmis*.

**tubam Cybelles**, 'the trumpet of Cybele,' i.e. which plays the same part in the cultus of the Mother as the trumpet in other rituals. Voss compares Polyaen. Strateg. i. 1 *Διόνυσος κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἐσήμευεν ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος*, and so Justin xli. 2 *signum his (Parthians) in proelio non tuba, sed tympano datur*. The language belongs to the same type as Anth. P. vi. 4. 5 *τρίδοντα, Ποσειδάωνιον ἔγχος*. [If any change is needed, I would suggest *tabal* or *tablam*. *Tabl* is Persian for kettle-drum, whence Spanish *alabales* (J. A. H. Murray in English Dict. s. v.). Hesych. *ταβάλα ταβήλα*. ὑπὸ Πάρθων οὕτω καλεῖται ὄργανον κριβάνφ ἐμφερές, φ' ἡρῶνται ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος. The word is believed by Schmidt in his note on Hesych. to exist in Sen. Epist. 56 *aut hinc qui ad metam sudantem tabalas (tabulas MSS) experitur aut tibias*.] **Cybelles**. The MSS are in favour of *Cybeles* or *Cybelles*. Hertzberg on Prop. iii. 22. 3 writes *Cybelae*: 'Nam Bentleii normae qui ad Lucan. i. 600 penultima producta Cybebe, correpta Cybele semper scribi iubet, nec codd. MSS nec Graecorum usus addicit, qui non modo Κυβέλη Κυβήθη Κυβήλη Κίβελλα promiscue scribunt, sed in deriuatis Κυβηλιστής Κυβηλὶς contrariam formam constanter seruant.' **tua, mater, initia**. Catullus again contrasts another ritual, for *initia* are properly the mysteries of Ceres (Cic. Legg. ii. 14. 36, Varro R. R. iii. 1. 1); the tambourine is so called as the symbol of initiation into the mysteries of the Great Mother Cybele. The Balliol Glossary has *initia sacrorum orgia*.

10. *terga taurei*, the βύρσης ταυρείου of Anth. P. vi. 219. 21, *taurea terga* Ovid F. iv. 342. **causa**. Aesch. fr. 56. 6 *χαλκοδέτοις κοτύλαις teneris*. Ibis 456 *Et quatiens molli tympana rauca manu*.

12. Steph. B. *Γάλλος ποταμὸς Φρυγίας* οἱ περίοικοι κατὰ μὲν Τιμόθεον Ποταμογαλλίται κατὰ δὲ Προμαθίδαν Ποταμογαλληνοί, οὗς παρατίθεται ὁ Πολύσιππος ἐν τῇ περὶ Φρυγίας τρίτῃ καὶ ὅτι τὸν Γάλλον καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ἀποκρίψαι τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὸν μὲν Γάλλον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Τύραν ποταμὸν καὶ οἰκῆσαι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Γάλλον καλεῖσαι ἀπὸ ἐκείνου γὰρ τοὺς τεκνομένους τὰ αἰδοῖα Γάλλους καλοῦσι. Plin. H. N. v. 147 *Flumina sunt in ea (Galatia) praeter iam dicta Sangarius et Gallus a quo nomen traxere Matris deum sacerdotes*. The fem. form *Γαλλαί* is found in a fragment quoted by Hephaestion 12 *Γαλλαὶ μητρὸς ὁρείης φιλόθυροι δρομάδες*. With a similar reference to emasculation Vergil Aen. ix. 67

*uere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges, ile per alta Dindyma, ubi assuetis biforem dat tibia cantum*: and see Boot on Cic. Att. iv. 11.

13. Apollonius calls Rhea *μητέρα Διουμένην πολυπότνια* i. 1125, cf. *Ῥέα πολυπότνια* 1151 = *dominae*, which like *era* was her special title, see Aen. iii. 113 and the note of Servius. Voss cannot be right in explaining *pecora* of the ass (Babr. 137, Phaedr. iv. 1) which he supposes to have been employed in drawing the car of Cybele, and the place of which is here taken by the votaries. Rather they are *uaga pecora* either as wandering at random in the roving and orgiastic worship of Cybele, 'Cybele's loose-wandering herd,' or as straying away from Cybele their lawful mistress, 'Cybele's stray sheep.' Cf. Plautus' *cunt a pecu palitantes* Bacch. v. 2. 5. Somewhat similarly Aeschylus, speaking to the Furies, Eum. 196 *Χωρεῖν ἀνεν βοτήρος αἰπολούμεναι, Ποίμνης τοιαύτης δ' ὅστις εὐφίλης θεῶν*.

14. *exules* is explained by 59, 60.

15. *Sectam*, 'following my rule.' *Sectam sequi* is frequent in Cicero, either in the special sense of submitting to the dictates of a school of philosophy, Legg. i. 13. 38 *Aristonis fractam et conuictam sectam secuti sunt*, or adopting a particular course of life, Cael. xvii. 40 *apud nos quā hanc sectam rationemque uitae re magis quam uerbis secuti sumus*, Sest. xlv. 97 *sunt principes consilii publici, sunt qui eorum sectam secuntur*; or conduct, pro Rabir. perduell. reo viii. 22 *quam tandem auctoritatem, quam uocem, cuius sectam sequi, cuius imperio parere potissimum uelles?* Livy (xxix. 27) seems to imitate Catullus. Long before them the poet Naevius, according to Servius on Aen. ii. 797, wrote *Eorum sectam secuntur multi mortales* (Punica fr. 10 Vahlen) of Aeneas and Anchises flying from Troy to Italy, and taking with them the *matresque uirosque Collectam exilio pubem*: a use very like that of Catullus here. *duce me mihi comites*. Lygdamus imitates this 6. 10 *Neue neget quisquam me duce se comitem* (Bährens).

16. *Rapidum*, here and in LXIV. 358, 'swift-flowing,' *ἀγάρρουν* H. Cer. 34. *truculenta*, LXIV. 179, 'the boisterousness.' Tacitus has *truculentia caeli* Ann. ii. 24. *pelagi*, all MSS, and nothing makes the change to *pelage* (Lucr. vi. 619), though accepted by Bentley and others, necessary. Cf. Vergil's *pelagi alta* Aen. ix. 81. The only instance in Catullus of a Greek plural in *e* is *Tempe* LXIV. 35, 285, 6. (Heussner Obseruat. Gramm. p. 15.)

17. *euirastis*. Nonius 46 *Euirare dicitur uirilitem amittere et effeminari*. Varro Marciore (fr. xvi Riese, 275 Bü.) *Spatula euirauit omnes Veneriuaga* (Veneri *uaga* Bücheler) *pueros*. Nonnus again imitates Cat. xv. 318 *θερμὸν ἀλοιητῆρι δέμας θήλυσε σιδήρω* (Meursius).

18. *aere* with *oitatis*, 'gladden your heart with roving stirred by the clanging copper.' So Lachmann, and no doubt the pure ionic *a minore* comes in here with special effect. But as Servius on Aen. iii. 113 states that Cybele was called *Era*, the reading of most edd. *erae* may be right, 'gladden the heart of your queen, Cybele,' cf. Harusp. Resp. xi. 24 *hanc Matrem Magnam . . . accepimus agros et nemora cum quodam strepitu fremituque peragrarē*. [The reading is uncertain. *O* gives *erocitatis*, *DG* *crocitatis*. It is possible that Attis speaks of himself as *erus* of his troop of Galli; the *κατήφεια* or depression of spirit, which is often ascribed to him, might then be alluded to. 'Gladden your master's sad spirit with hurried roving.']

19. *ite, sequimini*. Plautine. Bacch. v. 2. 89.

21. *cymbalum*, 'a musical instrument consisting of two hollow half-globes of bell-metal, with a ring at the top, by which they were held between the fingers and clashed together with both hands.' Rich, Companion p. 231. *cymbalum* for *cymbalorum* is harsh. Catullus has also *Caelicolum Troiugenum deum diuum uirum* (Heussner p. 11); Lucretius *Chaldaicum Molossum Graium Siculum consanguineum*, see Munro on i. 162, v. 727. L. Müller (Q. Ennius p. 193) states that this contracted genitive after Ennius is only found in masculines of the first and second declensions, and generally substantives; and that it is commoner in the Epic and didactic, than in the elegiac and satirical, poets. Hence *cymbalum*, he thinks, may be accus. Stat. mentions *nox* as the reading of one MS, and thought it might be right in the sense of *nox ipsa sonat cymbalum*. My MS A has *nox*, and the use of *nocte* by the poet Statius in a passage which seems modelled on Catullus, Theb. xii. 224-227 *Nocte uelut Phrygia cum lamentata resultant Dindyma, pinigeri rapitur Simeoentis ad amnem Dux uesana chori, cuius dea sanguine lecto Ipsa dedit ferrum et uittata fronte notauit* is sufficiently particular to make this reading possible. *cymbalum* will then be accus. after *sonat*, somewhat as in *hominem sonat* Aen. i. 328 = *sonat sonum cymbali*, see Dräger p. 359.

22. The invention of the flute is assigned to Phrygia, Plutarch *περὶ Μουσικῆς* 5, 'Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίας κρούματα Ὀλυμπον ἔφη πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας κομίσαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους Ὑάγην δὲ πρῶτον αὐλῆσαι, εἰτα τὸν τοῦτου υἱὸν Μαρσύαν, εἰς Ὀλυμπον. Ovid Fast. iv. 181, Polyæn. Strat. viii. 53, 4. *curuo calamo*, a reed or cane bent at the lower end into a horn, or having a horn-shaped extremity affixed there: according to Rich, Comp. 663 'this was specially employed in the ceremonials of Cybele; it is termed *curua* Aen. xi. 737, Tib. ii. 1. 86, or *tibia adunco cornu* Ovid Met. iii. 533.' *grauis*, the curved or horn-like extremity gave it depth of tone.

23. The connexion between the rites of Dionysus and Cybele is often alluded to. Apollodorus Bibl. iii. 5. 1 says Dionysus was purified from madness by Rhea at the Phrygian Cybela, and was then initiated by her into her rites and took her dress: thence passed into Thrace with a train of Bacchanals and Satyrs and punished Lycurgus king of the Edoni by the Strymon. Strabo on the other hand 471 sqq. thinks the rites were brought from Thrace by colonists from that country into Phrygia; he quotes a fragm. from the Edoni of Aeschylus (56 Nauck) as proving the identity of the cultus of Dionysus and Cybele. So Euripides Bacch. 58, quoted by Munro on Lucr. ii. 611, *ἀπὶ Φρυγῶν Τύμπανα*, 'Ρέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὐρήματα. *ederigerae*, as Bacchus is called *κισσοφόρος* Thesmoph. 988, and Bacchanals are said *κισσοφορεῖν*. Voss, who thought that *Maenades* meant the Galli in a female dress, as Attis calls himself a *Maenad* in 69, explained *ederigerae* by a passage of the Etym. M. 220 which states that Ptolemy Philopator was called Gallus because he was<sup>1</sup> wreathed with ivy-leaves like the Galli. *iaciunt*. Anth. P. vi. 219. 2 *ῥαμβητοῖς δονίων λυσσομαῖς πλοκάμους*.

<sup>1</sup> Γάλλος δ' φιλοπάτωρ Πτολεμαῖος διὰ τὸ φύλλοις κισσοῦ κατεστῆχθαι ὡς οἱ γάλλοι. διὰ τοῦ τοῖς Διονυσιακαῖς τελεταῖς κισσῷ ἐστεφανοῦντο. The emendation *κατεστ* (which Voss follows) is rejected by Lobeck and Gaisford, the former of which

24. **sacra sancta** is a rare collocation: **sancta** seems to refer to their inviolability, 'solemn.' **acutis**, 'shrill,' as of eunuchs or women. **agitant** either 'solemnize,' cf. *Dionysia agitat* Heaut. iv. 4. 11, or more probably 'set in motion,' something like *commouere sacra*.

25. **illa** calls up the ceremonial as a solemn and well-known scene as in Stat. S. ii. 1. 230 *dirae comes ille ferae*, 'that famous or fabled companion.' **uolitare**, LXIV. 251 of moving rapidly, as often in Cicero.

27. **notha**, i.e. *nec femina nec uir* Ibis 455, as Attis calls himself below *mei pars* and *uir sterilis*. Orest. 1528 *ὄρε γὰρ γυνὴ πέφυκας οὐτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν σύ γ' εἶ*.

28. **trepidantibus**, not = *tremulis* (Voss) but referring to the confused and tumultuous character of the cries. Sueton. Nero 49 *trepidantiter effatus*.

29. **recrepant**, 'ring in echo,' a rare word used also in Ciris 108 *Saepe lapis recrepat Cyllenia murmura pulsus*. The echoes produced by the instruments are found also in the fragment of Aeschylus' Edoni 8-11 *Ταυρόφθογγοι δ' ὑπομυκῶνται Ποθεν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῖμοι Τυπάνου δ' εἰκὼ ὥσθ' ὑπογαίου Βροντῆς φέρεται βαρυταρβής*.

30. **Viridem**. Hes. Theog. 1010 *Ἰδης ὕλησσης*, Theocr. xvii. 9 *Ἰδω ἐς πολὺδενδρον*, Anth. P. vi. 218. 2 *Ἰδης εὐδένδρου*.

31. **uadit** with **uaga**, 'moves with an errant step.' *Animam agere* is generally 'to breathe one's last,' 'to be at the last gasp,' as in Seneca's *Est tanti habere animam ut agam?* Ep. 101. 12, cf. Ep. 54. 2; but there is nothing to prevent its being used here in a sense short of this 'gasp' as if for life.' Catullus seems to be imitating Apollon. R. ii. 430 (432) *ἔτ' ἄσπετον ἐκ καμάτου Ἀσθμ' ἀναφυσίων*.

32. **Comitata tympano** marks out Attis as moving by himself in advance of the rest. *Comitatus* is nearly always followed by an abl. of persons or living attendants, even in such cases as Lygdam. 2. 13 *matris comitata dolore*, i.e. *dolente matre*, Stat. A. ii. 308 *lacrimis comitata sororum*, Ovid Am. i. 6. 33 *militibus comitatus et armis* = *armatis militibus*: possibly the tambourine with its bells and noise is thought of personally. **opaca**, probably with trees in full leaf, as Aen. viii. 107 *inter opacum Adlabinemus*.

33. The point of the comparison lies mainly in the free bearing of the neck, as a restive heifer might be called *δύσλοφος*; its propriety in the fact that it was customary to sacrifice to Cybele *sine labe iuuenecam* . . . *operum coniugisque rudem* Ovid F. iv. 335, 6. **indomita**, 'not broken into the yoke,' *μόσχος ἀδάματος* Phoen. 640 Kirchhoff.

34. **properipedem** seems to be ἀπ. λεγ. Cicero has *celeripes* Att. ix. 7. 1, apparently quoted from some poet.

35. **domum**, probably a temple, certainly a definite sanctuary of some kind. Ovid Met. x. 686 sqq. describes a temple of Cybele built by Echion in the depths of a forest and with a cavern adjoining; Claudian Rapt. Pros. i. 199 sqq. a rock temple surrounded by pines on the top of Ida, within which the votaries of Cybele are heard shrieking: Plutarch de Fluv. 13 mentions *altars* to Zeus and the Great Mother on Ida or Gargaron. The temples of the Mother of the Gods were sometimes open

'quia uulgo bacchantes caput hedera redimibant Ptolemaeus ille exsuperantia quadam pietatis hederac signum sibi inuri iussit.'



to the sky, like that which Pausanias found near the source of the Alpheus (viii. 44. 3); the Bithynian worship of Attis was celebrated on the tops of mountains (Arrian ap. Eustath. ad Il. v. 408); the description in 39, 40 gives the idea of an eminence from which air, sea and earth are all visible; and we may perhaps conclude that this sanctuary was on one of the outstanding peaks of Ida. *lassulae*, as *frigidulos* LXIV. 131, *pallidulum* LXV. 6, *turgiduli* III. 18, *aridulis* LXIV. 316. The diminutive seems to give the idea of pity or sympathy, 'feeble and weary,' 'sick and weary.'

36. *e*, 'after,' a sense in which *ex* would be more common, as the instances cited by Dräger i. p. 592 prove. The only case of *e* in this sense there given is from Tacitus, Germ. 22 *statim e somno lauantur*. But in the closely parallel *ex diutino labore quieti se dedisset* Caes. B. G. ii. 14, *ex labore refecit* B. G. vii. 32, *ex lassitudine dormire* de Inuent. ii. 4. 14, *ex* appears uniformly. Apoll. R. iii. 616 Κούρην δ' ἐξ ἀχέων ἀδινὸς κατελώφειεν ὕπνος. *somnum capiunt*. Rosc. Am. xxiii. 65 *somnum statim capere potuisset*. *sine Cerere*. Abstinence from bread, technically called *castus*, was part of the later Attis ritual, Arnob. v. 16 fin. *Quid temperatus ab alimonia panis? Cui rei dedistis nomen castus. Nonne illius temporis imitatio est, quo se numen ab Cereris fruge uiolentia macroris abstinuit?*

37. *labante langore*, 'with drooping faintness,' abl. as in L. 10, Verg. G. iv. 414 *incepto tegetet cum lumina somno* of Proteus. This seems more probable than taking *labante langore* as abl. absolute, 'as their faintness begins to droop,' the natural preliminary of sleep.

38. *quiete molli* recurs in 44, and *molli* seems to have been read by Festus p. 273 M., though the article is too fragmentary to decide much. *Mollis* (nominative), the reading of most MSS, would refer to the unnatural impulse of the Galli to emasculate themselves and assume female attire, as the tympana are called *molliā*, Prop. iii. 17. 33, Stat. Achill. i. 654. This would necessitate *rabidi*.

39. Riese and Bährens construct *oris aurei* after *radiantibus oculis*. It is simpler to take them with *Sol*, as a genitive of quality. When the first half of the Galliambic ends with a monosyllable, Cat. generally keeps it distinct in construction from the latter, though the rule is not invariable. On this view *Sed ubi oris aurei Sol* would be the metrical counterpart of *Vbi cymbalum sonat uox*. Attis was identified with the sun. Arnob. v. 42 *Quid tandem de uobis sol aureus meruit ut ei cum semiuiro faceretis uocabulum istud esse commune?* *radiantibus*, 'ray-darting'; Ovid *has radiantia lumina solis* Trist. ii. 325. *Who bid the world's bright eye adieu, In gelid tears of falling dew*, Cotton, Night.

40. A tripartite division probably connected with the cultus. So a fragment of the Orphic Theogony (vi. 3, 4 Hermann) Αἰθέρος εὐρείης ἡδ' αἰθέρος ἀγλαῶν ὕψος Πότμου τ' ἀπρυγέτου, γαίης τ' ἐρικυδέος εὐρη. Sil. Ital. xvii. 36 sqq. *Caelicolum genetrix, numen quod numina nobis Cuncta creas, cuius proles terrarumque Sideraque et manes regnorum sorte gubernat*. Hom. H. Cer. 69 Ἀλλὰ σὺ γὰρ δὴ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ πόντον Αἰθέρος ἐκ δῆς καταδέρκεαι ἀκτίνεσσιν. *Lustrauit*, either 'surveyed,' 'scanned' as Od. xi. 16 Ἥλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρεται ἀκτίνεσσι, or more probably 'illumined' as in Lucr. v. 575, 693 Munro. In this sense *lustrauit* nearly = *patefecit*, the sense ascribed to it by Nonius in Aen. iv. 6 and Catil. i. 3. 6 *Si lustrantur, si erumpunt omnia* (MSS and Orelli *illu-*

*trantur*). **album**, 'bright,' as at day-break, after the gloom of night has dispersed. So *albente caelo* of dawn Caesar B. C. i. 68, *albescente* at day-break, S. Silvae Peregrinatio § 72. Apollonius has *πολιοῖο δ' ἥρος* iii. 275, and before him Euripides *πολὺν αἰθήρ* Orest. 1376, *λευκὴν αἰθήρα* Androm. 1228. **sola**, Enn. Ann. 443 *sola terrarum*, Lucret. ii. 591 *sola terrae*. **dura**, Vergil Ecl. vi. 35 *Tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto* connects the solidification of the earth's crust with a separation from the previously surrounding sea. **ferum**, as *nemora fera* 89, Vergil's *montes feri* Ecl. v. 28. The solid habitable earth stands out in contrast with the wild and homeless sea. Diodorus xvii. 7. 6 and Lucretius v. 663 mention a tradition that at day-break fires were seen in different places on the top of Ida, which by degrees appeared to unite into a single orb. Euripides (Troad. 1066 Kirchhoff) speaks of the woods of Ida as *Τέρμονα πρωτόβολον ἄλιν, τὰν καταλαμπομένην ζαθέαν θερᾶν*: and it would thus seem that the unusual minuteness with which Catullus describes the transition from night to day is connected with some phenomena of dawn peculiar to the place.

41. **Pe pulit** is explained by Forc. 'drove away,' as the sun's steeds are said to drive away the stars, Eur. Ion 84. But Catullus always uses *pellere* of striking or smiting, even in LXIV. 239 *pulsae uentorum flammis nubes*, as is shown by LXIV. 272, and so Lucretius of the setting sun, *sol ultima caeli Impulit* v. 652. **uegetis**, 'fresh from their night's rest.' Liu. xxii. 47 *recentibus ac uegetis*, Hor. S. ii. 2. 80 *alter ubi curata sopori Membra dedit, uegetus praescripta ad munia surgit*. **sonipedibus**, a word well explained by a v. from an unknown poet ap. Censorin. fr. 15 p. 98 *Iahn agilis sonipes rapitur celeri sonitu trepidans*. The horses of the sun seem first to occur in the Homeric Hymn to the Sun 31. 14.

43. **Pasithea**, in Il. xiv. 267, 276, is described as one of the younger Charites and is promised to Sleep as a wife if he executes the commands of Here. Catullus makes her the actual wife of Sleep, and so perhaps Antipater in Anth. P. ix. 517. 6. Lachmann on Lucret. vi. 971 observes that Statius makes the final *a* of *Pasithea* long, and this is borne out by Otto Müller's MSS in Theb. ii. 286, though it is not equally certain in the other words mentioned by Lachm. from Statius, *Nemea Tegera Malea Midea*, where the MSS fluctuate between final *a* and *e*. **Trepidante** seems to express the eager joy of Pasithea at her husband's return. The same fondness is implied by Antipater's *Αἰνὸς Πασιθέης Ὑπνος ἐν ἀγκαλίῳ*, Anth. P. ix. 517. 5. *Trepidantem* would give a more lively picture of Sleep fluttering as he descends into Pasithea's bosom, but it is without support, except from Mr. Allen's codex, the much interpolated Cujacianus, and one or two other late MSS. The harsh elision is also decisive against it. Fronto p. 230 Naber describes the fluttering approach of Sleep thus, *placide et clementer pinnis teneris in modum hirundinum aduolare*.

44. **Ita**, 'then.' **de**, 'after,' as in Most. iii. 2. 8 *Non bonus somnus de prandio*. **rapida rabie**, the *uolentus furor* of Lucret. ii. 621; it refers partly to the mental *delirium* (Attius, fr. Meleager 450 Ribbeck *amentia rapior ferorque*) partly to the excited gestures and movements of the Galli, Lucret. ii. 630-636.

45. **ipse pectore recoluit**=*secum recoluit*. Phil. xiii. 20. 45 *quae si tecum ipse recolueris*.

**46. Liquida**, free from the storm of passion which had darkened its perceptions. Plautus has *animo liquido et tranquillo* of a mind unruffled and at rest, Epid. v. i. 36. **sine queis**, euphemistic; *testiculis* is meant. **ubique**, 'and where,' literally, I think; in the sanctuary of Cybele on the Asian Ida, not in the cities and gymnasia of Greece. The emasculated condition to which Attis is reduced is finely expressed in the nerveless tribrach *ubique* which precedes the final iambus.

**47. aestuante**. The agitation of the spirit finds sympathy in the agitation of the sea. If **Liquida mente** is immediately followed by **Animo aestuante**, this is only that the clear mental perception, which comes on waking from sleep is followed immediately by the tumultuous agony of spirit which the thought of the unalterable consequences brings. **rusum** with **tetulit**. The form *rusum* is shown by Munro on Lucret iii. 45 to occur three times in the two primary MSS of Lucretius, *prosum* twice, *introsum* once.

**49. Patriam allocuta maestast ita uoce miseriter**. This is the admirable restoration of Avancius in the rare edition which he dedicated to Cardinal Farnese circ. 1534-1540. MSS give very corruptly *Patriam allocuta est ita uoce miseritus (miseriter) maestas (magestales)*. **Patriam**. A fragment of Varro's Lex Maenia ap. Non. 106 (Riese ii) is a commentary on this line, as well as on the whole of the soliloquy following, *Si qui patriam maiorem parentem extinguit, in eo est culpa; quod facit pro sua parte is qui se eunuchat aut alioqui liberos non (aliqua liberos MSS) producit*. He who castrated himself could not be a father, and so continue the succession of stocks which form the collective *patria*; to be a eunuch was therefore to play the parricide to one's country. **miseriter** is one of the unusual adverbs mentioned by Nonius 517; he quotes a line of Laberius *Maereo, mens incorrupta miseriter corrumpitur* (Ribbeck 60), but not Catullus, which is remarkable, as Catullus is quoted for the immediately following *properiter*. Schwabe follows *O* and the first writing of *G*<sup>1</sup> in reading *miseritus* of which Forc. quotes no example, but which would be like *communitus publicitus pugnitus immortalitus largitus* all mentioned by Nonius. Sound is in favor of *miseriter*, and this, as well as the absence of other adverbs in *-tus* from Catullus, has probably determined most editors including Lachm. in preferring *miseriter*.

**50. mei creatrix, mea genetrix**, 'thou that didst engender me, O thou that art my mother!' Lucretius v. 795, 6 makes the earth the original mother of all living beings, including men, and describes the birth of the first men from *uteri terram radicibus apti* 808, whence he says *maternum nomen adepta Terra tenet, merito quoniam genus ipsa creauit* 822. In **mei creatrix** Catullus seems to apply a similar idea to the native country; which is not only, as Varro says, *maior parens*, but the actual conceiver and engenderer of its children. The genitive **mei** after **creatrix** shows that the force of the primitive verb is still too strong to allow it to become a mere substantive like **genetrix**; and this also agrees with the Lucretian use, *rerum natura creatrix*. Plato Crito 51 compares the obligations which a man has to his country with those to parents and ancestry, *σέβασθαι δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπέκειν καὶ θωπεύειν πατρίδα χαλεπαίνουσιν ἢ πατέρα καὶ ἢ πείθειν ἢ*

<sup>1</sup> *G* has miseriter  
miseritus.

ποιεῖν ἂν κελύη, καὶ πάσχειν, ἐάν τι προστάτῃ παθεῖν, ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντα, ἐάν τε τύπτεσθαι ἐάν τε δέισθαι, ἐάν τε εἰς πόλεμον ἄγῃ τραθησόμενον ἢ ἀποθανούμενον, πονητέον ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ οὐχὶ ὑπεικτέον, οὐδὲ ἀναχωρητέον, οὐδὲ λειπτέον τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ πωπταχοῦ ποιητέον ἂν κελύη ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ πάτρις: with which contrast 51 sqq. Lysias Epitaph. 18 αὐτόχθονες ὄντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκέκτηντο καὶ μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα Eurip. Heraclid. 826 τῇ τε βοσκούσῃ χθονὶ Καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ νῦν τιν' ἀρκίσαι χρεών.

51. Attis flies from his country, with its civic and social obligations now become distasteful, as a slave flies from a master whose service has become intolerable. There is an extra point in the comparison, as it suggests the new service of Cybele to which the runaway has devoted himself; Cybele is now the *domina*, the *era* (92) ready to resent any show of independence (*libere nimis* 80) in her new *famula* (68, 90) and *ministra* (68). *herifugae* is ἀπ. λεγ. like *retonent ederigeræ properipedem siluicultrix nemoriuagus*.

52. *Famuli*, πρόπολοι or πρόπολοι, each used in the double sense of an attendant on men, and a ministrant of the gods. Here of course the former alone is meant, as in Ovid Metam. viii. 635 *dominos illic famulosque requiras*, but the word is probably chosen as suggesting the other idea, the new service of Cybele. Cicero uses *eri* and *famuli* as correlatives de Off. ii. 7. 24; and *Idaeae matris famuli* occurs in Legg. ii. 9. 22.

53. Eur. Troad. 1066 Ἰδαία κισσοφόρα νάπη Χίῳι κατάρτυα ποταμίῳ. *stabula*, 'housing-places,' the σκιδέντας ἐναύλους of Hom. H. Ven. 74.

54. *furibunda* is usually taken as nominative agreeing with the now feminine Attis: but this after *miser* in 51 is impossible; *furibunda latibula* is like *mugienti fremitu* below; the dens are *furibunda* as sheltering lions and other fierce beasts of prey; Martial has *furiali dente* of a lion ii. 75. 7, Claudian *tacitusque (leo) per altas Incedit furiale niues* Bell. Get. 325. *latibula*, φωλεοῦς Babr. 106. 2, Anth. P. vi. 219. 8. Homer calls Ida *μητέρα θηρῶν* Il. xiv. 283; in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 70, 71 wolves, lions, bears, leopards are particularized. *Et earum omnia adirem*. So MSS: if rightly, we have here another instance of the original ionic a minore in the first foot. Avancius' conj. *ad omnia irem* is wrong in point of language, suggesting too definitely the approach to each lair in succession: Bährens' *alumna*, cf. Non. 242 *alumnae consuetudo quos alas uel educes uel eos qui alunt dici uult*, scarcely belongs to classical Latin.

55. *quibus locis*, 'in what region,' Nep. Dat. 4 *quaerit quibus locis sit Aspis*. *reor*, 'am I to think?' See on I. 1.

56. So Byron of a passionate weeper, *The very balls Of her black eyes seem'd turned to tears* Don Juan iv. 33. The effort of the eyes to see becomes the longing of the eyeballs, the central-point of vision. *pupula* is used by Varro Prometheus Liber fr. v Riese (Non. 172), by the poet Calvus fr. 11 L. Müller, and perhaps by Catullus again LXVIII. 55. Lucretius iv. 249 and Cicero prefer *pupilla*. *dirigere aciem*, Plin. H. N. xi. 148 *Pupilla cuius angustiae non sinunt uagari incertam aciem ac uelut canali dirigunt*. Macrob. S. vii. 14. 13 *geminum lumen e pupula quacumque eam uerteris directa linea emicat*.

57. *carens est*. Cic. de Nat. D. ii. 8. 21 *Omnia haec meliora sunt quam ea quae sunt his carentia*; where however a class of objects is meant.

Lucretius has ii. 1089 *genus omne quod hic generatimst rebus abundans*, iii. 396 *magis est animus uitai claustra coercens Et dominantior*, where Munro seems scarcely to distinguish *abundans coercens est* from *abundat coerces*. Here, I think, Catullus draws out *caret* into *carens est* to mark more clearly the duration of the short interval during which the mind is calm. See on LXIV. 317.

58 sqq. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 361 Πάτρην τε κλέα τε μεγάρων αὐτοῦς τε τοκῆς Νοσφισάμην, τὰ μοι ἦεν ὑπέρτατα. τηλόθι δ' οὔη Λυγρῆσιν κατὰ πόντον ἄμ' ἀλκνόεσσι φορεῦμαι. Alciph. ii. 4. 11 Ἄλλ' οἱ συγγενεῖς, ἄλλ' ἡ πατρίς, ἄλλ' οἱ φίλοι.

59. *genitoribus*, 'parents,' as it seems to be in Lucret. ii. 615. *Patres* is so quoted from inscriptions<sup>1</sup> with the same meaning, cf. Aen. ii. 579: and so *γεννήτορες* Eur. I. T. 576, *πατέρες* Parthen. Erot. 10, Alciph. iii. 41 and elsewhere.

60. Attis' thought returns to the chief centres of Greek life and imagination, the wrestling-school, the stadium, the gymnasium. Euripides makes Polynices talk of returning to his native gymnasia (Phoen. 368) and the chorus mourns that Hippolytus will no longer be seen with his steeds on the race-course of Limnae (Hipp. 1131). *palaestra*. Catullus seems here to distinguish the *palaestra* from the gymnasium, and so Plautus Amph. iv. 1. 3, 4. In another place Bacch. iii. 3. 22 *Ante solem nisi tu exorientem in palaestram ueneras, Haud mediocris gymnasi praefecto poenas penderes*, the *palaestra* seems to be part of the gymnasium, as in fact the gymnasium included every kind of exercise, even a stadium for foot-racing and a hippodrome for horse-racing. Plato however speaks of particular *palaestrae*, as the *palaestra* of Taureas the scene of the Charmides, and the newly-erected *palaestra* outside the walls of Athens the scene of the Lysis. *stadio et gymnasiis* MSS, and, if this is right, the original ionic a minore is preserved in the first foot of the second half of the line, as in Varro's *sonitu matri' deum* and *tibi nunc semiuiri* (Eumen. fr. xxxv Riese, 132 Bücheler); it seems doubtful whether *gymnasiis* would have been admitted by Catullus, though L. Müller defends it by Varro R. R. i. 55. 4. There however Keil's best MSS give *gymnasium* or *gimnasium*.

61. *Miser a miser*, LXI. 132. *anime*, like the *θυμέ* so frequent in Greek soliloquies, Archil. fr. 66. 1 Bergk, Med. 1056, Philetas fr. 7, Schneidewin Ἡ μὲν δὴ πολέεσσι πεφύρησαι χαλεποῖσιν θυμέ, γαληναίῃ δ' ἐπιμίσχεται οὐδ' ὅσον ὅσον, Ἀμφὶ δέ τοι νέαι αἰὲν ἀνίαί τετρήχασιν.

62. *figurae*. As Attis complains so deeply (*etiam atque etiam*) of his lost happiness, *figurae* would seem to imply not merely the various shapes which before his present condition he had gone through as youth, stripling, and boy, but that in all these shapes he had been admired. *Figurae* would seem therefore to mean not only shape, but shapeliness, or rather an admired shape. Propertius uses it with something of the same meaning iii. 19. 21 *Iuque o Minoa uenundata, Scylla, figura*. The cast of the expression is Greek, and recalls the admiration of form, as well as the celebrity attaching to unusual beauty, which grew out of the gymnasia, cf. Lysis 204 Ε πολλοῦ δέος τὸ εἶδος ἀγαρεῖν τοῦ παιδός, ἱκανὸς γὰρ ἀπὸ μόνου

<sup>1</sup> e.g. HERMODORVS ET IVLIANA PATRES in a Moguntiac inscription cited by Ramirez del Prado on Mart. i. 115.

τούτου γιγνώσκεισθαι. *ego non quod*, inversion of the natural order, as in XCI. 5 *Sed neque quod matrem* for *quod neque*, Hor. S. i. 5. 33 *non ut magis alter amicus*. *obierim*. Stat. for *abierim* of MSS. So in LXVI. 2 most MSS give *habitus* for *obitus*. Attis had passed through every form of beauty.

63. 'I have been a woman, and a youth, and a stripling, and a boy, I have been the flower of the gymnasium, I was the glory of the oiled ring.' *fui* is to be supplied from 64 to all the nominatives in 63. Attis begins with the last stage and goes back to the first; and in the retrospect each stage, including the final and present one, is viewed as part and parcel of the past. Ovid Met. x. 522, 3 *modo formosissimus infans iam iuuenis, iam uir, iam se formosior ipso est*. Wilamowitz explains differently (Hermes xiv. p. 198), marking off *Ego mulier* from the other nominatives as = *ego quae mulier sum* and placing a full stop at *flos*. He paraphrases thus, ἡ γυνή, ἐγὼ εἶρην, ἐγὼ ἔφηβος, ἐγὼ μεῖραξ, ἐγὼ ἄνθος ἔφην γυμνασίον· ἐγὼ δ' ἦ κ.τ.λ. It is remarkable that in two similar passages which illustrate these vv., Ael. V. H. iii. 18 εἶτα ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν μερακίων ἡλικίαν ἀναχωρεῖ, εἶτα πᾶς γίνεται, εἶτα βρέφος, Diodor. x. 9, fragm. 5 οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι διήρουν καὶ τὰς ἡλικίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη παιδός, νέου, νεανίσκου, γέροντος (the Pythagorean quadripartite division of life), the parallel numbers vary as 3, 4. Catullus therefore cannot be thought certainly to have in mind either a tripartite or quadripartite division: hence we are left to the natural suggestion of the words; and this, I think, is against Wilamowitz' view. At any rate it is quite counter to the rules of the Galliambic metre to introduce a full pause in the middle of a verse. [*mulier* need not be altered, for, as Magnus rightly observes in the enumeration of *figurae* which Attis had successively possessed, his present condition as ἡμίθελος could not well be omitted.] *ephebus* has a special propriety as a properly-constructed gymnasium included an *ephebeum*, 'a large hall furnished with seats, intended as the exercising-room of the *ephebi*,' Rich p. 324. The *ἔφηβοι* were youths above 16 or 17 years, if Xenophon represents the general Greek usage Cyrop. i. 2. 8 μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἡ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς οἱ παῖδες ταῦτα πράττουσι, ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται, from 18 to 20 according to Pollux viii. 105 (Dict. Antiqq.).

64. *olei*, de Orat. i. 18. 82 *Nitidum quoddam genus est uerborum et laetum sed palaestrae magis et olei*.

65-67. These lines might in themselves refer to the admiration of Attis as simply beautiful, as in the Lysis 204 B Socrates asks τίς ὁ καλός; that he is to see in the palaestra, and in the Charmides 154 D is asked to give his opinion on the beauty of the νεανίσκος Charmides. But from 67 it is clear that the homage paid to Attis is connected at least in part with his successes in the gymnasium; it is on his way thither at day-break that he sees the garlands at his gate, and the crowd of admirers waiting to escort him. In fact that perfection of form which the Greeks considered at least as essential to beauty as perfect features (Lysis 154 D εἰ ἐθελοι ἀποδύνααι δόξει σοι ἀπρόσωπος εἶναι· οὕτως τὸ εἶδος πάγκαλός ἐστι) was so closely connected with the exercises of the gymnasium and the palaestra, that the two ideas naturally became associated, and the flower of the gymnasium would usually combine both.

**65. frequentes**, crowded with *ἐρασταί*. Charm. 154 A, ib. C οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες ἔραν ἔμοιγε ἐδόκουν αὐτοῦ . . . πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἐρασταὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθεν εἵποντο. It was the custom of lovers to attend at the gate or vestibule of those they admired. Plat. Symp. 183 A κοιμήσεις ἐπὶ θύραις. Theocr. vii. 122 Μηκέτι τοι φρουρέωμες ἐπὶ προθύροιςιν, "Ἀρατε, Μηδὲ πόδας τρίβωμες" ὁ δ' ὄρθριος ἄλλον ἀλέκτωρ Κοκκύσδων νάρκησιν ἀνιηραῖσι διδοίη. Philostr. Vit. Sophist. i. 2 οὐ φοιτῶσιν μετὰ ξιφῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν παιδικῶν θύρας οἱ ἄξιοι τοῦ ἀντερᾶσθαι· οὐ γὰρ πολεμικῶν ὀργάνων ἀλλὰ μουσικῶν οἱ ἐρώντες δέονται. **tepida**, according to Stat. 'swarming, populous,' somewhat in the same sense as *calere* in Phil. v. 4. 11 and as *feruere* more commonly. But no example of *tepere* so used is quoted by Forc., and it is safer to take it of the actual warming of the doorway by the *ἐρασταί* who spent the night stretched upon it. So Propertius in a poem which is throughout a commentary upon this part of the *Altis*, i. 16. 17-26 *Ianua uel domina penitus crudelior ipsa, Quid mihi iam duris clausa laces foribus? Cur nunquam reserata meos admittis amores? . . . Nullane finis erit nostro concessa labori? Tristis et in tepido limine somnus erit? Me mediae noctes, me sidera prona iacentem, Frigidaque Eoo me dolet aura gelu.* Plato Symp. 183 A speaks of sleeping at the door of the beloved as one form of *ἐθελοδουλεία*.

**66.** Garlands were hung on the doorposts and laid on the *limen* (but see Munro on Lucr. iv. 1178) of the beloved. In the *Amores* i. 6. 67, 8 Ovid takes the garland from his head at dawn and lays it on Corinna's threshold to show that he has been there all night. Cf. Met. xiv. 708-710 *Interdum madidas lacrimarum rore coronas Postibus intendit, posuitque in limine duro Molle latus.*

**67. orto mihi Sole.** A law of Solon's enacted that palaestrae should be opened at sunrise and closed before sunset. Aesch. c. Timarch. ii. 9 ὁ γὰρ νομοθέτης τοὺς διδασκάλους τὰ διδασκαλεῖα καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας τὰς παλαίστρας ἀνοίγειν μὲν ἀπαγορεύει μὴ πρότερον πρὶν ἂν ὁ ἥλιος ἀνίσχη, κλείειν δὲ προστάττει πρὸ ἡλίου δεδυκότος. Achaeus \*Αθλα 3 Nauck Γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὄρθρου (so I emend the MS ὥθρου) φαίδιμους βραχίονας Ἡβῇ σφριγῶντες ἐμπορεύονται νέφ Στλδβοντες ἄνθει καρτέρας ἐπωμίδας. The idea of a group collected to admire is found in Callim. fr. 169 Blomf. Μέμβλετο δ' εἰσπνήλαις ὅποτε κούρος ἴοι.

**68. deum.** L. Müller would write for *deum* here and for *deae* in 3 and 20 *Rheae*: but here *deum* in the first clause generalizes what is specialized in the second, and *deae* is sufficiently defined in 3 by *Phrygium nemus*, in 20 by the rest of the line. **Cybeles famula.** Valerius Flaccus seems to use *famulus* absolutely of the servants of Cybele, Argon. iii. 20. Catullus heightens the indignity of the word by using the feminine *famula*.

**69. mei pars**, i.e. *amissis genitalibus*. **uir sterilis**, 'a man but without a man's power of procreating,' Passerat's *uis sterilis*, 'seed that cannot generate,' is ingenious, but forced.

**71. columinibus** might apply to the towered cities and pillared temples of Phrygia, which is called *εὐτείχετος* in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite 112, cf. Ovid Fast. iv. 219, 220 *At cur turrita caput est ornata corona? An Phrygiis turres urbibus illa dedit?* Lucr. ii. 606 and see Paley on Troad. 46. It seems more likely that Catullus refers to the peculiar rock-formations of Phrygia. Sir Charles Fellows, speaking of the country near Cotyaeum, in which the hills form a number of pointed sugar-loaf rocks and in other places lofty rocks perforated with



caves (Asia Minor p. 128), says, 'These peculiar pointed rocks are hollowed like a honey-comb with sepulchral caves, many leading from one to the other by flights of steps, and all having small recesses scooped out of the sides, probably for urns containing the ashes of the dead, and little holes above each for a lamp or small offering; in some of them slight traces of architectural ornaments remain.' p. 133. 'At the distance of twenty miles from Kootáyð we entered a valley, also filled with the singularly formed pointed rocks of the pumice-earth, and for eight miles passed through a continuous cemetery, the rocks and the ground being perforated by thousands of caves. Each of those which we entered had others above and below it, and the road sounded hollow from the excavations.' p. 134. Such underground retreats were particularly associated with the rites of Cybele, see the passage of Nicander quoted on 35: and even where her temples were in the open air, a cavern was often adjoined, as in Ovid's description Met. x. 686-694 *Templa deum matri quae quondam clarus Echion Fecerat ex uolo nemorosis abdita siluis, Transibant . . . Luminis exigui fuerat prope templa recessus Speluncae similis natiuo pumice lectus, Religione sacer prisca, quo multa sacerdos Ligneae conlulerat ueterum simulacra deorum.*

72. Phaedrus has *nemoricultrix*<sup>1</sup> of a sow ii. 4. 3, Publilius Syrus ap. Petron. 55 *pielaticultrix* of a stork. Schwabe quotes *equorum siluicoletum* from C. I. L. ii. 2660. *aper nemoriuagus*, Il. xi. 414 'Ως δ' ὅτε κάπριον ἀμφὶ κύνας θαλεροὶ τ' αἰζηοὶ ζεύονται, ὁ δέ τ' εἰσι βαθεῖης ἐκ ξυλόχοιο.

73. Attius Neoptolemus 471 Ribbeck *Dolet pudetque Graium me et uero piget*, where Nonius 424 remarks *pigere paenitentiae est*.

74. *Roseis*, as of one in tender youth, like Πορφυρέιον Ἀπὸ στόματος λείσα φωνὰν παρθένος Simon. 72 Bergk. Cf. Mart. viii. 56. 15 *roseis labris* of the young slave Alexis. This, as Prof. Sellar remarks, Roman Poets of the Republic p. 447, is one of those touches which incidentally force upon the mind the contrast between the tender youth of Attis and the power of the passion which possesses him. *sonitus citus abiit*, Bentley for *sonilus adiit* of MSS. Bährens however shows that *adiit* may be right, cf. Sil. vi. 252 *uocesque repente profusae Aetherias adiere domos*.

75-76. From the time of Scaliger various objections have been made, amongst others by W. S. Landor and Mr. Browning, to the language and order of these lines. There is not much reason for introducing the gods, if Cybele alone is meant: *Geminas* is meaningless; and *noua nuntia* unusual. Lachmann for *deorum* read *matris*, thus introducing the unusual ionic a minore in the first foot, Munro *deae tam*. If *Geminas deorum* is retained, Catullus must be supposed to speak as he speaks in 68 *deum ministra et Cybeles famula*; the cry bursts upon the ears of the gods collectively, to indicate its loudness and passion; it is noticed by Cybele alone because she alone is concerned to do so. (So L. Müller.) In XXXVI. 10 *diuis* seems to mean Venus alone.

75. *Geminas*, if genuine, expresses the vehemence of the complaint which insists on finding its way to the ears of the gods. Il. xii. 442 ὥς φάτ' ἐποτρύνων, οἱ δ' οὐασί πάντες ἀκουον: Callim. Ep. xxxi. 6 Τὸν καλόν, ὁ μόχθηρ', ἔβλεπες ἀμφοτέροις, 'you had a full sight.' Translate 'full' or 'straight to the ears of the gods.' So Vergil Aen. vi. 788 *Huc geminas*

<sup>1</sup> This is not certain. MSS seem to give *nemoris cultrix*.



*huc flecte acies*; in Culex 150 *geminas autum uox obstrepit aures* seems to mean that the song of the birds rises noisily all around the shepherd: in Stat. S. iv. 4. 26 *Certum est; inde sonus geminas mihi circuit aures*, the sound is unmistakable, it is heard in both ears. But Magnus rightly observes that in all these passages *geminus* refers to a *single* person, not to a multitude; and though in Il. xii. 442 the Trojans are said all to hear with their ears, this perhaps hardly proves that a cry could make its way collectively to *both* ears of the gods. It would seem that the corruption at the end of 74 affected the beginning of 75; the order of the Datanus, *ad auris deorum*, points to something wrong; yet, as Munro says, *Geminas* looks genuine: hence the corruption may be in *deorum*. [Possibly *seorsum*, 'to both ears separately,' i.e. Cybele's, the subject supplied from 76.] *nuntia*. According to Nonius 215 quoted by Voss *nuntium neuter apud aliquos non receptae auctoritatis lectum est, sed doctos*: Servius, on the other hand, on Aen. vi. 456, recognizes it as the ordinary expression for *quod nuntiatur*. It is, as a matter of fact, rare; Varro quotes from the Censoriae tabulae L. L. vi. 86 *Vbi noctu in templum censurae auspicauerit atque de caelo nuntium erit*; but in Lucr. iv. 704, it is more adj. than subst., and is besides used actively: see Munro. For the general expression, cf. Orator liii. 177 *Aures uel animus aurium nuntio naturalem quandam in se continet uocum omnium mentionem*. Catullus makes the sound deliver the message to the ears: Cicero makes the ears transmit the message to the mind.

76. *iuncta* with *iuga*, perhaps to make the yoking of so fierce a beast more prominent, and so Pacuvius fr. 397 Ribb. *Angues ingentes alites iuncti iugo*. Aen. iii. 113 *Et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones*. *iuncta iuga* nearly = *quibus iuncti erant*. *leonibus* with *resoluens*. Lions were a regular adjunct of the Magna Mater, and are often found on coins and in works of art, crouching at either side of her throne or drawing her car. Lucret. ii. 604 explains this as meaning that the savage instincts are to give way to the parental relation; from Firmicus Maternus ix. 2 it might seem that the chastity, from Servius on Aen. iii. 113 *Plinius dicit leonem cum pardalide et pardum cum leaena concumbere*, that the abnormal appetites of the lion were the cause; it is more likely that lions abounded in the mountainous or woodland region which was the original seat of the cultus, and that the secret of taming them was transmitted from thence with it. Cf. Schol. on Aristoph. Aves 877. In the time of Catullus lion-taming was a traditional secret of the Galli. Varro mentions the figure of a lion *ad Idam eo loco ubi quondam, subito eum cum uidissent quadrupe-dem, galli tympanis adeo fecerunt mansuem, ut tractarent manibus*, "Ovos Aëpas fr. ii Riese, Non. 483; cf. Anth. P. vi. 218-220, 237.

77. *Laetum*. The Idaei Dactyli were divided into δεξιοί and ἀριστεροί. Schol. on Apoll. Rhod. i. 1129: some such allusion may be meant; or the *left* may be chosen as the opposite of the right; for the right hand and arm seem to have had some symbolical association with women or *effeminati*<sup>1</sup>. The Balliol Glossary has *Dextral genus ornamenti commune uiris et mulieribus quia utriusque sexus sunt dexteræ*. *pecoris* in-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps also with the Attis-cultus. In the description of the rites given in the *Carmen contra paganos* edited by Morel (Bährens PLM iii. p. 287) the corrupt reading of the MS in 105 *Dextra leuagae situm argentea frena tenere* should be corrected *Dextrali nestitum*. See Cambridge Journal of Philology for 1868, Key, Latin Dictionary s. v. *Dextrale*.

cludes not only sheep and goats, but larger animals, as oxen and bulls Varro R. R. ii. 1. 10. Sophocles Phil. 400 calls Ge, whom he identifies with the Great Mother, ταυροκτόνων λέόντων ἴφειδρε; the lion that threatens the life of a votary of Cybele is ταυροφόνος θήρ, Anth. P. vi. 219. 7, βουφάγος vi. 217. 4, ὠμωστής vi. 237. 6. **stimulans**, 'striking with a goad' (Hertzberg). Catullus may have thought of the Homeric Κέντρον ἐπισπέρχων Il. xxiii. 430. In Lucan i. 208 the lion uses his own tail as a goad.

78 sqq. seem modelled on Men. v. 2. 109–116, especially 113, 114 *Agile equi facitote sonitus unguularum appareat: Cursu celeri facile inflexa sit pedum pernicias*; 115, 116 *ecce Apollo denuo Me iubet facere impetum in eum qui hic stat atque occidere*; and 118 *Imperium tuum demulat atque edictum Apollinis*. (Stat.)

79. The force of **furoris ictu** cannot be estimated by the common use of the participle *ictus* with such ablatives, e. g. Liu. v. 21 quoted by Doering, *uelut repentino icti furore*. Stat. in an erudite note shows that Catullus has in his mind the μάστις πολυαστράγαλος Anth. P. vi. 234. 4, a scourge of knuckle-bones strung on a thong which was used to punish refractory Galli, or with which they affected to flog themselves for the purpose of exciting compassion, Rich, Companion p. 289, where a drawing is given. Plutarch Moral. 1127 C οὐδὲ μάστιγιος ἐλευθέρας δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀστραγαλωτῆς ἐκείνης ἢ τοὺς Γάλλους πλημμελοῦντας ἐν τοῖς Μητρώοις κολάζουσι. The meaning then is: Attis is refractory and must be brought back to obedience. The lion's onset is to rouse a frenzy of terror, which like the lashes of the scourge will recall the delinquent from his regrets and make him return to the forest and the service of Cybele.

81. **cauda, ἀλκαία**. Il. xx. 170 Οὐρῇ δὲ πλευρὰς τε καὶ ἰσχία ἀμφοτέρωθεν μαστίεται, ἔε δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι. Plin. viii. 49 *Leonum animi index cauda* . . . *Inmola ergo placido, clemens blandienti, quod rarum est; crebrior enim iracundia. Eius in principio terra uerberatur, incremento terga seu quodam incitamento flagellantur*. Luc. i. 208 *se saevae stimulauit uerbere caudae*. Eustathius mentions a strange theory about the lion's tail, 1201 φάσι δὲ κέντρον ἐνεῖναι μέλαν τῇ τοῦ λέοντος ἀλκαίᾳ ἡγουν οὐρᾷ ὡς κεράτινον, ᾧ μαστίζει τὰς πλευρὰς ἐν καιρῷ μάχης ἐρεθίζων ἑαυτόν. **tua**, 'your own,' generally it is *another* who *iussit pati uerbera* Sen. Med. 337.

82.  **mugienti fremitu**, the roar bellows, as the hair of the excited votary is itself called mad, Anth. P. vi. 220. 2 Ἐκφρων μανομένην δοὺς ἀνέμοισι τρίχα.

83. Imitated by Sen. H. F. 948 of the constellation Leo *et rutila iubam Ceruice iactat*. **torosa**, Aen. xii. 6 *mouet arma leo gaudelique comantis Excutiens ceruice toros*. **Rutilam ferox torosa** is almost unique as an accumulation of epithets (Näke Dir. p. 285). **ceruice**. Two passages of Varro L. L. viii. 14 *ab eo quod alii dicunt ceruices, id Hortensius in poematis ceruix*. x. 78 *quaedam uerba contra usum ueterem inclinata paliati, ut passa Hortensium dicere pro haec ceruices, ceruix*, and one of Quintilian viii. 3. 35 *ceruicem uidetur Hortensius primus dixisse, nam ueteres pluraliter appellabant* agree in stating that *ceruix* as a singular noun was introduced by Hortensius. Key's Lat. Dict. quotes Ennius Pacuvius and Afranius for it, Cic. however seems always to prefer *ceruices*; this passage of the *Attis* is probably the earliest in which any great

poet of the classical period has ventured on the singular. See Sandys on Orat. xviii. 59.

84. *reliqat*, binds up the loose straps to the pole, to prevent their dangling till the lion returns.

85. *Ferus* is used by Cicero de Diuin. ii. 30. 63, and often later, as by Vergil Aen. ii. 51, vii. 489, Phaedrus i. 21. 8, Ovid Heroid. ix. 114, the two last of a lion, as a substantive, and so probably here. Catullus seems to be translating *θήρ*, which, according to the schol. on Arat. 36, was applied to lions *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. *ipse sese adhortans*, like *perrumpere nituntur seque ipsi adhortantur* Caesar B. G. vi. 37 (Vulp.) *rapidum animo*, proleptic after *incitat*, 'spurs himself into fury of heart.'

86. *refringit* is well explained by Stat. Theb. iv. 139 *Non aliter silvas umeris et utroque refringens Pectore, montano duplex Hylaeus ab antro Praecipitat*. As the lion rushes on, the brushwood is beaten back on each side and a path thus opened. *pede uago* recurs LXIV. 277: in each case it seems to express the indeterminateness of the direction.

87. *humida* is farther defined by *albicantis*, a rare participle. The shore whitens with the foam of the billows: it is not likely that the whiteness is that of the *sandy* shore (*λευκοφαῖ ψάμαθον* I. A. 1054).

88. Lucretius connects the use of *marmor* for the sea with the white flashing colour of the waves in agitation ii. 767 *mare . . . Vertitur in canos candenti marmore fluctus*. Ennius quoted by A. Gellius ii. 26. 21 *Verrunt extemplo placide mare marmore flauo*, seems to use *marmor* of a smooth sea, and Conington on Aen. vi. 729 considers this to be the idea which the Roman poets associated with the word, in opposition to that of glistening, which predominates in the Greek *θα μαρμαρίην* Il. xiv. 273. Corssen i. p. 412 considers the sense of 'glistening' to be the only one conveyed by the word. I believe that in Catullus at any rate the notion of flashing colour is combined with that of a smooth level surface.

89. *Facit impetum*, a strictly prose expression. Liu. i. 5. *demens*, 'frantic with terror.'

91. *magna dea*. Prop. iii. 17. 35 *Vertice turrigero iuxta dea magna Cybelle*. *domina*, here in close connexion with *Dindimeī*, 'queen of Dindymus.' Dindymon, or Dindyma plural, rarely Dindymus (Prop. iii. 22. 3, Plin. v. 142), is the name of a mountain which rises above Pessinus in Galatia (Strabo 567), of mountains of the Troad (Stephanus B.), and of a mountain near Cyzicus (Apollon. Rhod. i. 985, and Scholia there). The name Dindymenian mother would in the first instance no doubt be connected with the earliest seat of the worship, the Phrygian Dindymon, but as soon as the rites spread farther and the name Dindymon with them, the title would lose its original definiteness and be variously applied by different writers. Thus Apollonius Rhod. i. 985, Prop. iii. 22. 3, speak of the Cyzicene Dindymon: and so probably Sil. Italicus xvii. 20, where he describes the introduction of the cultus at Rome, *Semiuiusque chori gemino qui Dindyma monte Casta colunt*; cf. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 985 *Δίνδυμον ὄρος Κυζίκου ἱερὸν τῆς Πέας διὰ τὸ διδύμους μαστοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνέσταναι, ἥ διὰ τὸ δύο ἔχειν ἄκρας οὕτω καλεῖται*: Vergil speaks indefinitely of *Dindyma* ix. 618, x. 252. Whether Cat. has in his mind some Dindymon in the Troad, perhaps a projection of Mt. Ida, cf. Strab. 473 *αἱ κατὰ μέρος ἀρχαῖαι καὶ πᾶσαι τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ περὶ τῆς Ἰδῆς*, Ovid F. iv. 249

*Dindymon et Cybelen et amoenam fontibus Idem Semper et Iliacas mater amavit opes*, or thinks of the more famous Dindymon of Phrygia, is perhaps not determinable.

92. Roeper, de Varronis Eumenidibus iii. p. 39, cites a v. of Varro's Eumenides (Non. 49) *apage in diereclum a domo nostra istam insanitalem*. Ovid has a direct imitation F. iv. 116 *a nobis sit procul iste furor*.

#### LXIV.

THE marriage of Peleus and Thetis was a favorite subject of ancient poetry. Pindar Isthm. v. 24 declares that no city was so barbarous as not to have heard the fame of the hero Peleus, the happy son-in-law of the gods: in Pyth. iii. 87-96 he classes him with Cadmus, as the two happiest of men, who heard the Muses singing, and witnessed the Gods banqueting at their marriage, and saw the Kings, the sons of Cronos, on golden seats, and received gifts. In the third Nemean Peleus is described as taking Iolcos without an army and grasping the seaborne Thetis. In the fourth, after overcoming her in the shape of fire and a lion, he marries her, one of the high-throned Nereids, and sees the fair-circling seat on which the kings of heaven and sea sat, and set before him gifts. In the fifth the Muses with Apollo in the midst sing of Peleus and Thetis; how Hippolyte tried to seduce and then kill Peleus; how then Zeus promised to give him speedily one of the sea-born golden-spindled Nereids for a wife, with the consent of Poseidon, like Zeus, a rival for the possession of Thetis. This is more fully drawn out in the eighth Isthmian. There Zeus and Poseidon, after contending for Thetis, give her up to Peleus, on account of a prophecy of Themis that if Thetis married Zeus or one of his brothers, her son should be a greater king than his father. 'Let Thetis wed a mortal, and see her son slain in war, like Ares in hands and like lightning in his power of foot. I Themis assign to Peleus a goddess as the most pious man of Iolcos: let a message be sent straight to Chiron's cavern, and let not Thetis dissent: she shall lose her virginity in Peleus' arms in the evenings when the moon is full.' Zeus and Poseidon assented; thenceforth Achilles became famous in war, dyed the Mysian plain with the blood of Telephus, made a bridge for the return of the Greeks home, and delivered Helen. In the Iphigenia in Aulis of Euripides 701-709 Zeus gives Thetis to Peleus, who marries her on Pelion, the gods themselves holding the wedding feast. A chorus in the same play (1036-1074) describes the marriage ceremony; the Muses sang of Peleus and Thetis to the feasting gods, Ganymede acted as cup-bearer, and the fifty Nereids danced on the sand. The Centaurs attended, and Chiron prophesied the future greatness of Achilles. In the Andromache (15 sqq.) Peleus and Thetis after their marriage are said to have lived aloof from men on the borders of Phthia and Pharsalus, at a place called from the event Thetideion.

Isocrates, Euagoras 192 b, sums up the life of Peleus thus, Πηλεὺς δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἀριστεύσας καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κινδύνους εὐδοκμήσας Θετίδι τῇ Νηρείῳς θνητὸς ὦν ἀθανάτῳ συνέκησε καὶ μόνου τούτου φασὶ τῶν προγεγενημένων ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ὑμῖναιον ἔσθῃναι. According to Apollonius Rhodius iv. 791 sqq., Zeus in love with Thetis but repulsed

through the influence of Hera, swears she shall never marry an immortal, but continues to persecute her till Themis prophesies that the son of Thetis is fated to be superior to his father. Then Hera gives to Thetis the best of mortal men, invites all the gods to be present, and herself holds up the marriage-torch at their wedding.

It is probable that Catullus was acquainted with all the above-mentioned passages of Pindar, Euripides and Apollonius; but he may have drawn also from other sources, now lost. The well-known lines in Il. xxiv. 61 sqq.

Αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς ἐστι θεῶν γόνος, ἣν ἐγὼ αὐτῇ  
Θρέψα τε καὶ ἀτίτηλα καὶ ἀνδρὶ πόρον παράκοιτω  
Πηλεΐ, ὅς περὶ κῆρι φίλος γένετ' ἀθανάτοισι,  
Πάντες δ' ἀντιάσθε θεοὶ γάμον· ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι  
Δαίνυ' ἔχων φόρμυγα,

are indeed the outline which later poets did but fill up. Elsewhere in the Iliad the marriage is mentioned in allusion to the gifts which Peleus then received from the gods, the horses Xanthus and Balius and the divine armour, xvi. 381, xvii. 443, xviii. 82; and by Thetis xviii. 432 sqq. who complains that Zeus had singled her out from the goddesses of the sea to wed a mortal against her own will, and only to bring her to greater misery. Hesiod besides an allusion to the marriage Theog. 1006, wrote Ἐπιθαλάμια εἰς Πηλέα καὶ Θέτιν, of which Tzetzes Proleg. ad Lycophr. has preserved two verses

Τρὶς μάκαρ Αἰακίδῃ καὶ τετράκις ἄλβιε Πηλεῦ  
Ὅς τοῖσδ' ἐν μεγάροις ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαίνεις<sup>1</sup>,

and four lines from an elegiac Θέτιδος Ἐπιθαλάμιον by Agamestor of Pharsalus are quoted by the scholiast on Lycophron 178. Dionysius of Halicarnassus Rhet. i. 5 mentions as one of the stock-subjects to be introduced in a panegyric of marriage, the immortality which Peleus gained by his nuptials with Thetis.

Catullus would therefore have no want of literary precedents in choosing the marriage of Peleus and Thetis as a suitable epic material for his cycle of poems on marriage (p. 166). But it was quite as universal a subject of art. Valerius Flaccus Argon. i. 129-133 makes the marine procession of Thetis to the marriage-chamber of Peleus the first of a series of tableaux with which he imagines the Argo to have been painted: and besides numerous works now lost, a variety of bassi-relievi, vases, urns, &c. still existing, show the popularity of the legend. A bas-relief figured in Zoega i. 52 represents, according to Winckelmann Monumens Inédits vol. ii. pp. 97-99 ed. 1808, a procession of figures bearing marriage-gifts to Peleus, who is seated with Thetis veiled on his right, with his right hand stretched out to take a sword presented by Vulcan; after whom comes Pallas with a helmet in her right hand and a spear in her left, followed by a train of single figures male and female. At the top is a border with marine monsters, cf. Plin. xxxvi. 26. Another (Mon. Inéd. ii. pp. 93-97) is thought by Winckelmann to refer to the same subject: in it the Gods form an outer group enclosing the central figures of Thetis asleep and Peleus advancing towards her. The same subject is believed to be portrayed on the famous Portland vase, as well as on another figured in Millingen's Unedited Monuments pl. x; and it stands forth in the eleven designs illustrating the life of Achilles on

<sup>1</sup> Düntzer fr. xxxv.

the François vase found at Chiusi in 1845 and now preserved at Florence<sup>1</sup>.

Even more frequent in ancient art was the legend of Ariadne, as may perhaps be inferred from the frequent repetition of it by Ovid (*Heroid.* 1, *Met.* viii. 173-181, F. iii. 459-516). Xenophon *Symp.* ix describes a sort of ballet performed at a private entertainment, in which a young man and woman act in pantomime the parts of Bacchus and Ariadne. Gell gives two Pompeian pictures supposed to refer to this subject. In the first (vol. i. p. 164) Ariadne looks out upon the sea; a ship is in the horizon. In the other (ii. p. 121) she lies asleep, while Theseus embarks. Very similar is the picture of Ariadne described by Philostratus *Eikones* p. 786 Kayser; and Pausanias saw in the most ancient temple of Dionysus at Athens a picture, in which were *Ἀριάδνη καθύδανσα καὶ Θησεύς ἀναγόμενος καὶ Διόνυσος ἤκων ἐς τῆς Ἀριάδνης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν* i. 20. 3. A vase with the inscription ΝΑΞΙΩΝ given in Millingen's *Unedited Monuments* i. pl. 26, contains the figures of Ariadne, Dionysus and Eros: and Dr. Birch affirms that no incident appears so frequently on vases of every period and with every variety of detail. (*Ancient Pottery* p. 238.)

It would seem probable then that Catullus wishing to write a poem distinctly epic in character, partly as giving scope to a greater variety of powers, partly as a new contribution to the Alexandrian *epyllia* which were the fashion of the day, partly to show his management of the hexameter, still known to the Romans chiefly in the *Annales* of Ennius, was determined in the choice of his subject mainly by its universality and adaptability as shown in works of art. This would alone suffice to explain the main defect of the poem, the loose connexion of its parts. Each part in effect was conceived separately, and was then worked into a not very artistic whole by the introduction, borrowed from Apollonius, of a quilt on which one of the stories is embroidered: the total effect is of two poems rather than one. So strongly has this been felt that some have denied the poem to be a real whole; Merkel *Praef. ad Ibin* p. 360 considers it to be a translation from a Greek original, itself much larger, Bernhardt defines this as a poem of the Hesiodic school, Bergk as a poem of Euphoriion, Riese of Callimachus<sup>2</sup>, Hertzberg of a contemporary of Callimachus or Apollonius<sup>3</sup>. Haupt holds that the abrupt beginning (1-3) as well as the sustained and solemn close (381-408) disprove this hypothesis, and he defends the unnecessary apostrophe to the heroes (22-25), and the inordinate length of the episode of Ariadne, by the custom of the Alexandrian poets. Yet nothing in Callimachus or Theocritus can, I think, be said to produce the same feeling of disproportion as this digression of Catullus, which indeed seems to have absolutely nothing to do with the main subject of the poem. Even granting that a connecting link is to be found in the common theme of the two stories, the glory of marriage, a view recently put forward by Mr. Shadworth Hodgson<sup>4</sup> (*Theory of Practice* ii. p. 535), and

<sup>1</sup> Birch *History of Ancient Pottery* p. 226. This vase has the names of the figures inscribed. It is noticeable that the return of Theseus to Crete, his marriage and dance with Ariadne, form the second of the groups painted upon it.

<sup>2</sup> This view has been elaborately refuted by K. P. Schulze *Jahrb. for 1882* pp. 209-214.

<sup>3</sup> And so Teuffel *Hist. of Roman Literature* i. 211. 6. English Translation.

<sup>4</sup> 'The theme of the so-called Marriage of Peleus and Thetis of Catullus is the glory

which certainly has the merit of making the episode, not indeed of almost equal, but of somewhat less unequal, importance with the rest of the poem, it will hardly be denied that this view does not lie on the surface, and after all does not explain the want of poetical finish in the junctures. This is particularly perceptible in 50-52, 212 sqq. in each of which the reader is carried off into a new digression. Unfortunately the contemporaneous epyllia, the *Io* of Calvus, the *Smyrna* of Cinna, the *Glaucus* of Cornificius, have perished; those of a later period, such as the *Ciris*, though probably modelled on Catullus and his school, are the work of very inferior writers.

The influence of the Alexandrian poets on Catullus has been much dwelt upon; and it is possible that the defects of the *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* are conscious imitations of their peculiarities; for the short disposition of large subjects, a disproportionate copiousness of detail as compared with the rapid conciseness of the transitions, and a tendency to subjective reflexions and apostrophes e. g. 22-30, 94-100, 116-123, are, as has been well observed by Riese, among the more prominent features of the school. My commentary will show how often Catullus has been indebted to them for words, ideas and types of expression; Merkel, Proleg. to Apollonius p. xiv, considers that the artistic hexameters of Apollonius have nowhere been so successfully imitated as in the *Epyllion* of Catullus; and the same view has been enforced in detail by Haupt and L. Müller. Yet it must not be forgotten that the Alexandrian poets belong as a whole to a declining, Catullus to a rising, period of art. Neither Callimachus, Apollonius nor Theocritus ever leaves that impression of simplicity which is one great charm of the *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*; on the other hand we fail to detect in this any of those tricks by which the later Greeks sought to veil their exhaustion. The Callimachean artifice of repeating the same word three or four times over in one sentence (*H. Iov.* 6, 7, 55, 84, *Dian.* 56, 7, 136-140, *Ap.* 25-31) or clenching a thought by a short epigrammatic clause at the end, is rarely found, cf. however 256-264: there is no attempt to heighten the interest by sudden questions and answers (*Callim. H. Iov.* 62, *Dian.* 113-121, 183-185) or

of marriage, idealised by means of an instance in which all the circumstances of happiness are united, and which is invested with all the imagined glories of the heroic age. Those who consider the subject of the poem to be merely the marriage of Peleus and Thetis are at a loss to account for the disproportionate length of the episode, as it then appears, the story of Theseus and Ariadne. But the truth is that the theme of the poem, the glory of marriage, is exhibited by the two contrasted stories, which thus properly assume almost equal importance. Thus it is the very marriage-bed of Peleus and Thetis which is covered with the tapestry exhibiting the story of Ariadne:

Talibus amplifice vestis decorata figuris  
Pulvinar complexa suo velabat amictu.

Thetis is given in marriage by Jupiter himself: Ariadne deserts her father's home for Theseus. The first union receives its crown in the birth of an heroic son Achilles; the inconstancy of mind which leads Theseus to desert Ariadne, in the second, is the cause of his own father's death.

Sed quali solam Theseus me mente reliquit  
Tali mente, Deae, funestet seque suosque.

Again, the circumstance that the union of Peleus and Thetis was an union between a mortal and an immortal finds its counterpart in the advent of Bacchus. But though old wounds may be healed, there is no future in the picture; while for Peleus and Thetis the song of the Parcae weaves into the fruition of the present the antic-fame of their son.

to produce a quaint effect by amusing episodes (Callim. H. Dian. 66-79, 146-158, Cer. 57-115). Weaknesses the poem has; but they are not those of over-elaboration. In places there is a *nescio quid nimis*; the same idea or the same word recurs too often (see vol. i. 243 note on *pectus mens cor animus*); present participles, as was observed by Hertzberg, are accumulated more than the genius of the language admits, see 5-10; the complaint of Ariadne is, throughout, too lengthy; sometimes a line might have been omitted advantageously. In these respects it might almost be said that the poem is at least as unlike the Alexandrians as it is like them; on the other hand it would not be fair to ascribe, with Westphal, to them whatever is unpleasing, to Catullus whatever is really good and beautiful.

Haupt has noticed the inaccuracy of Catullus in making Ariadne speak of the mountains of Idomeneus (178), the son of her brother Deucalion, and either not born or in tender years at the time supposed, at least a generation before the Trojan war. Again (and this has been noticed by W. S. Landor), the first lines, in which the Argo sails on Amphitrite for the first time, are inconsistent with the description of Theseus departing *celeri cum classe*, and with the story of Theseus' black sail. It is equally probable that Catullus disregarded the strict proprieties of time in connecting Venus with Golgi and Idalium; or in speaking of Pallas as the dweller on Itonus, and Diana as the inhabitress of Idrus<sup>1</sup>. But these are small errors if compared with the liberties which other Roman poets, notably Vergil, allowed themselves in matters of geography and chronology. As a whole the poetic keeping of the *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* is good; nothing offensively modern mars the heroic tone assumed at the outset.

There is nothing to determine the date. Bruner thinks it was written when Catullus was in Asia Minor, and published on his return to Rome. Westphal, who finds in the treason of Theseus and the unrighteousness of the post-heroic age the morbid reflex of the poet's own bitterness when abandoned by Lesbia, refers it to the supposed cycle of rival poems, and, considering these to extend from the death of Metellus in 59 to the journey into Bithynia early in 57, assigns as a probable date the latter half of the year 58. Munro on Lucr. iii. 57, where he collects the passages in the poem which resemble Lucretius, observing that all these are found in the episode of Theseus and Ariadne, surmises that this episode was filled up by Catullus when he was fresh from reading the new work of Lucretius; and accepting the view of Schwabe that Catullus published a collected edition of his poems only a very short time before his early death in 54 B.C., considers that the *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* must have been written just before this publication<sup>2</sup>. Couat assigns it, with the other long poems, to the last years of the poet's life, when his powers were in full maturity (Étude p. 252): and so Bährens, Proleg. p. 44. It seems probable that the subject was suggested to Catullus when he was at Sigeum and Rhoeum, the

<sup>1</sup> Or, as I believe Catullus wrote, Irus.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Julius Jessen (*Über Lucretius und sein Verhältniss zu Catull und Späteren*, Kiel, 1872) combat's Munro's view (1) on the ground that Lucretius' poem was published early in the year in which Catullus died, 700 | 54; (2) on the small number of real resemblances in the passages cited by Munro. On this latter point his arguments are of great weight.



former the burialplace of Achilles, the latter of Ajax and the poet's brother. Philostratus Heroic. p. 741 says the Thessalians sent theori yearly to the tomb of Achilles, and that before landing they sang a hymn to Thetis.

The name of the poem in most of the MSS is Argonautia or Argonautica, a title which can hardly have come from Catullus, as the subject of the poem is so definitely the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and only the beginning has any reference to the Argonauts. On the other hand Peleus was a prominent Argonaut, and assisted in carrying off Medea (Pind. fr. 149 Bergk); the name may therefore have been given by some one well acquainted with the whole history of the hero, perhaps a grammarian of the later Empire.

I have used for this poem the special commentaries of Bernardinus Realinus (Bononiae apud Anselmum Giaccarellum 1551), Mitscherlich (1786) and Cornelius Müller (1836): but the best illustration of it is to be found in Apollonius' Argonautica, of which Catullus must have made a considerable study.

1. **Peliaco.** Apoll. R. i. 386 Πηλίας 'Αργώ. Eur. Med. 1-5 Εἴθ' ὦφελ' Ἀργούς μὴ διαπράσθαι σκάφος Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν κυανέας Συμπληγάδας, Μῆδ' ἐν νάπαισι Πηλίου πεσεῖν ποτε Τμηθεΐσα πεύκη μῆδ' ἐρετμῶσαι χέρας Ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων οἱ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρος Πελῖα μετήλθον.

2. **liquidas,** 'watery,' or 'flowing,' as Lucr. v. 488 speaks of *Vndas et liquidam molem camposque natantes*. The idea is shown by Ovid Met. i. 94, 95 *Nondum caesa suis peregrinum ut uiseret orbem Montibus in liquidas pinus descenderat undas*; it was a new thought to bring the world of water and the world of solid nature together; the first ship associated them.

4. Apoll. R. iii. 347 Τῇ δ' ἐναγεράμενος Παναχαΐδος εἴ τι φέριστον Ἡρώων τεῶν ἄστυ (the city of Aeetes) μετήλυθε. Theocr. xiii. 16-18 quoted by Schulze Ἄλλ' ὅτε τὸ χρύσειον ἐπλεῖ μετὰ κῶας Ἰήσων Αἰσονίδας, οἱ δ' αὐτῶ ἀριστῆες συνέποντο Πασῶν ἐκ πολίων προλεγεγμένοι (*lecti*). Apollodorus i. 9. 16 calls the Argonauts τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς Ἑλλάδος, They were all ἀθανάτων υἱές τε καὶ υἱοὶ Apoll. R. iii. 366. **robora.** Cluent. lvi. 153 *C. Flavius Pusio, C. Maecenas illa robora populi Romani equestrisque ordinis*.

5. **Auratam pellem,** χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας Apoll. R. i. 4. **auertere,** as Mitscherlich observes, seems chosen in reference to driving off cattle, its common though not invariable meaning. Caesar B. C. iii. 59 *stipendium equitum fraudabant et praedam omnem domum auertebant*. Vergil has *auertere equos* Aen. i. 472, *tauros* viii. 208, *praedas* x. 78. Mitsch. points out that Catullus has been imitated by Val. Flaccus v. 630 *Vellera sacra meis sperantem auertere lucis*.

6. **cita,** not merely otiose like Homeric *θοῇ νηϊ*, but signaling the ease and quickness of this first voyage. **decurrere,** Aen. v. 212 *Prona petit maria et pelago decurrit aperto* suggests that the idea may be that of running down a slope of water. The accusative *uada salsa* is like *currimus aequor* Aen. iii. 191, *aequora curro* v. 235. Hedylyd ap. Strab. 683 πῶς ἀνόδοντον Χεῦμα δι' εἰαρινῶν ἐδράμομεν ζεφύρων.

7. **Uerrentes.** Enn. Ann. 377 *Verrunt ex templo placide mare mare flauo*. **abiegnis,** the ordinary form of the adj. in classical Latin, Plaut. Cas. ii. 6. 32, Enn. Med. 282, Prop. iii. 1. 25, iv. 1. 42. In an old Inscript. of the Republic CIL. i. 577 *abiegnieis abiegnea* as well as a longer form *abiegineas* occur. Hence it would seem that the

original form was *abieginus*, whence *abiegineus abiegneus* on the one hand, *abiegnus* on the other. **palmis**, 'oar-blades,' *ταροῖς*. Vitruv. x. 8 (3), 6 *remi . . . extremis progredientibus palmis (parmis MSS) . . . protrudunt porrectam nauem*. The word is also found in a fragm. of Laberius Non. 151.

8. **Dīna**, Pallas. Apoll. R. i. 111 *Αὐτὴ γὰρ καὶ νῆα βοῆν κάμει σὺν δὲ αἰ Ἄργος Τεύξεν Ἀρεστορίδης κείνης ὑποθημοσύνησιν*, iii. 340 *Νῆα δ' Ἀθηνᾶ Πάλλας κάμει*. **retinens** in *summis urbibus arces*, whence she is called Ἐρυσίπολις Πολιάς Πολισύχος Ἀκραία Ἀκρία, cf. Il. vi. 88 *νῆδ' Ἀθηνᾶς γλαυκώπιδος ἐν πόλει ἄκρη*. **retinens** = *quae retinet* the inhabitants. Riese cites Lucr. iv. 411 *terrarum milia nulla Quae uariae retinent gentes*.

9, 10. **carrum, texta**. Pallas is specially the patroness of chariot-making and of carpentry. Thus Il. v. 59 sqq. Phereclus, the builder of the ships in which Paris sailed to Troy, is loved by her; the wooden horse was made by Epeios σὺν Ἀθήνῃ Od. viii. 493; the skilful carpenter who straightens the ship-timbers by his rule works under her suggestions Il. xv. 410 sqq. In the Hymn to Aphrodite 12, 13 Athene Πρώτη τέκονα ἄνδρας ἐπιχθονίους ἐδίδαξε Ποίησαι σατίνας τε καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ, hence she is called Ἐργάνη and Μηχανίτις.

9. **Ipsa**. A well-known terra-cotta relief in the British Museum represents Argus, Athene, and Tiphys building the Argo<sup>1</sup>. **carrum**. Aesch. Supp. 33 *σὺν ὄχρ' ταχύρρει*, Soph. Trach. 656 *ναὸς πολύκωπον ὄχημα*, Med. 1122 *ναῖα ἀπήνη*. Dionys. Hal. de Comp. Verb. 17 quotes an unknown fragment *Οἱ δ' ἐπέλογοντο πλωταῖς ἀπήναισι χαλκεμβόλοισιν*.

10. 'Joining a close fabric of pine to the rounded keel.' **texta**. The connected series of upright and horizontal planks which form the sides of the vessel, and which are joined to the keel as a quite separate piece. Attius Nyctegresia 484 Ribbeck has *scandit oras, laterum texta, flamma Volcani uorax*: according to Servius on Aen. xi. 326 Ennius used *textrium* = a dockyard.

11. **rudem**, 'strange' to it, Prop. iii. 15. 5, in the same relation to **prima** as in Ov. Her. iv. 23 *uixque subit primos rude pectus amores* (Suringar de Aetna Lucilii, 1804). **cursu** with **imbuit**, like Val. F. i. 70 *ignaras Cereris qui uomere terras Imbuit*. **Amphitriten**, perhaps with a personal idea, as the use of *Amphitrite* = *mare* is stated by Haupt to belong to the late Greek of Oppian and Dionysius. The Oxford MS (O) has *proram* in the margin, whence in my edition of 1867 I suggested *Illa rudem cursu proram imbuit Amphitrite*. This has since been adopted by Bährens, who explains *Amphitrite* as abl. and joins **rudem cursu**: so also Magnus. I explained and still explain *Amphitrite* as nominative: **Illa** will then have the same pregnant use as in Prop. iv. 4. 13, 14 *ubi nunc est curia septa Bellicus ex illo fonte bibebat ecus*, 'from the spring there:' cf. Shilleto on Thuc. ii. 15 *ἐκείνη*. 'That Amphitrite' would thus = 'the Amphitrite of that time;' we might translate 'it was then that Amphitrite gave its first lesson to the prow still new to voyaging.' *Hic* is similarly used in Val. F. ii. 331 *hac prima Veneris calet ara iuuenca* = 'this first heifer' = 'then first a heifer.' A third view is that of Postgate *Illa r. c. prora imbuit Amphitriten*.

<sup>1</sup> See Birch Ancient Pottery p. 492. The same subject is not uncommon on Greek vases of the later period, ib. p. 260.

12. *proscindere* is generally used of the first ploughing which breaks up a virgin soil Verg. G. i. 97, and this would have a point here, in reference to the Argo, the first ship that ploughed the sea.

13. Od. xii. 171 οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἐρετμὰ Ἐξόμενοι λεύκαινον ὕδαρ ξεστῆς ἐλάτῃσιν. *remigio*, not 'rowing,' as in Bacch. ii. 3. 55 *remigio sequi*, nor 'the rowers,' as in Hor. Ep. i. 6. 63, but, 'the oars' collectively, as in Hor. C. i. 14. 4, Tac. Ann. ii. 24 *claudae naues raro remigio*. Sil. vii. 412, quoted by Mitsch. *Ac tortus multo spumabat remige pontus Cum trepidae fremitu vitreis e sedibus antri Aequeoreae pelago semel emergere sorores* cannot prove that *remigio* = 'rowers,' as the ablative is after both *spumabat* and *tortus*, and Silius need not be doing more than paraphrase Catullus.

14. *Emersere*. Moschus ii. 118 Νηριίδες δ' ἀνίδυσαν ὑπὲρ ὁλός. The word has been borrowed from Catullus in the similar passages Ciris 391, Dir. 55-57, Sil. vii. 413. *feri uultus*, 'wild faces,' in apposition with *Nereides*. The faces are wild because they belong to the children of the wild sea LXIII. 40, not, as Näge thought, Dir. p. 92, 'feri efferati admiratione ac stupore.' Apollonius i. 547-552 says all the gods looked from heaven on the Argo and its crew, and the nymphs of Pelion wondered on the highest peaks as they gazed upon the work of Athena, and saw the heroes brandishing the oars; and in i. 1310 as the Argo passes, the sea-god Glaucus lifts his shaggy head and chest from the sea and utters a prophecy. *uultus* is explained by Munro as accusative, against the natural suggestion of the verse, and necessitating the change of *feri* to *freti* (Schrader). Magnus accepts this as the only right view; I prefer to follow Näge, who quotes with approval Al. Guarinus 'Nereides feri uultus appositivae,' Dir. p. 92.

15. *monstrum*, 'the strange creature.' Catullus no doubt knew the passage from Attius in which a shepherd *ut procul diuinum et nouum uelliculum Argonautarum e monte conspexit, primo admirans et perterritus loquitur* de N. D. ii. 35. 89.

16. *Illa atque alia*, the general reading of the MSS seems to be a corruption either of *Illa atque haut alia* or *Illaque haut alia*. For the loss of *haut* cf. Pseud. i. 5. 59 where *atque alio tu* of MSS appears to represent an original *atque haut alio* (Ritschl) or *haudque alio tu* (Bothe). The meaning must be 'on that day only, and on no other before or since,' perhaps, as Voss suggests, a reminiscence of Apollonius' Πάντες δ' οὐρανόνθεν λεύσαν θεοὶ ἡματι κείνῳ Nῆα i. 547, where the position of ἡματι κείνῳ makes it emphatic. In iv. 317 the shepherds leave their flocks νηῶν φέρον, οἳ τε θῆρας Ὀσσομένοι πόντου μεγακήτεος ἐξανόοντας. Οὐ γάρ πο αἷλις γε πάρος πόθι νῆας ἴδοντο. An interesting parallel is to be found in the Hymn to Isis ap. Kaibel 1028. 64 δαμαζόμενας δὲ θαλάσσας Ὠκυρόροις διόταις ἑλικὴν ἴστασε χορείαν Δωρίδος εὐλοχία· περιπάλλετο δ' ἐν φρεσὶ θάμβος Εἰρυσίαν ἀδάπτειν ἐπ' ὀδμασι παπτανούσαις, a passage which Kaibel thinks was modelled on Catullus.

17. *Mortales oculi* is found also in Lucret. i. 66, Pedo ap. Sen. Suas. i. 15. MSS give *Mortales oculis* wrongly.

18. *Nutricium*, 'breasts,' apparently δμ. λεγ. in this sense. Catullus follows a Greek use. Hesych. τειθίον τειθή τειθός μαστός ἢ τροφός. Similarly μᾶμμα, μᾶμμα are used both for nurse or mother and breast. Hertsberg condemns *Nutricium* as tasteless, and considers it to γρῶν

that Catullus was not writing a poem of his own, but translating from the Greek. It looks like an attempt at novelty, like the spondaic endings in which Catullus shows himself τῶν νεωτέρων (Cic. Att. vii. 2. 1). *ex-tantes e gurgite oano* is like Lucretius iv. 397 *Exlantisque procul medi de gurgite montis*; Munro however does not mention it on iii. 57, where he collects the parallels between Lucretius and Catullus; all those are in the Ariadne episode; this is not. Tacitus Ann. i. 70 *modo pectore, modo ore tenuis extantes*. Caesar B. G. vii. 47 *pectoris sine prominentes*.

19-21. The triple consecution of the same word is found in the Alexandrian poets, Callim. H. Del. 83-85, H. Apol. 27-30, 43-45, 55-58, where φοῖβος is followed by φοῖβος three times, Theocr. i. 71-72, 73-74, 80-81, 100-101, 116-117, ii. 38-39, vii. 83-84; but also in Hesiod "E. κ. 'H. 578-9, 580 ἥως-ἥως-ἥως, 317-318-319 αἰδώς-αἰδώς-αἰδώς. Theog. 833-834-835 ἄλλοτε-ἄλλοτε-ἄλλοτε: see Paley on the first of these passages.

20. Homer Il. xviii. 432-434 makes Thetis accept Peleus as a husband against her will, Ἐκ μὲν μ' ἀλλάνων ἀλιάων ἀνδρὶ δάμασσαν Ἀλακίδην Πηληϊ, καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνήν Πολλὰ μάλ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα. *despexit hymenaeos*, like *auctus hymenaeo* LXVI. 11, is probably in imitation of Homer, certainly of Greek models. The fact that -it of the present and perfect indicative is sometimes long in Ennius' *Annales* and the comedians would rather determine Catullus and his school against it. See Prof. Nettleship's *Excursus* to Aeneid xii in Conington's *Vergil*.

21. *pater* was explained by the early commentators and lately by Orelli of Nereus, whom Homer Il. i. 539, xviii. 52, Hesiod Theog. 244, 1006, Eurip. *Androm.* 46, 1274, I. A. 949, *Apollod.* iii. 13. 5, Tib. i. 5. 45, Verg. *Aen.* viii. 383 agree in making the father of Thetis. This view might be illustrated by a passage of Philostratus Junior *Εἰκόνες* i. p. 863 Kayser τὸ γὰρ τοι Μοιρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ δῶγμα τοῦ πατρὸς Νηρέως ἡ Θέτις μαθοῦσα καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἄμφω πεπρωμένον αὐτῷ εἶη ἢ ζῆν ἀκλεῶς ἢ εὐκλεῖα γενόμενον τάχιστα τελευτᾶν, ἀπόθετος αὐτῇ ὁ παῖς . . . κρύπτεται: where F. T. Welcker remarks that this foreknowledge of the future agrees with the character of Nereus as a seer (ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα Hes. Theog. 233). On this hypothesis Nereus is supposed by Catullus to recognize in Peleus the predestined husband of Thetis. But this prominence of Nereus in the marriage of his daughter does not seem to be dwelt upon by most of the writers who have mentioned the subject, though Pindar probably includes Nereus in the οὐρανοῦ βασιλῆες πόντου τε who set forth gifts at Peleus' marriage *Nem.* iv. 110. The early traditions point to Zeus as the person most directly interested in the marriage; Homer Il. xviii. 432 makes Zeus single out Thetis to wed a mortal; in Pindar (*Nem.* v. 8) Zeus, when Peleus has refused the adulterous advances of Hippolyte, determines that he shall wed a Nereid; in *Isthm.* viii Zeus and Poseidon, both enamoured of Thetis, on hearing the prophecy of Themis that if Zeus or his brother wedded her, the child born would be stronger than his father, consent to give her up to Peleus. Aeschylus (*Prometh.* 762 sqq., 920 sqq.) makes Prometheus threaten Zeus with the same prophecy about Thetis; Lucian *Dial. Deor.* 1 follows the same story. In *Apoll. R.* iv. 791 sqq. Zeus, repulsed by Thetis, swears she shall never marry an immortal, but continues to persecute her till frightened by the prophecy of Themis; then Hera gives her to Peleus. It is clear then that Zeus, not Nereus, figured

most conspicuously in the legend; hence *pater ipse* (cf. Verg. G. i. 121, 328, 353, Lucr. vi. 398 *patris*) is Jupiter: a view confirmed more positively by Eur. I. A. 700 ΚΑ. τὰ δ' Αἰακοῦ παῖς τις κατέσχε δώματα; ΑΓΑ. Πηλεὺς· ὁ Πηλεὺς δ' ἔσχε Νηρέως κόρην. ΚΑ. θεοῦ διδόντος, ἢ βία θεῶν λαβών; ΑΓΑ. Ζεὺς ἡγγύησε καὶ δίδωσ' ὁ κύριος. Cornelius Müller quotes Ovid Met. xi. 224 sqq. *Ergo ne quidquam mundus Ioue maius haberet, Quamuis haud tepidos sub pectore senserat ignes, Iuppiter aequoreae Thetidis conubia uisat, In suaeque Aeaciden succedere uota nepotem, Iussit et amplexus in uirginis ire marinae*: and so Anth. P. ix. 485. 3.

22-24. An invocation in the style of the Homeric hymns, where it is generally added at the end, e.g. H. Merc. 579, 580 Καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαίρε, Διὸς καὶ Μαΐδος υἱέ, Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰδοῦν, H. Ven. 292, 3, H. Εἰς Μητέρα Θεῶν, 6 Καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαίρε θεαὶ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι αἰδοῦν: more rarely earlier in the poem as H. Apoll. Del. 14 sqq. It is, however, as Haupt observes, found also in the Alexandrian poets, e.g. Theocr. xvii. 135-137 Χαίρε, ἄναξ Πτολεμαίε· σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ ἴσα καὶ ἄλλων Μνήσομαι ἡρώων· δοκέω δ' ἔπος οὐκ ἀπόβλητον Φθέγξομαι ἑσσομένοις· ἀρετὰν γε μὲν ἐκ Διὸς ἔξεις. Apollonius breaks into a similar apostrophe to the heroes of the Argo iv. 1381 sqq., but only, it would seem, as an artifice to avoid detailing a tiresome action which would have involved a lengthy description.

22. *nimis*, LVI. 4, 'happy beyond measure.' Realinus compares Aen. vi. 649 *Magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis*.

23. *deum genus*, Hom. H. 34. 2 διὸν γένος Εἰραφιῶτα, an ending closely resembling *deum genus*, *O bona mater*. Stat. compares Hesiod 'E. κ. 'H. 159 Ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θείον γένος, οἱ καλέονται Ἑμίθεοι προτέρη γενεῇ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν. More probably Catullus may have in view Apollonius iii. 402 Εἰ γὰρ ἐτήτυμον ἔσται θεῶν γένος, especially as the Argonauts were all ἀθανάτων υἱὸς τε καὶ υἰωνοὶ Apoll. R. iii. 366. Theocr. xxii. 29 θεῶν φίλα τέκνα of the Argonauts. Schol. Eurip. Hippol. 45 τοὺς εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν γενομένους ἀνθρώπους θεῶν παῖδας ὠνόμαζον. *bona*, 'benign,' Hor. C. iv. 2. 38. *mater* is usually interpreted of Thetis either as a primeval goddess (Mitsch.) or as the mother of a son himself a hero. It seems better to explain it with Muretus and Passerat of the Argo, like *Argo parens* in Eleg. Maecenatis 107. In Apoll. R. iv. 1325 the Argonauts are directed to pay to their mother a return for all her long labour in bearing them in her womb, and this is explained in 1370 to refer to the Argo itself, which had carried them through a continued series of toils. This passage Catullus seems to have known; the idea is not unnatural in itself, and agrees with the recurring representations of the Argo as an animate being ('*Ἀργὼ* a proper name, like Eido Hypso Aphro Brimo Ioulo), possessed of voice and reason, and in part divine. Philo Iud. vol. ii. p. 468 quoted by Nauck fr. Aesch. 20 Οὐδ' ἡ Ἀργὼ ναυαρχοῦντος Ἰάσσοτος ἐπέερεπεν ἐπιβαίνειν οἰκίταις μεμοιραμένη καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ, φύσις οἷσα φαλλελεύθερος. ὅθεν καὶ Λίσχυλος ἐπ' αὐτῆς εἶπε· Ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν Ἀργοῦς ἱερὸν αἶθρασον (rather αἰθάσον) ξύλον; Apollod. i. 9. 19 Φερεκίδης δὲ αὐτὸν (Herculem) ἐν Ἀφείταις τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἀπολειφθῆναι λέγει, τῆς Ἀργοῦς φθεγξαμένης μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ τοῦτου βάρος, cf. i. 9. 24, places which all seem to refer to the piece of speaking timber (αἰδοῦν δῶρον) which Athene built into the cutwater, and which Apollonius describes as urging the start from Pagasae (i. 525) and warning the Argonauts to expiate the μῆνιν

of Absyrtus by a visit to Circe (iv. 580 sqq.), cf. Lycophr. AL. 1319. Most modern edd. give from the Veronese Scholia on Aen. v. 80 *O bona matrum Progenies, saluete iterum*. Doubts may be raised as to the two last words, but the rest seems genuine, and was perhaps what Catullus wrote. *O bona matrum Progenies* will then be a Grecism, *παῖδες ἐσθλοὶ μητέρων τεθραμμένοι*, 'noble offspring of your mother's nursing,' i. e. with a nature like your mother's, divine. See Verrall on Aesch. Theb. 777 *παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι*.

24. *saepe conpellabo* need not imply anything like repeated apostrophes to the heroes. Catullus seems to have in view the recurring *Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς* of the Homeric hymns. Theocritus expresses shortly the sense of Catullus' three lines i. 144 'ὦ χαίρετε πολλάκι, Μοῦσαι, Χαίρετ' ἐγὼ δ' ὕμνον καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἄδιον ᾄσω.

26. *columen*, 'pillar.' Pindar calls Hector *Τροίας ἄμαχον ἀστυραβὴ κίονα* Ol. ii. 82 Bergk. Anth. P. vii. 441 Ὑψηλοῦς Μεγάτιμον Ἀριστοφρόνεν τε Νάξον Κίονας. *Iuppiter ipse Iuppiter*. Süß notices the close resemblance of Dir. 35 *Iuppiter, ipse Iuppiter hanc aluit*.

27. *suos*. Melanippides described Thetis as actually pregnant by Zeus when she was married to Peleus, Schol. Ven. on Il. xiii. 350. *diuum genitor*, a motive to Thetis for rejecting a mortal.

28. *tenuit*, 'clasped,' *amatorie*. Tib. i. 6. 35 *Te tenet, absentes alius suspirat amores*. *pulcherrima*. Thetis conquered Medea in a contest of beauty. *Neptunine*, in what sense? Perizonius thought, as the most famous of the goddesses of the sea, the peculiar domain of Neptune. If we might suppose that Cat. speaks <sup>1</sup> *παππωνυμικός*, making *Neptunine* = 'granddaughter of Neptune,' Thetis might be so called as daughter of Nereus, the son of *Pontus* and *Ge* (Apollod. i. 2. 6). But as he particularizes Oceanus and Tethys, the grandfather and grandmother (*neplem*) of Thetis on the maternal side in 29, 30 (Apoll. i. 2. 6), he is perhaps more likely to have alluded in 28 *Neptunine* to her father. Hence, as he nowhere actually calls Thetis a daughter of Nereus, he perhaps identifies Nereus with Neptune, possibly to avoid the awkwardness of the form *Nereine*, a word which though shown by Näge (Hecale p. 44) to be found in Oppian (Hal. i. 386), and Quintus Smyrnaeus, was avoided by the Romans, and is replaced by *Nerine*, Verg. Ecl. vii. 37. Haupt asserts that *Neptunine* is without any properly Latin precedent; but the Glossaries quote *Oceanine Oceani filia*; and if from *Εὐηνος Εὐκόλος Ὀκεανὸς Ἀδρηστος* could be formed *Euenine Eucoline Oceanine Adrestine* (see Näge, Hecale p. 44), Catullus imitating these Greek forms might form from *Neptunus, Neptunine*. [Munro, Riese, and Bährens accept *Nereine*, without bringing any new arguments. But the word cannot be shown to exist in Latin, is objectionable from the sequence of the vowels *ē ī*, and is in no way indicated by the MS reading *neptine* or *nectine* (GO), *neptunne* (D). Pontanus, who introduced *Neptunine* in one of his poems (Pomp. ii. 21), may have found it in a good MS of Catullus; at any rate the correct feeling of the Italians of that time for true Latin forms quite outweighs with me the counter opinion of modern critics.]

<sup>1</sup> Meineke Anal. Alex. p. 71 shows that Euphorion called Ajax *Aeacides*. And so Perseus is called *Agenorides* by Ovid M. iv. 772, Protesilaus *Phylacides*. Lycophron AL. 1324 speaks of Theseus as the son of Phemius his grandfather.

30. Supposed by Riese to be imitated from a line of Euphorion, fr. 158 in Meineke's *Analect.* Alexandr., 'Ωκεανὸς τῷ πᾶσα περιόρνυτος ἐνδέδεται χθών. Catullus however is more particular; Oceanus surrounds the globe with the sea: so Eurip. *Orest.* 1377 πόντον 'Ωκεανὸς δὲν ταυρόκρανος ἀγκάλαις ἐλισσών κυκλοῖ χθόνα: and before him Aesch. *Prom.* 138. Cf. *Tib.* iv. 1. 147 *oceanus ponto qua continet orbem.* The belief in a circumambient ocean was held in Catullus' time by Cornelius Nepos, and supported by the evidence of Q. Metellus Celer, the husband of Clodia, who when proconsul of Gaul had received as a present some Indians carried by storms, as they asserted, from the Indian Ocean to the shores of Germany (Mel. iii. 45).

31. *Quae* is somewhat vague, referring generally to the idea of approaching nuptials contained in the whole of 25-30. *tempore* depends on *finitae*, 'days determined by the approach of the welcome time.' I follow here *O*; most MSS have *optato finito*, whence edd. give generally *optatae finito*.

34. *Dona.* So in the Homeric hymn Aphrodite says to Anchises 139 sqq. Οἱ δὲ κέ τοι χρυσόν τε δῖλις ἐσθῆτά θ' ὕφαντῃν Πέμφουσιν· σὺ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄπονα. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δαῖνυ γάμον ἡμερόεντα Τίμιον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν. The marriage-gifts precede the banquet. *prae se*, 'in their hands.' Cic. *Phil.* ii. 12. 30 *Stillantem prae se pugionem tulit.*

35. *Scyros* lies off Euboea, at a considerable distance even from the S. E. point of Thessaly, the Sepias Akte. How then could Catullus introduce it here? (1) According to Il. ix. 480 Peleus is King of Phthia at the extremity of which lay the Dolopes; Thucydides i. 98, Diodorus xi. 60. 2 speak of Scyros as inhabited by Dolopes and Pelasgi (Orelli); (2) Scyros may be included in Thessaly as *Pelasgian*, a name sometimes equivalent to Thessalian, Hesych. Πελασγοὶ οἱ Θεσσαλοί, and Apollonius i. 580 calls Thessaly πολυλήμος αἶα Πελασγῶν where the Schol. says ἡ ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν ἰθὺς βαρβαρικοῦ οἰκίσαντος τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ τὸ Ἄργος ἡ ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοῦ καὶ Λαρίσης. (3) With such claims to be called Thessalian, Scyros would naturally occur to Catullus as intimately connected with the family of Peleus. This would appear from the selection of the island as the hiding-place of the young Achilles, or from the Homeric account according to which Achilles left his child Neoptolemus there, Il. xix. 326<sup>1</sup>: or from the story mentioned by Philostratus *Heroic.* 731 that Peleus sent Achilles to Scyros to avenge the death of his friend Theseus, killed there by Lycomedes (*Lycoph.* Al. 1324); Philostratus adds ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ διασωμένῳ παργίγνεται ἡ Θέτις . . . συλλεγομένου δὲ ἐς τὴν Αὔλιδα τοῦ στρατοῦ διαπύρρμευσεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Φθίαν διὰ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κεκλωσμένα τὸν Πηλέα ποιουμένη κήρυον τοῦ παιδός. (4) Peleus himself was buried in Icos, a small island between Scyros and Sciathus *Anth. P.* vii. 2. 10. But the conj. of Meineke *Cicero* is very probable. See *Excursus.* *Phthiotica* is not strictly

<sup>1</sup> The *Σκυρος αἰεΐα* 'Ενυχὸς πτολίεθρον which Achilles says he captured Il. ix. 668 was also probably this Scyros, not a Scyros in Phrygia, as stated in some of the scholia. For (1) Lycophron's *Σκυρος αἰγίλιψ*, Al. 1325, is obviously borrowed from the Homeric *Σκυρος αἰεΐα*, as Eustathius remarks on Il. ix. 664; (2) Enyeus was the son of Dionysus and Ariadne, and could in no way be associated with a Phrygian or Trojan city; (3) Pausanias i. 22. 6 obviously identifies the Scyros which Achilles took with the island.

applicable to Tempe as Phthiotis proper did not extend farther north than Pharsalus and the Thessalian plains (Strabo 430); but Tempe seems to be called Phthiotic as the valley through which the Peneus flows, as Callimachus has Πηνειὸν Φθιώτα Del. 112. Ov. Am. iii. 6. 31, 32 *Te quoque promissam Xantho, Penie, Creusam Phthiotum terris occultissu ferunt*, quoted by Riese. It is not likely that Catullus uses *Tempe* here as an appellative, 'vallies,' when he speaks afterwards of the celebrated Tempe, infr. 285: and both Crannon and Larisa are, like Tempe, close to the Peneus.

**37. Pharsaliam.** The more ordinary account makes Peleus marry Thetis on Pelion, the abode of Chiron. Eurip. I. A. 704, 5, 1040. Cf. Androm. 1277, Stat. Achill. i. 193. In the Andromache 16 sqq. Thetis is said to have gone with her newly-married husband Peleus to the neighbourhood of Pharsalus, and to have given her name to the place, Thetideion; and so Pherecydes cited by Schol. on Pind. Nem. iv. 81. Pharsalia is the name both of a town and a district. Here the town is meant, as is shown partly by the omission of any preposition, partly by its being combined with Crannon and Larisa, partly by the word *coeunt* which could scarcely apply to any place larger than a town. There is no need to alter *Pharsaliam* into *Pharsalon*, the form of the word in Strabo; not that *Pharsaliam* is to be considered a trisyllable, by synizesis of *-iam*, as Mitsch. and W. S. Landor supposed; but the second *a* which is properly long (Androm. 16) is shortened in *Pharsāliam*, long in *Pharsālia*. In Calpurn. iv. 101 *Pharsāliae*<sup>1</sup> is the reading of all H. Schenkl's MSS, and in I. A. 812 the MSS give ἤν γὰρ λιπὼν Φαρσάλιον. For the doubtful quantity in proper names cf. Apollonius' Ἐρηκίων but Ἐρηκίης i. 1110, 1113; Βεβρύκων but Βέβρυκες ii. 2, 98; and for the combination *Pharsāliam Pharsālia* in one line, Callim. H. ad Iov. 55 καλὰ μὲν ἤεξε, καλὰ δ' ἔτραφε: Epig. xxx. (xxix.) 3 καλὸς δ' παῖς, Ἀχελῷε, λίην καλός, Lucretius' *liquidis liquida* iv. 1259 where see Munro, Horace's *nigris nigro* C. i. 32. 11; and cf. Jebb on Soph. El. 148.

**38-42.** The order of these verses has been objected to by various commentators: Ramirez del Prado (Hypomnem. in Martialem i. 44) and W. S. Landor proposed to arrange them thus *Rura colit—Non glebam—Squalida—Non humilis—Non falx*, which cannot be right, ending as it does weakly with *umbram*, and neglecting the evidently intentional repetition of *non* in three consecutive verses. Ritschl, observing that 38 contains the general idea that neither men nor beasts work, and that in 39, 41 the first part alone of this is expanded, viz. the care bestowed by men on vineyards and gardens, while in 40 the poet passes to what concerns both men and beasts, ploughing, to which 42 adds as conclusion the consequences of all the first four, arranges them thus *Rura colit—Non humilis—Non falx—Non glebam—Squalida*, which he compares with Ecl. iv. 40, 41. It is true that this keeps together the two lines about trees, as well as the two about ploughs; and it might be called the most natural order. Yet it is also possible that Catullus may have intended an *alternative*, 39, 41 corresponding, and 40, 42 to each other; a view which had struck me before I found it in Corn. Müller. The old objection to

<sup>1</sup> Heinsius changed this to *Farrhasiae*. But Wernsdorf's defence of the MS reading seems plausible, P. L. M. ii. p. 337.



these five verses, noticed by Realinus, as absurdly exaggerating the duration of the nuptials, is hardly excused by his defence, that Catullus only takes a poet's licence of amplifying his subject: the want of proportion still remains: there is a *nescio quid nimii*.

38. *mollescunt*, from no longer bearing the yoke.

39. Hertzberg thinks *humilis*, 'sunken,' a possible translation of *οἰονομένη χαμαλή*, which Catullus may have found in his original. Varro R. R. i. 8. 1 divides *uineae* into *humiles ac sine ridicis*, vines which grew low and did not require props; so in Spain: and *sublimes* vines requiring *pedamenta* and *iuga*, like most in Italy (Riese). On this view, the *uinea*, whether vine or vineyard, is described as *growing* low. It seems more likely, as Mr. F. Richards suggests, that *humilis* expresses part of the consequence of the general idleness: the vine is left to trail on the ground, and is not raked at its roots and cleared of weeds and overgrowth. *curuis*, with curved prongs, see Rich s. v.

40. *prono* can hardly refer to the bending forward of the ploughman (Vulp. who compares *curuus arator* Verg. Ecl. iii. 42 *arator incuruus* Plin. xviii. 179); it represents the *presso uomere* or *depresso aratro* of Geor. ii. 203. i. 45; the more the plough is pressed downwards, the more thorough the ploughing; hence also *taurus*, which, as in G. i. 45, 65 *Fortes inuertant tauri*, by the suggestion of extra strength, adds to the idea of labour.

41. Servius on Ecl. i. 57 *Tria genera sunt frondatorum, frondator qui arbores amputat, et qui frondibus manipulos facit hiemis tempore animalibus ad pastum offerendos, et qui manibus uiltium folia auellit, quo ardor-solis uuam maturiorem reddat*. The language of Catullus might suit all these operations, lopping the boughs and stripping off the leaves of trees, to be then used for fodder; or else cutting away the redundant leaves of the vines: the *falx* would serve either purpose. Mitsch. refers it to the last, the *pampinatio*, or pruning of the leaves from the vine-plants: Corn. Müller to the lopping and pruning of the elms and other trees, to which the vines were tied in the arbustum. It is in any case safer to explain *arboris* generally, not particularly of the vine, as he has already mentioned *uinea* in 39, and the alternation of ideas in 39, 41 need not be more exact than it is in 40, 42.

42. *desertis*, 'left to themselves,' to moulder. *infertur*, 'steals over,' nearly = *infert se*, Mitsch. who compares Tib. i. 10. 50 *Militis in tenebris occupat arma situs*.

43. *Ipsius*, of Peleus, in opposition to the forsaken houses of the visitors. *quacunque opulenta recessit Regia*, 'each sumptuous inly retiring chamber,' Metr. Transl. *recessit* of a house retiring into inner chambers and corners. Aen. ii. 300 *Secreta parentis Anchisae domus arboribusque oblecta recessit*, of a house withdrawn from public gaze.

44. So in Od. iv. 72 sqq. Telemachus wonders at Χαλκού τε στεροπήν κατὰ δώματα ἤχοντα Χρυσοῦ τ' ἡλέκτρου τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἢ δ' ἐλέφαντος in the palace of Menelaus. *splendent*. Bacchyl. 27. 8. Bergk Χρυσῶ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἴκοι.

45. *solis*, dative, as Aen. vi. 603 *lucent genialibus altis Aurea fulcra toris*. *mensae* is also I think dative; in each case the ordinary construction with the ablative *solia candent ebore, mensae collucent poculis* &c.

inverted in the same way. If genitive, *mensae* will be like Vergil's *plena pocula mensae* Aen. xi. 738. With the singular *mensae*, which is found in all MSS, cf. *arboris* in 41. Catullus cannot mean one long table, as is shown by *constructae mensae* 304. Transl. 'The thrones are of white ivory, the tables bear glittering cups.'

46. The Bolognese MS (*B*) has *gazza*, a good form and found also in the Mediceus of Vergil Aen. ii. 763, v. 40. According to Curt. iii. 13. 5, Diod. xvii. 35 *gaza* is Persian for royal treasure: *regali* is thus explanation of *gaza* as *allas* of *Alpes* XI. 9. Cf. Nep. Datam. 5 *gazae regia. gaudet*, 'is gay,' looks like a translation of γάυραι or γαῖα; it has the same double play of meaning, gladness and brightness passing into each other; Cratinus has γαυριῶσαι τράπεζαι fr. 301 Kock.

47. *Puluinar*, whether used to denote a cushion or a couch, always conveys a notion of greatness and grandeur, and hence is applied to the couches on which the images of the gods were laid out at the Lectisternium, or to beds of state such as that of the divine Thetis, and the Roman Emperors (Suet. Dom. 13, Iuven. vi. 132). Rich, Companion s. v. Apollonius, describing the marriage-bed of Iason and Medea in the cave of Phaeacia, calls it λέκτρον μέγα iv. 1139.

48. *Sedibus in mediis* corresponds to the *atrium* in a Roman house (Rossbach); it was of course also placed here in order to be seen and admired by the visitors. *Indo quod dente politum*, 'burnished with ivory,' rather perhaps meaning that the feet or other projecting portions of the couch were of burnished ivory than that the whole of it was such. I cannot see how *politum* can mean simply *ornatum*. *Indo dente*, 'the tusks of Indian elephants.' Stat. S. iii. 3. 95 *Indi dentis honos*. Prop. ii. 31. 12 *Et ualuae Libyci nobile dentis opus*. Varro speaks both of *eburnei* and *eborati lecti* (Pseud. fr. xii R., Quinquatrus fr. iii).

49. If *purpura* is constructed with *conchyli*, 'purple from the sea-shell,' cf. Lucretius' *purpureus color conchili* vi. 1074; then the notion of coverlet will be conveyed by *tegit*. But it is more natural to make *conchyli* depend on *fuco*, the two words defining the colour of the purple hangings to be rose-red, as Propertius says, iv. 3. 51 *Poenis tibi purpura fulgeat ostris*. Stat. S. iii. 2. 139 *Quo pretiosa Tyros rubeat, quo purpura fuco Sidoniis iterata cadis*. The passage of Serenus Sammonicus 798 quoted by Bährens *Purpura torretur conchili perlita fuco* looks like an imitation of Catullus, and is strongly in support of this latter view. The combination of ivory or ivoryed couches with purple or crimson coverlets is often mentioned: Plato Com. ap. Athenae. 48 καὶ ἐν κλίμας ἐλεφαντόποσιν καὶ στρώμασι πορφυροβάπτους. Varro Quinq. fr. iii *in eborato lecto ac purpureo peristromate*. Hor. S. ii. 6. 102 *rubro ubi cocco Tincta super lectos canderet uestis eburnos*.

50 sqq. The introduction of a quilt containing in embroidery representations of mythical events is probably owing to Apollonius, who describes seven scenes embroidered on the mantle given by Pallas to Iason i. 730-767. Such descriptions are common from Homer onwards: like the shield of Achilles Il. xviii. 478 sqq. is the shield of Hercules described by Hesiod Ἄσπ. 'H. 139 sqq., and the shields of the chieftains in Aeschylus' Ἔπτ. ἐπὶ Θήβας and Euripides' Phoenissae 1090 sqq. In the Ion 1141-1165 Euripides describes with great minuteness the scenes embroidered on the hangings of a building: Theocritus i. 32 the carving of

a cup, Moschus ii. 37 the figures on Europa's basket. The Roman poets abound with similar descriptions; Vergil, besides the shield of Aeneas viii. 625 sqq., and the doors at Cumae on which were sculptured the death of Androgeos, the drawing of the lots for the victims to the Minotaur, and the story of Pasiphae vi. 20 sqq., describes v. 250 sqq. a chlamys on which was embroidered the rape of Ganymede: Ovid the carvings on the doors of the temple of the sun, and on a cup given to Aeneas M. ii. 5, xiii. 681 sqq.: Silius the shield of Hannibal ii. 403 sqq. I have already spoken of the disproportionate length of this description: another point worthy of notice is the difficulty of deciding how much is supposed to be represented on the coverlet. Corn. Müller considers that 50-75 and 251-264 are alone represented: all the rest being mere digression. If so, it is difficult to see what are the *heroum uirtutes*: an expression which naturally refers to the devotion of Theseus for his country and his battle with the Minotaur 76-85, 105-115.

50. *priscis hominum figuris* for *priscorum hominum figuris*. See on XXXI. 13. Mitsch. compares Stat. Achil. ii. 444 *priscosque uirum mirarer honores*. *uariata*, of embroidery, Mart. viii. 28. 18 *Texta Semiramia quae uariantur acu*.

51. *uirtutes*, 'valorous deeds,' as perhaps in 323. Mitsch. compares κλία ἀνδρῶν 'Ἡρώων Il. ix. 524. *mira arte*. Apollonius says of Iason's mantle ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἐκάστω Τέρματι δαίδαλα πολλὰ διακριδὸν εὖ ἐκέαστο i. 729.

52. Catullus follows Apollonius iv. 433 Μινωίδος ἦν ποτε Θησεὺς Κνωσσόθεν ἐσπομένην Δίῃ ἐνὶ κάλλιπτε νήσῳ, cf. iii. 999 sqq.: an account based on Od. xi. 321-325, which describes Ariadne as accompanying Theseus from Crete to Athens, but killed on the way in the island Dia by Artemis, owing to the witness of Dionysus. *fluentisono* is δπ. λεγ., it seems to express ἀμφιρύτη Od. xi. 325, but with more definiteness, 'stream-sounding,' i. e. 'loud-streaming'; *fluenta*, not waves, but the streaming of the waves. *Diaē*. The Dia of Homer Od. xi. 325 Δίῃ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, as explained by Phercydes, quoted in the Scholia there, seems to be an island in the neighbourhood of Crete. In historical times there was an islet so called near the Heracleion or arsenal of Cnossus (Strabo 484), which, as Cnossus was only 25 stadia from the northern coast (Strabo 476), must have been very near Crete. If this was the Dia of Homer, it cannot be the place mentioned by Catullus, who in 178 describes Ariadne as separated by a long distance of sea from Crete. But the Homeric<sup>1</sup> story of Ariadne's death in Dia, was quite different from the later legend of her betrayal by Theseus and marriage with Dionysus in Dia. In this latter version, Dia was explained to mean the famous island Naxos, so intimately associated with the myth of Dionysus, and which either as consecrated to him (Serv. on Aen. iii. 125 (*Naxos*) *ipsi consecrata est*; *quae et Dia dicitur*) or as fertile in vines, was sometimes called Διονυσίας, and is mentioned as his birth-place in one of the Homeric Hymns 32. 2. A line of Callimachus is extant (fr. 163 Blomf.) which states this expressly 'Ἐν Δίῃ τὸ γὰρ ἔσκε παλαιότερον ὄνομα Νάξω (Schol. Apoll. R. iv. 425, cf. Etym. M. Δία ἡ Νάξος. Καλλιμάχος. 'Ἐν Δίῃ κτλ.), and it is probable that both Theocritus (ii. 46) and Apollonius Rhodius (iv. 425, 434) mean Naxos where they speak of Dia in connexion with Ariadne's betrayal by Theseus

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Od. xi. 325 διαφανοῦσι δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι πρὸς Ὁμηρον περὶ τῆς Ἀριάδνης λέγοντες αὐτὴν ἐν Νάξῳ καταλειφθεῖσαν γεγαμηθῆαι τῷ Διονύσῳ.



*undis*, as Lucretius iii. 298 has *irarum fluctus*, Vergil *magno irarum fluctuat aestu* Aen. iv. 532.

63. Hom. H. Cer. 40 Ὀξύ δέ μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίταις Ἀμβροσίαις κρήδεμνα δαΐζετο χερσὶ φίλησι, Κνώεον δὲ κάλυμμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων βάλετ' ὤμων. *flauo*. Homer Il. xviii. 592 calls Ariadne *καλλιπλόκαμος*: Hesiod Th. 947 Χρυσοκόμης δὲ Διώνυσος ξανθὴν Ἀριάδην Κούρην Μίνωος θαλερὴν ποιήσας ἄκοιτιν seems to connect the golden hair of Dionysus with the yellow locks of his wife Ariadne. *mitram*, 'the mitre of the Greek women was formed of a scarf of mixed colours, fastened round the head and under the chin;' Rich, s. v. *subtilem*, 'fine-spun,' Lucr. iv. 88. *retinens*, holding in its place, Cir. 510 *Numquam illam posthac oculi videre suorum Purpureas flauo retinentem uertice uittas*.

64. *contenta* is expanded in *uelatum*, as *ingrata* is expanded by *frustra* in 103. *O* has *contenta*, as Balthazar Venator conjectured, but it can scarcely be right. If any change is necessary, Bährens' *conlecta* is perhaps the most plausible.

65. '*Strophium est fascia brevis quae uirginalem horrorem cohibet papillarum*' Non. 538. It was a sash or scarf twisted into a long round and even form (*tereti*), and fastened round the bust close under the breast to serve as a support to the bosom, Rich, s. v. According to Mart. xiv. 66 *Taurino poterat pectus constringere tergo. Nam pellis mammas non capit ista tuas*, leather was used for one kind of breast-band; and this may be the meaning of *tereti*, of smooth leather. *lactentis* is more usual of the thing suckled, *Romulus paruus atque lactens* Cic. Cat. iii. 8. 19, *agni porci lactentes*, etc.; whence perhaps the MSS of Isidorus<sup>1</sup> Origin. xix. 33 where the v. is cited and wrongly ascribed to Cinna, give *lactantis*. But Vergil G. i. 315 *Frumenta in uiridi stipula lactentia turgent*, and Ovid F. i. 351 *sata teneris lactentia uicis* show that *lactens* may be used simply for 'full of milk,' and so Catullus may have used it here, of course to give the idea of swelling or fullness usual in such cases. The pictures of Ariadne on frescoes or other works of art often represent her with large and swelling breasts. Cf. *μαστοὶ γλαγόμεναι* A. P. v. 56.

67. *Ipsius*, of their mistress. *alludebant* is explained by Ovid Met. iv. 342 *Huc it et hinc illuc, et in alludentibus undis Summa pedum taloque tenuis uestigia linguit*. Plin. xxvi. 39 *Tripolion in maritimis nascitur saxis ubi adludit unda, neque in mari neque in sicco*. Stat. Theb. ix. 336 *extremis adludunt aequora plantis*. Minuc. Octavius 3 *cum in ipso aequoris limine plantas tingeremus quod uicissim nunc adpulsum nostris pedibus adluderet (adlideret F. Orsini) fluctus, nunc relabens ac uestigia retrahens in sese resorberet*. The waves reach Ariadne not enough to disturb her position, enough to move the fallen pieces of her dress gently from the ground. Val. Flac. vi. 664 constructs *alludere*, as Catullus, with an accusative. *allidebant* would be out of place, as Attius Clutemnestra fr. iv. Ribbeck shows *Flucti inmisericordes iacere taetra ad saxa adludere*.

68. *Sed neque tum . . . neque tum*, imitated by the author of Ciris 116, where however MSS give *tunc* twice. *fluitantis* is explained by Stat. and Forc. 'loose-flowing,' as in Tac. Germ. 17 *uestis non fluitans, sed stricta*, cf. *pleno fluitantia uela theatro* Prop. iii. 18. 13. But this would make Catullus guilty of the critical fault of using a word

<sup>1</sup> The La Cava codex of Isidorus gives the words thus: *strofo lactantis citta papillas*, agreeing with our MSS of Catullus in the *-is* form of the accusative.

metaphorically where it ought to have a literal meaning, 'floating,' Lucr. ii. 555.

69. *uicem*, here strictly a substantive after *curans*, 'what happened to.' Suet. Aug. 66 *Vicem suam conquestus est*. *pectore*, sensuously, *animo*, as we should say with her heart, meaning the affections, *mente* the thought.

70. *pendebat*, was fixed immovably. Xen. Symp. viii. 19 τὸν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος κρεμώμενον of a lover. Plato Legg. 831 C κτημάτων ἐξ ὧν κρεμασμένη πᾶσα ψυχὴ πολίτου πάντος οὐκ ἂν ποτε δύναίτο τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλειαν ἴσχειν. Eurip. El. 950 Ἄρεος ἐκκρεμάννυται, 'think of nothing but war.' Anth. P. v. 241. 7 ᾧ ἐπὶ πᾶσαι εἰσὶν ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπίδες ἐκκρεμές. The general idea is of an absorbed concentration, in which the eyes or thoughts fix themselves on the one object of their devotion, and cannot be shaken from it. Val. Flacc. i. 481 *Peruigil Arcadio Tiphys pendebat ab astro*.

71. *externauit*, 'maddened,' as in 165. Ov. Met. i. 641 *pertinuist sequi externata refugit*. xi. 77 *Externata fugam frustra templatat*. Ibis 432 *Cur externati solis agantur equi*; in each of the last three passages the sense is 'scared,' 'frightened.' Corssen's etymology, connecting it with *πνίπεσθαι* to shy (as a horse) like *sternuere πτάρνυσθαι*, is now generally accepted (Aussprache i. 178).

72. *Spinosas*, Hor. Epist. i. 14. 4. *Erycina*. This name belongs quite to the heroic times: according to Diod. iv. 83, Hyg. 260 Eryx was the son of Venus and Butes, and built the city of Eryx and the temple of Venus there: later Aeneas, himself a son of Venus, on his voyage to Italy added to its wealth and ornaments (Diod. iv. 83. 4). Apollonius iv. 915 speaks of Kypris, the goddess who rules Eryx, as saving the Argonaut Butes, here not represented as her son, from death by the Sirens, and placing him on Lilybaeum. Apollonius like Diodorus would thus seem to consider the association of Venus with Eryx to precede the Argonautic expedition: Catullus therefore speaks correctly: though a later account, followed by Vergil Aen. v. 759, represents the temple of Eryx as founded by Aeneas on his voyage to Italy. It was famous from the earliest times, and honoured in succession by the Sicanians, Carthaginians, and Romans (Diod. iv. 83. 4-7); at Rome a temple was built to Venus Erucina outside the Colline gate B.C. 181 (Liu. xl. 34, Strabo 272). *serens*, 'planting.' Corn. Müller compares Soph. Ajax 1005 ὅσας ἀνίας μοι κατασπείρας φθίνεις.

73. *Illa tempestate . . . quo ex tempore*, like *quo tempore . . . ex eo* XXXV. 13, 14. The usage is perhaps borrowed from the Alexandrian poets Callim. H. Apoll. 47, 8 ἔξῃσι κείνου Ἐξότ' ἐν Ἀμφρυσιῷ ζευγυρίδας ἔρπεφεν ἵππους, Apoll. R. iv. 520 Ἐκ τόθεν, ἐξότῃ. The repetition, to which Ritschl objects as meaningless, is purposely introduced to define the moment at which the passion of Ariadne began; a point of time to which the poet again recurs in 86 and 171.

74. *curuis* describes the peculiar conformation of Piraeus which forms three distinct inlets, each of them used by the Athenians as a harbour. Pausanias i. 1. 2 says that Theseus sailed to Crete from *Phaleron*.

75. *iniusti*. Minos, who in the Odyssey gives sentence amongst the dead, and is consulted by them as arbiter of their disputes (xi. 568 sqq.), is here called *iniustus*, either from the severity of the tax laid upon the Athenians, which his ordinary character for justice (Ovid

Her. x. 69) and the fact that the Athenians left it to him to decide the amount of punishment (Apollod. iii. 15. 8), would make more sensibly felt; or in accordance with the later legends which represent him as an unjust and cruel tyrant (L. Schmitz in Dict. Biog. who quotes Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. 115 Μίνω τὸν ὁμότιμῃ ὑπερβαλόμενον πάντας, to which add ib. 174 αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔφη θεατὴς γενέσθαι τῆς ἀδικίας τοῦ Μίνω). The author of the Platonic dialogue Minos 12 and Plutarch Thes. 16 ascribe this character for injustice to the tragedians Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μίνως αἰεὶ διετέλει κακῶς ἀκούων καὶ λοιδορούμενος ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς θεάτροις καὶ οὔτε Ἡσίοδος αὐτὸν ὤνησε βασιλεύτατον, οὔτε Ὅμηρος ὁ ἀριστὴν Διὸς προσαγορεύσας (Od. xix. 179), ἀλλ' ἐπικρατήσαντες οἱ τραγικοὶ πολλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λογιέου καὶ τῆς σκηῆς ἀδοξίαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν ὥς χαλεποῦ καὶ βιαιοῦ γενομένου.

**Cortynia templa.** So Minos is called *Cortynius heros* Cir. 114, *Cortynius arbiter* Stat. Theb. iv. 530. Cockerell (On the Labyrinth of Crete in Walpole's Travels ed. 1820 pp. 402-409) thought **Cortynia templa** referred to the Labyrinth, which Cedrenus and Eustathius describe as a cave at Gortyna, and which Tournefort and Cockerell have in modern times identified with a subterraneous cavern leading into numerous labyrinthine chambers near Agio Deká, in the vicinity of Gortyna. The Labyrinth was generally placed at Cnossus, and is figured on Cnossian coins: but Claudian de vi Cons. Honorii 634 speaks of it as *semituri Cortynia tecta iuveni*, and the etymology of Gortyna might seem to connect it with the Minotaur. Hesych. Καρτεμνίδες οἱ Γορτύνιοι. Κρήτες. ib. Κάτην τὴν βοῦν Κρήτες. This would also give more force to *iniusti*, and would accord with the immediately sequent mention of the Minotaur and his human victims<sup>1</sup>. See however 172, 3. **templa.** Ennius, speaking of the palace of Priam<sup>2</sup>, calls it *saeptum altisono cardine templum* (Androm. Aechm. 119 Vahlen) either from its being built in the style and shape of a sacred building or from the solemnity and quasi-divinity of the royal office. Some such meaning it would have here, 'solemn halls,' or 'halls of state:' the plural of course takes from the definiteness of the meaning. Those who explain **Cortynia templa** of the labyrinth might support their view by Callim. H. Del. 311 γναμπτόν ἔδος σκολιοῦ λαβυρίνθου: and if the labyrinth is meant, it might be called a temple from the association of such structures with sepulture, and the divine honours paid to mythical heroes after their death: Diodorus seems to speak of the temple of Belus and the tomb of Belus as identical ii. 9. 4, xvii. 112. 3: Ninus was buried in the palace of Semiramis Diod. ii. 7. 1; and such a combination of temple, palace and tomb seems to be indicated by the fluctuating sense of the *Memnonia*. [It seems very unlikely that so common a word as *tecta* should appear in the MSS as *templa tenta* or *tempra*. If *templa* is rejected I would read *septa*.]

<sup>1</sup> Leake Supplement to Numismata Hellenica p. 157 thinks it beyond doubt that the cavern explored by Tournefort and Cockerell was the famous Labyrinth; and he considers its forty or fifty chambers to have been used for purposes of primeval, or perhaps royal, sepulture.

<sup>2</sup> O pater! o patria! o Priami domus

Saeptum altisono cardine templum.

Bährens says this does not refer to the palace of Priam. To what then does it refer? The vv. which follow *Vidi ego te astante ope barbarica Tectis caelatis lacuatis Auro ebore instructam regifice*, can have no other meaning: and Cicero certainly thought so, since after citing them, Tusc. Disp. iii. 19. 45, he adds *Exaggeratis i regis opibus quae uidebantur sempiternae fore, quid adiungit?*



76. *peste*, Plut. Thes. 15 Τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐφθειρε τὴν χώραν ἀφορία τε γὰρ καὶ νόσος ἐπέσκηψε πολλή καὶ ἀπέδυσαν οἱ ποταμοί. Diod. iv. 61. 1 mentions drought and famine. Apollod. iii. 15. 8 γενομένου τῇ πόλει λιμοῦ τε καὶ λοιμοῦ.

77. Apollod. iii. 15. 7 gives two accounts of Androgeos' death, τοῦτω Λίγυς ἐπὶ Μαραθῶνιον ἐπεμψε ταῦρον, ὑφ' οὗ διεφθάρη· ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτὸν λίγῳσι πορευόμενον εἰς Θήβας ἐπὶ τὸν Λαίου ἀγῶνα πρὸς τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν ἐκδρευσάμενόν διὰ φθόνου ἀπολέσθαι. Plut. Thes. 15 Ἀνδρογέῳ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποθανεῖν δόξατος. *Androgeoncus* is formed from *Androgeon*, the accusative of which *Androgeona* is found in Prop. ii. 1. 62, as *Acrisiois* Aen. vii. 410 from *Acrision*.

78-80. *innuptarum*—*Minotauro*—*uexarentur*. Catullus here allows himself three consecutive spondaic endings: this was done by the Alexandrian poets, e. g. Euphorion fr. 27 in Meineke's *Analect. Alexand.* φωνηθείσης—κυκλήσκεισθαι—αὐδηθῆναι.

78. Plut. Thes. 15 Ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι καὶ δεηθέντες ἐποίησαντο συνθήμας ὥστε πέμπειν δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν δασμὸν ἡθέους ἑπτὰ καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας, ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ξυγγραφέων: and the same number is given Paus. i. 27. 10, Diod. iv. 61. 3, Apollod. iii. 15. 8. Hyginus P. A. ii. 5 *Cum Theseus Cretam ad Minoa cum septem uirginibus et sex pueris uenisset* gives the number of seven maidens, six youths; but this seems a mere variation, Theseus being himself included in the legendary number of fourteen (τοὺν δὲ ἑπτὰ ἐκείνους Plut. Phaed. 58). Another version, followed by Euripides H. F. 1326 mentioned fourteen youths; another (Verg. Aen. vi. 21, Hygin. Fab. 41) made the number seven children sent yearly. *decus innuptarum*, the flower of the virgins, as Pindar speaks of ἡρώων ἄωτοι Nem. viii. 15.

79. *Cecropiam*; the primeval period ἐπὶ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων terminated with Theseus, Thuc. ii. 15. Hence Cecropia would still be the most correct name: and so Callimachus Del. 315 speaking of the ropes of the *θεωρίς* which were sent yearly to Delos in commemoration of Theseus' landing there with the rescued victims calls the Athenians *Κεκροπίδαι*. *dapem*. Plut. Thes. 15 Τοὺς δὲ παῖδας εἰς Κρήτην κομίζομένους ὁ μὲν τραγικώτατος μῦθος ἀποφαίνει τὸν Μινώταυρον ἐν τῇ Λαβυρίνῳ διαφθεῖρειν, ἢ πλανωμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ τυχεῖν ἐξόδου μὴ δυναμένους ἐκεῖ καταθνήσκειν. In the Theseus of Euripides οἱ ταπτόμενοι παῖδες εἰς Βορῶν τῷ Μινώταυρῳ were introduced, according to the Schol. on Aristoph. Vesp. 312 and Tzetzes Chiliad. ii. 555: see the fragments in Nauck.

80. *angusta*, the small size of Athens would make the recurring loss of its youth felt more severely. It was after the events described by Catullus that Theseus (who is mentioned as one of the Argonauts by Apollod. i. 9. 16) increased the size of the town, and included all the Attic populations under it as metropolis Thuc. ii. 15, Plut. Thes. 24. Ovid, F. iii. 181 *Moenia iam stabant populis angusta futuris, Credita sed turbae tunc nimis ampla suae*, suggests the farther contrast, sentimentally so attractive to the Romans in reference to their own city, of the primeval simplicity and later greatness of Athens: and this may well have been in the thought of Catullus writing as he is of the *παλαιγενέων κλέα φεστών* Apoll. R. i. 1. *uexarentur*, 'were sorely troubled;' *uersarentur*, which is not a conjecture, as Bährens states, but the *manus prima* of *B* and the unaltered lection of *La*<sup>1</sup> (written not much after 1400), would



have almost the same sense, as in Enn. 340 *Quae nunc te coquit et uersat in pectore fixa*: 'were in confusion.'

81. *corpus* has a special force in reference to the beauty of Theseus. Hesiod 'A. 'Hρακλ. 182 describes him as ἐπὶ κελόν ἀθανάτοισι. Diod. iv. 61. 4 calls him εὐπρεπείᾳ διαφέρων, Hyginus Fab. 270 ranks him *inter formosissimos*.

82. *Proicere*, of a voluntary sacrifice. Plut. Thes. 17 Ταῦτ' (the murmurs of the citizens against Aegeus) ἡνία τὸν Θησέα καὶ δικαίων μὴ ἀμελείν ἀλλὰ κοινωεῖν τῆς τύχης τοῖς πολίταις ἐπέδωκεν ἐαυτὸν ἀπὸ κλήρου προσελθών. *optauit potius quam funera portarentur*. Andr. iv. 5. 2 *Quae sibi inhoneste oplauit parere hic dilias Potius quam in patria honeste pauper uiueret*, where W. Wagner quotes Aul. Prol. 11 *Inopemque oplauit potius eum relinquere Quam eum thesaurum commonstraret*. *Cretam* as an island omits the preposition.

83. *Funera . . . nec funera* is an obvious imitation of Greek combinations like *vāes ānaes* (Pers. 681), δῶρα ἄδωρα, γάμος ἀγάμος, πότμος ἀποτμος, πῶλις ἀπολις, τάφος ἀταφος, βίος ἀβίωτος, etc. (see Passerat) βίωτος οὐ βίωτος Anth. P. ix. 574. 2; a poet quoted by Cic. de Orat. iii. 58. 219 has *innuptis nuptiis*, Cicero himself *insepultam sepulturam* Phil. i. 2. 5, of the irregular funeral of J. Caesar. The idea was explained by Conr. de Allio and Hertzberg after Lucr. v. 993 *Viua uidens uiuo sepeliri uiscera busto* applied to men devoured by wild beasts, and thus buried in a living tomb: here the living tomb would be the Minotaur, in whose maw the youths and maidens find unnatural burial. Manilius similarly of Andromeda exposed to a sea-monster v. 548 *Virginis et uiuae rapitur sine funere funus*. The original of all these seems to be, as Munro shows on Lucr. v. 993, Gorgias' γυπὲς ἐμψυχοὶ τάφοι (Longin. iii. 2), afterwards imitated by Lycophron Alex. 413 Πολλῶν γὰρ ἐν σπλάγχκοις τυμβωδίσσεται Βρωθεῖς πολυστοίχοις καμπύων γνάθοις Νήριβμος ἐσμός (Greeks devoured by sea-monsters), 1203 τύμβος γεγώς Κένταυρος ὠμόφρων σπορόās (Cronos devouring his own children). More probably *Funera neo funera*, like Isocrates' (Helen. Encom. 213) προπεμπομένους ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄομον καὶ προῖπτον καὶ πενθουμένους ἔτι ζῶντας (a passage seemingly known to Catullus, see on 173) is to be explained of the living victims transported in the black-sailed ship of death like corpses and mourned as really dead: so Alex. Guarinus 'Funera Cecropiae quia licet uiua corpora portarentur, habebantur tanquam mortua,' and Passerat 'Corpora peritura et adhuc uiua.' A third view is that of Schwabe, 'Dead, yet saved from death,' by Theseus' victory over the Minotaur, like Ovid's *At pater infelix nec iam pater, Icare, clamat*, spoken of Daedalus father of Icarus, but no longer father, now that he had fallen from the sky.

84. *nitens*, 'pressing on,' as in Val. F. i. 358; oars, though not mentioned, may be implied. Attius Telephus 629 Ribbeck *remisque nixi properiter nauem in fugam Transdunt*, Apollon. iv. 1631 ἐπερρώων' ἐλάτρωιν.

85. *Magnanimum*, 'the hero,' = μεγάλθυμον of Homer and Apollonius. *superbas*, 'of tyranny,' as Aen. viii. 196 *foribusque affixa superbis Ora mirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo*.

86 sqq. The description of Ariadne's passion for Theseus and her lament for his faithlessness are closely modelled on Apollonius' minute and studied picture of Medea, her love for Iason and the conflict of feeling which at one moment forbids her to leave her parents and home.

at another urges her to fly with her lover iii. 275 sqq. As a peculiar exhibition of feminine passion the elaborate but vivid description of Apollonius is in my judgment more effective than that of Catullus, it approaches the greatness of Euripides and Vergil. All three are more or less painful; in Catullus there is nothing which can be called tragical or harrowing.

86. *cupido lumine*. Apollon. iii. 443 Θεσπέσιον δ' ἐν πᾶσι μετέκρηεν Αἰσωνος υἱὸς Κάλλει καὶ χαρίτεσσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ὄμματα κούρη Δοξά παρὰ λειψὲν σχομένη θηέτο καλύπτρην, Κῆρ ἄχει σμύχουσα. *lumine*, 'a glance,' Stat. Achill. i. 584 *nimio quod lumine sese Figat et in uerbis intempestius anhelet*.

87. *suauius odores*, θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο Hom. H. Cer. 244. *expirans*, imitated by the author of Ciris 3 *Cecropius suaues exspirans hortulus auras*.

88. Mitsch. compares Hes. "Ε. κ. 'Η. 520 παρθενικῆς ἀπαλόχροος . . . "Ἡε δάμων ἔντοσθε φῖλη παρὰ μητέρι μέμνει Οὐπω ἔργ' εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης, Εὐ τε λασσαμένη τέρενα χροά καὶ λίπ' ἐλαίῳ Χρυσασμένη νυχὴ καταλέξεται ἐνδοῦ οἴκου. *alebat*, was nurturing at the time Theseus arrived. The couch is said to rear the maiden in her mother's embrace, inasmuch as she grows up in the inner chambers of the house, among the women and under the eye of her mother.

89. *Eurotas*. Culex 400 *Spartica myrtus* (Realinus). I do not know of any passage where the myrtle is mentioned in connexion with the Eurotas; Vergil Ecl. vi. 83 speaks of the bays of Eurotas, perhaps the rhododaphne or oleander which grows by it in great luxuriance (Gell, Journey in Morea p. 322, ed. 1823). But myrtles are common throughout Peloponnesus, Eur. El. 324, 512, 778; the plant has at the present day a special name there, *μυρτιά* (Sibthorp, Flora Graeca v. p. 59), and its presence in Laconia may be inferred from Hesych. *μυρταλὶς ἡ δέν-μυρρῖνη*, ὡς Λάκωνες. [MSS give *Europe*. Bährens retains this, explaining of the Cretan Europa Hellotis, to whom a chaplet of myrtle was offered at the Cretan festival Hellotia. See the Excursus.] *myrtus*. It is difficult to decide between *myrtus* and *myrtos*; if *laurus* is right in 289, as it seems to be, this might be an argument in favour of a similar form here.

90. *distinctos colores*, 'diverse hues,' for 'flowers of diverse hue,' somewhat similarly Tib. i. 4. 29 *Quam cito purpureos deperdit terra colores*, and more nearly Prop. i. 2. 9 *Aspice quos summittit humus formosa colores*. *educit*, not 'rears,' a sense which it has Aen. vii. 763, viii. 413, ix. 584, but 'brings forth,' as in Plin. H. N. x. 152 cited by Conington on Aen. vi. 765 = ἀναπέμπει, Pind. P. ix. 82 ὅσσα τε χθὼν ἥρῃα φύλλ' ἀναπέμπει (Mitsch.), or more closely ἐκφέρει, used of the ground Herod. i. 193, of women Callim. H. Del. 57. Infr. 282 *Aura parit flores*.

91. *declinavit*, 'drooped,' Ovid Met. vii. 86 sqq. *Spectat et in uultu ueluti tum denique uiso Lumina fixa tenet: nec se mortalia demens Ora uidere putat: nec se declinat ab illo*.

92. Apollon. iii. 286 βέλος δ' ἐνεδαίετο κούρη Νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῳ (*funditus*), φλογὶ εἰκελὸν ἀντία δ' αλεῖ Βάλλεν ὑπ' Αἰσονίδην ἀμαρύγματα: after which follows the simile of the chips bursting into a blaze at the touch of fire.

93. Theocr. iii. 17 Ὅς με κατασμήχων καὶ ἐς ὁστίον ἄχρῃς ἰάπτει.

94 sqq. An apostrophe to Love, perhaps suggested by Apollon. iv. 445-449 Σχέλι' Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στύγος ἀνθρώποισιν, Ἐκ σίθεν οὐλόμεναι ἢ ἔριδες στοναχαί τε γόοι τε Ἄλγεά τ' ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασιν. Catullus associates Love and Venus, as Euripides Hipp. 1268-1270 Σὺ τὰν θεῶν ἄκαμπτον φρένα καὶ βροτῶν ἀγεις, Κύπρι, Σὺν δ' ὁ ποικιλόπτερος ἀμφιβάλων Ὀκυράτῃ πτερῶ.

94. *inmiti corde*. The ordinary explanation of this difficult verse, 'Ah thou who woefully rousest thoughts of frenzy, cruel-hearted that thou art,' falls short of its proper definiteness of meaning; Love rouses madness *in* the heart. Hence Mitsch. explains *inmiti* of the yet untamed heart of the victim who is smitten for the first time, comparing Ovid A. A. ii. 177 *Si nec blanda satis nec erit tibi comis amanti Perfer et obdura: postmodo mitis erit*, Tib. iii. 6. 13. So Statius Achill. i. 302 calls Achilles, as yet strange to love, *Trux puer et nullo temeratus pectora molu*. This would be like the ἄκαμπτον φρένα of Hipp. 1268. Doering in his first edition thought *inmiti* could = *inmaturo*, Hor. C. ii. 5. 10, 'a heart unripe for love;' others would refer *inmiti* to the πάντολμοι ἔρωτες, the θηλυκρατῆς ἀπέρωτος ἔρως of Aesch. Choeph. 597, 600. Against any of these views may be set the general feeling of the address, which begins with apostrophizing Love as cruel, and only specifies Ariadne later; as well as the logical connexion between *inmiti corde* and the subject of the sentence, *Sancte puer*, cf. 99 *Quantos illa tulit languenti corde timores*. It remains to explain *inmiti corde* of the heart of Amor himself, 'Thou that settest all madness astir in thy fierce heart;' Love is μάργος, a raging madman, Apollon. iii. 120, and not only the rouser of strife and grief in others (iv. 446, 7) but *himself* full of turmoil, τετρηχώς (iii. 276). Somewhat similarly Cic. Att. iii. 7. 2 *Non faciam ut enumerem miseras omnes ne et meum maerorem exagilem et te in eundem luctum uocem*; more nearly Moschus iii. 85 καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα Ἐτρεφεν ἐν κόλποισι καὶ ἤρεθε τὰν Ἀφροδίταν of a lover stirring love in his own breast, cf. Stat. S. v. 1. 201, both quoted by Mitsch.<sup>1</sup> and so Medea κινεῖ κραδίαν κινεῖ δὲ χόλον Med. 49. [Bährens following *O* reads *in miti corde*, explaining 'in corde uirginis securo quiescentes adhuc cupiditates excitat Eros.' This seems to me impossible.]

95. *Sancte*, 'divine,' XXXVI. 3. *curis . . . gaudia*, LXVIII. 18. Soph. fr. 856 Nauck (Κύπρις) Ἔστιν μὲν Αἰδης, ἔστι δ' ἀφθιτος βία, Ἔστιν δὲ λύσσα μαριάς, ἔστι δ' ἡμερος Ἀκρατος, ἔστ' οἰμωγμός. Eurip. fr. Aeolus 26 Τῇ δ' Ἀφροδίτῃ πολλὰ ἔνεστι ποικίλα Τέρπει τε γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ λυπεῖ βροτούς.

96. *Golgos . . . Idalium*, Theocr. xv. 100 Δέσποι' ἃ Γόλῳς τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφιλάσας, and see on XXXVI. 12, 14.

97. *incensam iactastis Fluctibus* is a confusion of metaphors more readily condoned by the ancients than ourselves. Pind. fr. 100 Bergk τὰς δὲ θεοζέου ἀκτῖνας προσώπου μαρμαροίσας δρακεῖς Ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος Ἡ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μελαίαν ψυχρῇ φλογί, Plato Epigr. 30. 3 Bergk Ἀ δειλοὶ νέεττος ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκείνης Πρωτοπλόου, δ' ὄσης ἤλθετε πυρκαϊῆς. *incensam* with *mente*.

98. *Fluctibus*. Prop. ii. 12. 7 *Scilicet alterna quoniam iactamur in unda Nostraque non ullis permanet aura locis*. See Hertzberg there. *in* 'for love of,' after *suspirare* as in Ovid F. i. 417. Alexander Aetolus ap. Parthen. Erotic. xiv. 11 Ἀνθεὺς Ἑρμείη ταχυνῶ φίλος, ᾧ ἐνὶ νύμφῃ Μαίνας

<sup>1</sup> Who however refers *exagitant* to Ariadne; a view of course impossible.

ἄφαρ σήσσει τὸν λιθόλευστον ἔρων. **flauo.** Apollon. iii. 1016 τοῖος ἀπὸ ξανθοῦ καρήματος Αἰσονίδαο Στράπτειν "Ερως ἡδεῖαν ἀπὸ φλόγα.

99. **languenti**, 'fainting,' the relaxation of the muscles produced by strong fear. **timores**, at the thought of Theseus combating the Minotaur. Apollonius iii. 619 sqq. describes Medea as frightened by a dream in which she herself yokes the oxen instead of Iason, and again iii. 751 as unable to sleep for the thought of his danger. Dreams are probably in Catullus' mind though not, of course, exclusively.

100. **Quanto** instead of *quantum* would seem to be explicable on a false analogy, *quanto grauius, quanto melius*, etc. The general idea seems taken from Apollon. iii. 297 ἀπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπᾶτο παρείας 'Ες χλόον, ἄλλος' ἔρευθος. **expalluit.** LXXXI. 4. The comparison of paleness to the sickly colour of gold is not uncommon. Mitsch. quotes Ovid Met. xi. 145 *Arua rigent auro madidis pallentia glebis*, Sil. i. 233 *redit infelix effosso concolor auro*, Stat. S. iv. 7. 15 *Pallidus fossor redit erutoque Concolor auro*. So Lucian Somn. 30 ὁμοῖος γίγναι τὸ χρῶμα χρυσοῦ προστετηκὸς αὐτῷ. In the same way Theocritus ii. 88 compares a blanching complexion to the yellow θάψος, and Lucr. iv. 336 speaks of the *pallor*es in the yellow-tinted faces of jaundiced persons. **fulgore** is rejected by Ritschl on the ground that the ideas of paleness and glitter are incongruous: he proposes *fuluore*, a word since found in a poem on gold by Tiberianus (4th cent. A.D.).

101. **monstrum**, τὸ τέρας Diod. iv. 61. 3.

102. **Aut mortem . . . aut praemia laudis.** Anth. P. vii. 541. 2 ἢ μῦρον ἢ νίκην. Apollonius iii. 428 puts in Iason's mouth the determination here assigned to Theseus τῷ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν ἀέθλον ὑπερφιάλδον περ εἶοντα Τλήσσομαι, εἰ καὶ μοι θανέειν μῦρος. Muretus objected to **oppeteret** as not well suited to **praemia**. It is in fact almost always used of meeting one's death or dying, *oppetere mortem* Enn. Trag. 235, Cic. *Sest.* xxi. 47, *pestem poeta ap. Cic. Tusc. Disp.* ii. 16. 38, Plaut. *Asin.* i. 1. 7, *letum Sen. Troad.* 370; Phaedrus iii. 16. 2 has *poenas oppelit superbiae* of incurring punishment. Hence *appeteret*, the reading of *O*, may be right: *mortem appelere* is found Suet. *Ner.* 2, *Sen. Ep.* 24. 23, in both places apparently of a voluntary death. Yet such passages as *Fam.* xi. 28. 4 *nunquam enim honestam mortem fugiendam, saepe etiam oppelendam* (faced) *putavi* are enough to prove that *oppelere* even with *mortem* might retain this idea, of something sought voluntarily.

103. i. e. *Non tamen ingrata munuscula frustra diuis promittens succendit uola tacito labello*, 'yet not without return were the gifts she promised to the gods ineffectually (i. e. not without return so that she promised them in vain) when on her lip she kindled the silent breath of vows.' **ingrata** is expanded in **frustra** as in *Aen.* ii. 101 *nequiquam* is again explained by *ingrata*, in *Tib.* iii. 4. 14 *Et frustra immeritum pertimuisse uelit* by *immeritum*, in *Pont.* i. 5. 9, 10 *Haec quoque quae legistis . . . Scribimus inuitta uixque coacta manu*, the *inuitta manu* is drawn out in *uixque*, and *uixque* itself explained by *coacta*. Cf. Callim. *Ep.* 10. 2 *Meineke* τίς ὁ ψεύστας στυγρὰ καθάψε μάτην "Εντρα; *H. Cer.* 90 Ἀλεμάτος ἀχάριστα κατέρπειν<sup>1</sup>. **munuscula** are the offerings (ἀνάθηματα) which Ariadne

<sup>1</sup> After this note was written I found the same view in Madvig *Opuscula* i. p. 62 'Copiosius, ut solet, Catullus eandem rem et adiectivo et adverbio expressit: Non ingrata tamen munuscula fuerunt et frustra oblata.'

promises to the gods, in the event of their bringing Theseus safe through. Catullus has *munera* of gifts vowed or offered to the gods LXVI. 38, 82, 92: these are here called *munuscula*, to denote the extreme youth of Ariadne; the offerings of a girl would be childish.

104. *tacito*, 'unvoiced,' i.e. which found no audible expression: as becomes a maiden praying for her lover. Mitsch. quotes Pind. P. ix. 174 *Ἀφρωνίς θ' ὡς ἑκάστα φίλτατον Παρθενικαὶ πόσιν ἢ Υἱὸν εὐχοντ'*, δὲ Τηλεσίκρατες, ἔμμεν. *succendit*, *ὑπεξέκαυσε*, 'kindled,' on the lips as an altar the vows which ascend like incense to the gods; so Hercules *Vota incepta lamen libalaque tura ferebat* Stat. Theb. xi. 236; in each case the ground idea seems to be that the incense is lighted as the prayer is thought, so that the steam of the incense carries the prayer: *λιβανωτὸν λαβὼν καὶ προσευξάμενος ῥίπτει αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα* Dion C. xli. 45. Wordsworth similarly. Excursion B. iv *your eye*, *Even like an altar lit by fire from heaven, Kindle before us*. *Suspendit*, the conj. of the Italians of the xvth century, 'she let her vows hover or hang irresolutely,' i.e. only gave them half utterance, would be like Apollon. iii. 683 of Medea hesitating to speak, *Μῦθος δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν οἱ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης ἀνέτελλεν Γλώσσης, ἄλλοτ' ἔνερθε κατὰ στήθος πεπότητο*, Theocr. xxv. 65 *Ἄψ' δ' ὅκνη ποτὶ χεῖλος ἐλάβανε μῦθον ἰόντα*, and more closely Eur. Or. 383 *ἀφύλλου στόματος ἐξάπτων λιγύς*. But it is without MS authority, as is also the somewhat prosaic *succerit* (de Nat. Deor. iii. 39. 93). *vota*. In Apollon. iii. 467 Medea prays to Hecate that Iason may return home alive.

105. Similes of falling trees are among the commonest in ancient poetry Il. v. 560, xiii. 389, which recurs xvi. 482. Apollonius has three, iii. 967 *Ἡ δρυσὶν ἢ μακρῆσιν ἐειδόμενοι ἐλάτῃσιν, Αἷ τε πάρασσον ἔκηλοι ἐν οὐρεσιν ἐρρίζωνται* Νηρημίη μετὰ δ' αὖτις ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ἀνέμοιο Κινύμεναι ὁμάδῃσαν ἀπείριτον, which Catullus seems to have imitated, iii. 1374, iv. 1680. *Tauro*, an early instance of the specification of place in similes so common in Vergil and the later poets. Hesiod *Ἔ. κ. Ἡ. 509 sqq.* of Boreas, *Πολλὰς δὲ δρυὺς ὑψικόμους ἐλάτας τε παχείας Οὐρεος ἐν βήσσης πιλνῇ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ* *Ἐμπίπτων* καὶ πᾶσα βοᾷ τότε νήριτος ὕλη. Leake speaking of Cilicia Tracheotis says, 'During the ascent the road presented some magnificent views of mountain scenery. We leave on the left a very lofty peaked summit, one of the highest of the range of Taurus, probably between 6000 and 7000 feet above the level of the sea. In the lower regions of the mountain we passed through woods consisting chiefly of oak, ilex, arbutus, lentisk and junipers of various species. As we ascend we enter the region of pines.' Journey in Asia Minor, p. 234 of Walpole's travels ed. 1820. *brachia*. Cul. 140.

106. *conigeram* (Theocr. v. 49, *coniferae cyparissi* Aen. iii. 680). *sudanti cortice*, a general description of the pine; Corn. Müller remarks that it has no particular force, which is perhaps true; but it is to be remembered that the habit of looking for a special meaning in every detail of a poet's fancy is the growth of a learned and artificial school. Leake speaking of the region of the Calycadnus (Caramania) opposite Cyprus says, 'In the upper parts scarcely any trees were seen but pines of different species: most of these were of a moderate size, but some which we saw in the highest parts of the mountain were straight, large, tall, and fit for the masts of ships of war. Great numbers had been destroyed for the sake of the turpentine by making an incision near the foot of the tree

and lighting a fire under it, which has the effect of making the resin run more freely.' Walpole's Travels p. 240. **sudanti cortice.** Ecl. viii. 54 *Pinguia corticibus sudent electra myricae.* The Datanus with *B* and *La*<sup>1</sup> have *corpore*, 'trunk,' which would be like *brachia* in 105. Pliny has *corpus piceae* xvi. 57, so *body* in old writers for trunk. Wheler's Journey into Greece p. 295, ed. 1682, *We saw a wonderful great Cypress-tree. The Body, a foot from the Ground, is Twenty-one foot about.* ib. p. 310 'Spurge in Trees, with Bodies half a foot Diameter.'

107. **Indomitus turbo**, like Pacuvius' *sacui turbines* fr. inc. 415 Ribb. *D* has *Indomitum*, and as Servius on Aen. vii. 378 states that Catullus used *turben* in the neuter, Spengel read here *Indomitum turben*, and this has been accepted by most editors since, including L. Müller who compares *sanguen* in Stat. Theb. iv. 464. I have not done so (1) because *Indomitum* might equally well refer to *robur*; (2) all the MSS give *turbo*, and it is improbable that the rare *turben* should have fallen out; (3) Servius may have referred to a lost poem, e. g. that in which Catullus treats of magic (fr. IX.) and may have introduced a magic wheel, cf. Hor. Epod. xvii. 7. At any rate he could not have arrived at the conclusion that Catullus used *turben* neuter from this line; (4) even on the hypothesis of two editions, one in which *Indomitum turben*, one in which *Indomitus turbo* was written, consistency would require us to follow the preponderating text of our MSS. The authority of the Datanus here is rather diminished from its not being supported by the similarly descended Brit. Mus. MS *a*; (5) Charisius 145 Keil treats *turben* as masc.; (6) Pleitner considers that the extra liquid in *turben* adds to the effect of the line; to me it softens and weakens it. **contorquens** expresses the riving of the wind on every side of the tree, Aen. iv. 442, cf. G. i. 481 *Proluit insano contorquens uertice silvas Eridanus.* **robur**, 'heart of oak;' Verg. G. iii. 332, Aen. iv. 441.

108. **procul** with **Prona cadit.** **radicitus exturbata.** Apollon. iv. 1682 sqq. ἡ δ' ὑπὸ νυκτὶ 'Ριπήσιν μὲν πρῶτα τινάσσεται, ὕστερον αὐτὴ Πρυμνῶθεν ἐξεργίσσα κατήριπεν. In the similar passage of Vergil Aen. v. 449 the MSS are in favour of *radicibus*; and *radicibus* is the reading of several MSS here, including the Riccardian and *a*: *procul* might then be taken closely with the abl. 'wrenched away to a distance from its roots.' In 288 *radicitus* is certain: and I prefer it here as Homer has ἐκ ριζέων, Apollonius πρυμνῶθεν in corresponding descriptions, Il. xxi. 243, Argon. iv. 1684. **exturbata**, MSS. It is noticeable that the elder Seneca in a similar combination with *radicitus* prefers *exstirpari*, Controv. 33. 2 Bursian.

109. **lateque et cominus**, 'far and near:' **cominus** as in Lucr. iv. 407, Ov. Pont. i. 5. 74, Stat. S. iii. 5. 38 *Cum iam Lethaeos audirem cominus amnes.* According to Servius on G. i. 104 this meaning of *cominus* is more ancient than its other meaning 'immediately.' *Veteres non in tempore, sed in loco comminus ponebant, id est iuxta.* MSS give *lateque cum* (al. *tum*) *eius*, whence a variety of emendations, as chronicled in vol. I. Munro set great store on his conj. *lateque* comes obit *obuia*, 'whoever has seen a tree fall to the ground with its leaves on, must have marked the sweep and the crash made by them as they first came into contact with the ground and spread themselves out.' The detail however is more in the style of Statius than Catullus: Riese aptly compares

Horace's *Mordaci uelut icta ferro Pinus aut impulsu cupressus Euro Procidit late*<sup>1</sup> iv. 6. 9. *obuia*. Other MSS *omnia*. The former is more distinct. The whole line is well illustrated by a fragment of Varro's *Parmeno* ix Riese (391 Bü.) *Alla traps pronis* (Catullus' *Prona*) *in humum accidens proxumae* (Catullus' *oominus*) *Frangit ramos cadens*.

110. *sæuūm*, 'the fierce one,' (*toruum laurum* Ovid Met. viii. 132) substantively, as *ferus* in LXIII. 85, *puḍicas* Prop. iii. 13. 9, *superstes*, 'the survivor,' Stat. S. iv. 7. 38. The difficulty of the word lies in its vagueness; Hesiod's *ἰδρίς* for the ant, *ἀνόστεις* the polypus, *φερέοικος* the snail, *πέρτοφος* the hand, *γλαυκή* the sea, Aeschylus' ἡ *ἀμλάντος* the sea, are quaintnesses which at once explain themselves. Catullus perhaps signalizes by the strangeness of the expression the monstrous character of the *σύμμεκτον εἶδος κάποφώλιον τρέφος*, the *ταύρου καὶ βροτοῦ διπλὴν φύσιν* Eur. Thes. fr. 383, 384 Nauck. Very probably Catullus has translated some lost original, *τὸν ἄγριον* or something similar. *prostrauit*. The sculptor Bathycles represented the Minotaur bound and led off *alive* by Theseus, Paus. iii. 18. 11.

111. *Nequicquam iactantem cornua uentis*, 'hitting at the empty air,' W. B. Donne. The verse is perhaps a translation of *Πολλὰ μάτην κεράισσω ἐς ἥρα θυμήναντα*, a line quoted by Cic. Att. viii. 5. 1 from an unknown author. *uanis*, 'mocking,' 'ineffectual,' as receiving the Minotaur's blows without feeling them or allowing them to produce any effect. Seneca copies Catullus, de Ira 1 *laurorum cornua iactantur in uanum*: cf. Luc. iv. 726 *uanas serpentis in auras Effusae*.

112. *pedem reflexit*, like *Reflecte gressum dum licet teque eripe* Sen. Thy. 428, might mean simply 'returned:' more probably it is chosen in direct reference to the tortuous path through the Labyrinth, along which Theseus winds his way back.

113. *regens*. Her. x. 103 *Nec tibi quae reditus monstrarent fila dedissem Fila per adductas saepe recepta manus* shows how Theseus guided himself. In Aen. vi. 30 Daedalus is described as *Caeca regens filo uestigia*. flo. Plut. Thes. 19 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσι καὶ ᾄδουσι, παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐρασθείσης τὸ λῖνον λαβὼν καὶ διδασθεὶς ὡς ἐστὶ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τοὺς ἐλιγμοὺς διεξελθεῖν, ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Μινώταυρον καὶ ἀπέπλευσε τὴν Ἀριάδην ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἡϊθέους. Hyginus gives a curious story P. A. ii. 5 *Dicitur etiam a Vulcano facta (corona) ex auro et Indicis gemmis per quas Theseus existimatur de tenebris Labyrinthi ad lucem uenisse, quod aurum et gemmae in obscuro fulgorem luminis efficiebant*.

114. *flexibus*. Apollod. iii. 1. 4 ἢν ὁ λαβύρινθος οἶκημα καμπαῖς πολυπλόκοις πλατῶν τὴν ἔξοδον. Ovid Met. viii. 159 thus describes it *Daedalus ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis Ponit opus, turbatque notas et lumina flexum Ducit in errorem uariarum ambage uiarum*; he compares it to the Maeander.

115. *Tecti* with *error*. Both Vergil Aen. vi. 29 and Ovid Met. viii. 168, Her. x. 71 call the Labyrinth *tectum*: cf. Strabo of some caverns artificially worked into mazes near Nauplia 369 ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ναυπλίᾳ τὰ σπηλαῖα καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκδομητοὶ λαβύρινθοι, Κυκλώπεια δ' ὀνομάζουσιν, a description which quite suits the account of the doors and chambers in the cavern near Agio Deka, explored by Cockerell. *frustraretur*, should baffle

<sup>1</sup> Munro does not quote a passage which might support his conj. *cometis obit*, Il. xiii. 178-180 ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἐπισεν μέλιθ' ὥς, "Ἡ τ' ὄρεος κορυφῇ ἔκαθεν περιφαινόμενος Σαλαῖς ταμομένη τέρενα χθονὶ φύλλα πειλάσσει.

him in his attempt to come out. **inobservabilis error**, the untraceable irregularity (perplexity) of the building, *δυσεύρετος* Bacch. 1221; it was not possible to note where the path began to lose itself: as *observari uestigia* Aen. ii. 753, ix. 393 of noting one's steps with the view of retracing them. Vergil imitates Catullus twice Aen. v. 591 *Falleret incomprensus et inremediabilis error*, vi. 27 *Hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error*, in each case of the Labyrinth.

116. A sudden interruption or self-interpellation in the style of the Alexandrian poets. So Apollonius iv. 1378–1388 breaks the ordinary course of his narrative by an apostrophe to the heroes and a reflexion on their greatness, when he wishes only to give in outline a tiresome and tedious event of the expedition, the carrying of the Argo on the shoulders of the crew for twelve days and nights. With **Sed quid ego plura Commemorem** cf. Enn. Ann. 210 *Sed quid ego hic animo lamentor?* 318 *Sed quid ego haec memoro?* Cic. in Cat. iv. 8. 16 *Sed quid ego huiusmodi homines commemorem?* Nep. Att. 17 *De pietate Attici quid plura commemorem?* a **primo carmine** (Lucr. vi. 937), from the first part of my song, viz. the description of Ariadne standing on the shore of Dia. Catullus can hardly mean the subject of the first part of the whole collective poem, viz. the marriage of Peleus and Thetis; as the great length of the complaint of Ariadne would be in ridiculous opposition to such a remark. Possibly the *cum primo* of MSS represents *in primo* the reading of *h*: cf. Lucr. vi. 937; this would mean 'why should I, at the outset of my song (either the whole poem, or the episode of Ariadne) stray off to details which prevent my coming to the point?' **digressus**. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth Conject. Emendations p. 67 compares a verse from the walls of Pompeii (C. I. L. iv. 1856) *qv. . NAM . DIGREDIENS . MAGNIS . ALAUDIBVS OPPI*, where he read *Quonam*, Zangemeister gives *Quaenam*.

117. **ut**, *Vt—ut* 118, *ut* 121, *ut* 122, as in Theocr. vii. 73 *ὥς*, 74 *ὥς—ὥς*, —*ὥς* 78—*ὥς* 80, and in Apollon. iv. 731 *ὅσα—732 ὥς τε—733 ὥς τε. uultum*. Apollonius iii. 999 says Minos was angry at her going, but was afterwards pacified and consented.

118. **consanguineae**. According to Apollod. iii. 1. 2 Minos and Pasiphae had four daughters, Akalle, Xenodike, Ariadne, Phaedra. If Catullus particularized the sister in his own mind, Phaedra is probably meant, as the most prominent, and as actually represented with Ariadne in works of art, Paus. x. 29. 3. In his later life Theseus is represented as the husband of Phaedra; but neither Phaedra nor Pasiphae (**matris**) were characters much in harmony with the sentimental parting here described. **denique**. 'Miserabilis quaedam uis huius uocis cum omni humano auxilio exclusi supremum finem attestatur.' Casp. Barth Aduers. xii. 12.

119. **misera in gnata** after both **deperdita** and **lamentata est**, 'wept aloud in desperate love for her hapless daughter.' Prop. i. 13. 7 *Perditus in quadam tardis pallescere curis Incipis*, ii. 4. 18 *Gaudet in puero. misera*, from the violence of Ariadne's love for Theseus, 71: perhaps spoken from the mother's point of view. **lamentata est**, Conington; Bücheler independently *lamentatur*. The MSS have *leta*, which Lachmann changed to *laetabatur*, 'used to take joy in.' Perhaps *lentabatur*, 'lingered,' Sil. viii. 11: this at any rate would not do violence to the imperfect.

120. **praeoptarit**, a word used by Plautus Capt. iii. 5. 30, Trin. iii.



2. 12, and Terence Hec. iv. 1. 17, as well as Caesar, Livy and others. Cornelius Nepos Attic. 12 *ut praeoptaret equitis Romani filiam generosarum patris.*

121. *Disce.* Diod. iv. 61. 5 'Ανακομιζόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ κλέψας τὴν Ἀριάδην ἔλαβεν ἐκπλεύσας νυκτὸς καὶ κατήρην εἰς νῆσον τὴν τότε μὲν Δίαν, νῦν δὲ Νάξον προσαγορευομένην.

122. A word is lost here, which in vol. I. I suggested may be *tenentem*, like Cul. 188 *torua tenentem Lumina*. The rarity of this rhythm would not be much greater than in Vergil's third Georgic, where it occurs once, 447 *Mersatur missusque secundo defluit amni*, Columella's tenth book, where it is found twice in 436 hexameters, or the poem on the Civil War in Petronius, where it occurs once in 295. Apollonius is also very sparing in his use of it: in the 1406 lines of the third book I have counted two, 863, 1190 *ἐρεμνὴ ἐρεμνὴν*; in Book iv containing 1779 lines I have found four, 568, 606, 1629 (*κελαινὴ κελαινῆς κελαινῇ*) 686 *ἐφετμαῖς*: an average which might justify Catullus.

123. *Liquerit*, a form sufficiently uncommon to be noticed by Nonius 335 '*liquerit significat et reliquerit.*' Apollon. iv. 434 *Μινωίδος ἦν ποτε Θησεύς Κνωσσόθεν ἐσπομένην Δίῃ ἐνὶ κάλλιπὲ νῆσφ.* Plutarch Thes. 20 says that a verse of Hesiod's represented Theseus as leaving Ariadne for love of another woman Aegle, and that Peisistratus expunged the verse as a slur upon Athens. Another account, in Pausanias x. 29. 4, represented Theseus as robbed of Ariadne by Dionysus who attacked him with a larger fleet. *inmemori*. Catullus follows the popular version which made Theseus a proverb of unfaithfulness. Theocr. ii. 45 *Τύσσον ἔχου λάθας ὅσων πόκα Θησία φαντὶ Ἐν Δίᾳ λασθήμεν εὐπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνας.*

124. *ardenti*, as in 197 *inops, ardens, amenti caeca furore*, of the fever of pain, nearly = 'agonized.' Att. ix. 6. 4 *Ante sollicitus eram et angebar . . . nunc autem postquam Pompeius et consules ex Italia exierunt, non angor, sed ardeo dolore, οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτῃμαι. Non sum, inquam, mihi crede mentis compos; tantum mihi dedecoris admisisse uideor.*

125. *Clarisonas*, a word used by Cicero in his Aratea, 280.

126. *tum . . . Tum* 128, 'at one time, at another.' Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 20. 53 *Mercurius numquam ab sole longius discedit tum antecedens tum subsequens.* de Divin. ii. 2. 6 *cae tum a principibus teneantur tum a populis, aliquando a singulis.*

127. Ovid Her. x. 25-28 *Mons fuit: apparent frutices in uertice rari, Hinc scopulus raucis pendet adesus aquis. Adscendo, uires animus dabat, atque ita late Aequora prospectu melior alta meo.* MSS give *aciem uastos*, which has generally been altered into *aciem in uastos*. Possibly Catullus wrote *acie uastos*, 'might stretch with her gaze the waste surges of the sea before her,' i. e. might see the waste surging sea stretching before her; a construction however which rather belongs to a later school of poetry.

128. *tremuli* might refer to the slight agitation of the sea under a gentle breeze, as Her. xi. 75 *Vi mare fit tremulum tenui cum stringitur aura*, Sen. Ag. 432 *Vnda uix actu leui Tranquilla zephyri mollis adflatu tremuit*, 'ruffled.' More probably it is 'rippling.'

129. Apollon. iii. 874 *Ἄν δὲ χιτῶνας λεπταλέους λευκῆς ἐπιγουνίδος ἄχρῃς ἀνέρον.* *Mollia*, 'fine,' LXV. 21. *nudatae*, proleptic: my Metrical Translation expresses the idea, *Lifting raiment fine her thighs which softly did open.*

130. *extremis querellis*, 'with the last utterances of her sorrow.'

131. 'As with streaming lips she called up faint chill sobs.' *Frigidulos*, from the chilling effect of grief, *κρυερόιο γόου* Od. iv. 103, cf. Choeph. 83. *udo*. The tears fell on her mouth: she cries and sobs alternately. *oientem*. They came and went. The word expresses Chapman's 'deep felch'd groans.' With the general description cf. Ovid Her. xi. 54 *Et cogor lacrimas combibere ipsa meas*.

132-201. This complaint of Ariadne, which is often imitated by succeeding poets, notably by Vergil in the fourth book of the Aeneid, and by Ovid in the tenth of his Heroides, in the third book of the Fasti 459-516, and in his version of Minos and Scylla Met. viii. 108-142, is itself largely borrowed from Greek sources. The Medea of Euripides, and the third and fourth books of Apollonius' Argonautica, are full of passages which in thought and expression closely resemble Catullus. Together they form the best commentary on this part of the poem.

132. *patriis ab aris*, as in Aen. xi. 269, Stat. T. vi. 610, Val. Fl. v. 449, *πατρὸς δόμοι* Med. 441, *δόμους πατρώους* 801. So Medea in Apollon. iv. 361 *Πάτρην τε κλέα τε μεγάρων αὐτοῦς τε τοκῆας Νοσφισάμην*. Charisius probably refers to passages like this, when he says p. 33 Keil *arae pro penatibus, dicimus namque ara singulariter*. *aeotam*. Ariadne left with her father's consent; it might seem therefore that there is no idea of force in *aeotam*. Plautus has *amicam secum auxilii ex Samo* Bacch. iv. 1. 2, and *Quot eras annos natus tum quom pater a patria te auellit?* Men. v. 9. 56. But combined with *patriis ab aris*, the family sanctuary, the centre of the ideas of home as well as of virginity (Etym. M. s. u. *Ζεῦσι ἡμιόνοιον* παραλαβόντες τὴν νύμφην ἐκ τῆς πατρώας ἐστίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμᾶξω ἄγουσιν εἰς τὰ τοῦ γαμοῦντος ἐσπέρας ἱκάνης, cf. Cic. pro Domo xli. 109) *aeotam* can, I think, hardly be without some notion of violence, and it seems more likely that Ariadne in her passionate reproaches represents what was a voluntary act of her own as forced upon her by her irresistible lover. So Tac. Ann. vi. 34 *Iason post aeclam Medeam*, which was certainly an abduction; i. 59 *quorum tot manus unam mulierculam auxerint*. This also agrees with the position of *perfade*, 'Is it thus, faithless one, that you bore me from the shelter of my father's altars to leave me, Theseus, faithless one, on a lonely shore?'

133. *Perfade*. Theseus was a stock type of perfidy. Theocr. ii. 45, Alciph. ii. 4. 10.

134. *neglecto*, 'slighting,' so fr. Trag. Incert. 55 Ribbeck *Cuius ipse princeps iuris iurandi fuit, Quod omnes scilis, solus neglexit fidem*. *numine*, the sanctity or power of the gods which he had appealed to to confirm his oaths. Apollon. iv. 358 makes Medea say *Ποῦ τοι Διὸς Ἰκείοιο Ὀρκια; ποῦ δὲ μελιχραὶ ὑποσχίσαι βεβίασιν;*

135. Dobree Advers. p. 434 quotes Dem. de Falsa Legat. 409 *τὴν ἄραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιorkίαν οἰκᾶδε εἰσενέγκησθε*. *deuota*, not simply 'accursed,' Hor. C. iii. 4. 27, but under sentence of cursing. It is not a mere expression of anger for the past, but of menace for the future. Ovid Her. vi. 163, 4 *Haec ego coniugio fraudata Thoantias oro, Viuile deuoto nuplaque uirque toro*, and so Hor. Epod. xvi. 9 *Impia perdemus deuoti sanguinis aetas*. Quite a different interpretation is given by Näge on Dir. p. 47 'Mihi deuota idem esse uidetur quod rata et perfecta. Scilicet deuouere Catullo, aliis, proprie erat reddere et soluere illud quod aliquis uouerat, ut in Com. Beren.

*Deuotae flauis uerticis exuuiæ*. igitur Theseus cum rato et impleto periurio domum abierat.' **portas**, in reference to the ship returning with its freight of perjury and the curse which that perjury entails. Caesar B. G. v. 23. But in 329 *portans oplata maritis Hesperus*, Ciris 289 *Aut amor insanæ luctum portauit alumnae*; *portare* is simply 'to be the bearer of.'

137. **praesto**. Lucr. ii. 1065 *cum materies est nulla parata*, *Cum locus est praesto*. Apollon. iv. 385-389 *ἐκ δὲ σε πάτρης Ἀντίκ' ἐμαί σ' ἐλάσειαν Ἑρινύες* οἷα καὶ αὐτῇ Σὴ πάθον ἀτροπίῃ τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἀκράαντα Ἐν γαίῃ πεσέειν μάλα γὰρ μέγαν ἦλτες ὄρκον, Νηλεές.

138. **uellet**, 'should consent,' cf. 302.

139. **nobis**, not as Corn. Müller thinks, 'to me and my parents:' it is simply a variation of *mihi* as often in Propertius. See Prop. ii. 1. 55, 56 *meos sensus, funera nostra*; ii. 4. 16, 17 *mea, nobis*; ii. 6. 41 *Nos uxor numquam, numquam me ducet amica*. Similarly *mihi* is combined with *nobis* in Sil. xiii. 623 *o magni mihi numinis instar, Cara parens, quam, te ut nobis uidisse liceret, Oplassem Stygias uel leto intrare tenebras*. The combination is indeed peculiarly Catullian, as Sydow shows de recensendis Catulli carminibus p. 39, LXVIII. 132, CXVI. 5, 6, LXVIII. 91, 92, L. 17, 18, CVII. 3, 4, 5, 6, XLII. 4. [For **nobis** O gives *blanda*, which K. P. Schulze Catullforschungen p. 20 defends by Cul. 279 *Blanda uoce sequax*, Bährens by Enn. 51 *blanda uoce uocabam*.]

140. **Voce** as in Enn. 45 *compellare pater me uoce uidetur*; Aen. ix. 403 *sic uoce precatur*, i. 94 and 208 *Talia uoce refert* (Sydow). The son's promises were not whispered but spoken. **mihi** with *iubebas* as in Cic. Att. ix. 13. 2 *Quamquam hae mihi litterae Dolabellae iubent ad pristinas cogitationes reuerti*, Liu. xxvii. 16. 8 *interroganti scribae (scriba Madvig against MSS) quid fieri signis uellet ingentis magnitudinis, deos iratos Tarentinis relinqui iussit*. The construction is rare; but I see no reason for doubting it; the infinitive **haec sperare** closely corresponds with the *reueri* of Cicero's letter.

141. Aen. iv. 316 *Per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*. Wagner and Conington there distinguish between *conubia* the furtive union, *hymenaeos* the formal rite. Catullus certainly makes no such distinction: the marriage and the marriage-rites are here identical.

142. **cuncta**, all in one moment, together. **aerei** adds the notion of rapid dispersion through space. Troad. 419 *ἀνέμοις φέρεσθαι παρὰ δῶμ', 454 δὲ θυαῖς αἰθραι φέρεσθαι σοι τὰδ'*. **irrita**, proleptic, 'into nullity.'

143. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of **Tum iam**, though unlike *nunc iam*, it is of comparatively rare occurrence: see Most. i. 2. 48 *Ad legionem cum ilant adminiculum eis danunt Tum iam aliquem cognatum suum*, 'from that moment they proceed to give:' Liu. xxvii. 14. 10 *Tum iam non unus manipulus, sed pro se quisque miles, pila conicere*: Mel. ii. 37 *obiacet tum iam uasta et multum prominens Graecia*: iii. 57 *per solstitium nullae (nocles) quod tum iam manifestior non fulgorem modo sed sui quoque partem maximam ostendat*: here **Tum iam** = 'from that time onwards,' viz. the time when Theseus made his false promises to Ariadne. Stat. observes that Catullus in making Ariadne denounce the whole race of men for the fault of Theseus follows rhetorical precedents. Aristot. Rhet. ii. 21 *Καθόλου δὲ μὴ ὄντος καθόλου εἰπεῖν, μάλιστα ἀρμόττει ἐν σχετλιασμῷ καὶ διωρώσει*.

144. *uiri sermones*, 'what her lover speaks with her.'

145. *praegestit*, 'is very eager:' a rare word used also by Cic. Cael. xxviii. 67 *Praegestit animus iam uidere lautos iuuenes*, Hor. C. ii. 5. 9. *apisci* = the commoner *adipisci*: it can hardly be called an archaism as it is used in letters by Cicero Att. viii. 14. 3 and Sulpicius Fam. iv. 5. 6, as well as by Tacitus Ann. iv. 1, iv. 16, perhaps by Pliny the younger Epist. iv. 8. 6.

146. *metuunt*, 'scruple,' Munro on Lucr. vi. 565. Stat. quotes Hecyr. i. 1. 10 *Nam nemo illorum quisquam, scito, ad te uenit Quin ita paret sen abs te ut blanditiis suis Quam minimo pretio suam uoluptatem expleat*.

148. *metuere*. See on LXII. 42.

149-152. Med. 476 Ἐσώσά σ' ὡς ἴσασιν Ἕλληνας ὄσοι. Apollon. iv. 364 Σὼν ἐνεκεν καμάτων, ἵνα μοι σόος ἀμφί τε βουσίν, Ἀμφί τε γηγενέσσιν ἀναπλήσειαι ἀέθλους.

149. *Certe*, at any rate you cannot deny I saved you in your danger. *turbine*, 'whirling waters,' as *uortice amoris* LXVIII. 107. *uersantem*, *εἰδισσόμενον*: Apollonius uses the latter as Catullus *uersantem*, in the general sense of being placed in, moving in: cf. Cicero's *inter tela uersari* de Orat. i. 46. 202, in *conuersione rerum ac perturbatione uersemur* Flac. xxxvii. 94.

150. *Eripui* . . . *creui*, assonance like *Eripui fateor leto me et uincula rupi* Aen. ii. 134, *Promisi ultorem et uerbis odia aspera moui* ib. 96, *Excepi et regni demens in parte locaui* iv. 374, and so Ennius Ann. 51 Vahlen *Tendebam lacrumans et blanda uoce uocabam*. *germanum*, the Minotaur. Hyg. 205 *Ariadne Minois filia fratrem et filios occidit*. Ov. Her. x. 115 *Dextera crudelis, quae me fratremque necauit*. The suppression of the name just saves Catullus from the charge of bad taste. But he was no doubt thinking of the murder of Absyrtus by his sister Medea's designs Apollon. iv. 451 sqq., Med. 167 ἀσχροῦς τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνασα κόριν. *creui*, 'I determined,' as in Cist. i. 1. 1 explained by Varro L. L. vii. 98, Lucilius ap. Non. 261 *Postquam praesidium castris educere creuit* (MSS *decreuit*) Cic. de Legg. iii. 3. 8 *Quotcumque senatus creuerit populusque iusserit*. This meaning survived in the single formula *hereditatem cernere*, to determine whether one would take an inheritance or not.

151. *fallaci*, 'deceitful as thou art,' pathetic. *supremo in tempore*, 'in thy last need,' cf. *extremo tempore* 169, Lucr. i. 93 *Nec miserae prodesse in tali tempore quibat*: and so *sorte suprema*, 'death,' Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 173. *deessem*. Bährens from *dēm* of *O* writes *dessem*, and so the MSS of Lucret. i. 43 give *desse*, which Munro retains.

152. *Pro quo*, as a return for which. Gloss. Ball. *Pro quo pro qua re. feris labor*. Troad. 450 θηρὶ δώσουσιν δάσασθαι. *alitibusque*. Antig. 29 ἀκλαυστον ἄταφον οἰωνοῖς γλυκὺν Θησαυρὸν εἰσποῶσι πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς. In Ov. Her. x. 83 sqq. Ariadne looks to an approaching end of her sorrows by wolves, lions, tigers or seals.

153. *iniecta* retains the *a* of the primitive, as *conspargere* Lucr. iii. 661, *dispargitur* iii. 539, iv. 895, *dispargit* ii. 1135, *exspargi* v. 371, *explaudentibus* Lucr. iv. 710, *consacraui* Monumentum Ancyranum iv. 25 ed. Mommsen. *tumulabor*, not implying a formal tomb, but the mere sprinkling of the earth over the corpse which constituted burial, Antig. 429, Hor. C. i. 28. 3. The author of the Ciris 442 *iniecta tellus tumulabit harena* imitates Catullus, and Ovid Met. vii. 361 *parua tumulatus harena*

shows the meaning; *cumulabor*, the first hand in *D*, would point to a σῆμα, Od. xi. 75.

154-157. See on LX. 1-3, where the lioness and Scylla are similarly introduced.

155. *conceptum expuit*, 'engendered and disgorged.' Il. xvi. 33 Νηλεΐς, οὐκ ἄρα σοὶ γε πατήρ ἦν ἱππότα Πηλεὺς Οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα Πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής. *expuit*. Catullus may be thinking of Homer's ἐξεμῆν, twice used of Carybdis Od. xii. 237, 437. Gell. xv. 21 *Ferocissimos et inmanes et alienos ab omni humanitate iamquam e mari genitos Neptuni filios dixerunt Cyclopa et Cercyona et Scyrona et Laestrygonas*.

156. *Syrtis*, probably from Apollonius' account of the Syrtis and the stranding of the Argo upon it iv. 1228-1392. It is thus described 1235 Πάντη γὰρ τέναγος, πάντη μωόντα βυθούιο Τάρφεια· κοῖφῃ δέ σφιν ἐπιβλύει ὕδατος ἀχρη· Ἡερὶ δ' ἄμαθος παρακέκλιται· οὐδέ τι κείσε Ἑρπετόν, οὐδέ ποτητὸν αἰρέται, ib. 1244 Ἡέρα καὶ μεγάλῃς ὥτα χθονός, ἥερι ἴσα Τηλοῦ ὑπερτείνοντα διηνεκές· οὐδέ τιν' ἀρδμόν, Οὐ πάτον, οὐκ ἀπάνευθε κατηνυγάζσαντο βοτήρων Ἀδλίον, εὐκλήρ δέ κατειχετο πάντα γαλήρη. *ravens*, 'ravens,' alluding to the sea-monsters which terminated Scylla's body LX. 2. *vasta Carybdis*, as in Lucr. i. 722, 'waste,' 'desolate,' from its destroying any living creature which approached: hence ὁλοήν Χάρυβδιν Od. xii. 428: cf. xii. 106 μὴ σύ γε κίθι τύχοις ὅτε ροιβδήσειεν. Οὐ γάρ κεν ῥύσαιτό σ' ἐπὶ κκοῦ οὐδ' ἐνοσίχθων. Vergil Aen. vii. 302 appropriates the line: and the whole passage 154-157 is paraphrased by Lygdamus iii. 4. 85-92.

157. *qui reddis*, for so returning, as CXIV. 2 *Non falso diues Fertur, qui tot res in se habet egregias*, and XLIV. 21. In these cases the indic. expresses the reason in the instance; the subj. includes the instance as one of a number which collectively form the reason. *pro dulci uita*, the dear boon of life, as *uila dulcius atque anima* LXVIII. 106.

159 seems to express Apollonius' 'Ἡέ τιν' οὐλομένην ἐδάης ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπῆν iii. 677. *Saeua*, 'angry,' Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 21. *prisci*, from the notion of 'old-fashioned,' 'antique,' passes into that of 'morose,' 'peevish,' Copa 34 *A pereat cui sunt prisca supercilia*, pro Cael. xiv. 33 *seuere et grauius et prisce agere* cited by Riese. Plautus uses *pristinus* somewhat similarly Prol. Trucul. 6. *parentis*, Aegeus, not Minos.

160. *uestras*, of you and your family, see on XXXIX. 20; so pro Scauro 30 *Si te omen nominis uestri forte duxit*, pro Sull. iv. 12 *Quis ergo intererat uestris consiliis?* yours and your father's. See Reid there. Il. xxiii. 83 Μὴ ἐμὰ σὼν ἀπάνευθε τιθήμεναι ὅστε, Ἀχιλλεῦ, Ἄλλ' ὁμοῦ, ὡς ἐτράφημεν ἐν ὑμετέροισι δόμοισιν, Ἐδὲ με τυτθὸν εὐντα Μενοιτιάς ἐξ Ὀπείκοντος Ἠγάγεν ὑμέτερόνδ'. Theocr. ii. 128 Πάντως καὶ πελέκεις καὶ λαμπάδες ἦρθον ἐφ' ὑμῆας.

161. The ground-idea is found Il. iii. 409 Εἰς ὅτε σ' ἡ ἄλοχον ποιήσεται ἢ ὅγε δούλην. Eurip. fr. 133 Nauck Ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ ξέν', εἴτε πρόσπολον θέλεις Εἴτ' ἄλοχον εἴτε δμωῖδ'. Shakespere Tempest iii. 1 *I am your wife if you will marry me: If not I'll die your maid: to be your fellow You may deny me; but I'll be your servant Whether you will or no.* *iocundo labore*, a toil that was a delight.

162. *permulcoens uestigia*. As the old Euryclea washes the feet of her master Ulysses, Od. xix. 387; cf. the lines from Pacuvius' Niptra (244 Ribbeck) *Cedo tamen pedem tuum lymphis flauis flauum ut puluerem, Manibus isdem quibus Ulixi saepe permulsi, abluam Lassitudinemque minuam*

*manuum mollitudine.* **liquidis** like *liquidus undas* in 2, *liquidus aquas* Tib. i. 9. 12, 'flowing,' here, with a farther notion of the liquid water falling about and over the feet, 'soft-flowing.'

**163.** Catullus here amplifies the Homeric πορύνειν λέχος Il. iii. 411, Od. iii. 403, vii. 347, Apollon. iii. 1128, iv. 1105, 1117; it matters little that according to Heyne, πορύνειν λέχος is in Homer always applied to the wife, only later to concubines. Catullus borrows the outline of the expression and fills it up according to his own fancy. The passage is imitated by the author of the Ciris 443 *Mene inter matres ancillarumque caleruas Mene alias* (fort. *Men famulas*) *inter famularum munere fungi, Coniugis atque tuæ, quæcunque erit illa, beatæ Non licuit gravidos penso deuoluere fusos?*

**164–170** with **184–187** have so many resemblances to the soliloquy of the shipwrecked Palaestra in the Rudens of Plautus, as to make it probable that Plautus was here Catullus' main model. Rud. i. 3. 21 Fleckeisen *Nunc quam spem aut opem aut consili quid capessam? Ita hic sola solis locis conposita? Hic saxa sunt, hic mare sonat, nec mi obuiam homo quisquam uenit.* 26 *Quæ mihi spes qua me uiuere uelim? Nec loci gnara sum necdum hic umquam fui. Saltem ego aliquem uelim qui mihi ex his locis Aut uiam aut semitam monstret: ita nunc Hac an illac eam, incerta sum consili: Nec prope usquam hic quidem cultum agrum conspicio.*

**164.** Lycophr. Al. 1451 Τί μακρὰ τλήμων εἰς ἀνηκόους πέτρας, Εἰς κύμα κωφόν, εἰς νάπας δασπλήτιδας Βάξω, κενὸν ψάλλουσα μάστακος κρότον; (Scaliger). **ignaris auris**, 'the brutish gales,' that know nothing and are heedless of my sorrow, the κωφαῖς μαψαύραις of Callimachus fr. 67. 4 Blomf.

**165.** **sensibus auctæ**, as Lucr. iii. 630 *Sic animas intro duxerunt sensibus auctas. At neque sorsum oculi neque nares nec manus ipsa Esse potest animæ neque sorsum lingua neque aures Auditū per se possunt sentire neque esse.* Munro thinks Catullus here copies Lucretius.

**166.** 'Can neither hear the words I utter nor give back words of their own.' *Mittere uocem* = 'to speak,' Lucr. iii. 931, Cic. Sest. xix. 42, Flac. iii. 6: *reddidit uocem* = 'lowed in reply,' is found in Aen. viii. 217, *reddere uoces*, 'to reply,' A. P. 158. Yet the ambiguous position of *missas* and the awkwardness of making *uoces* do double duty might suggest another interpretation, 'can neither hear the words launched upon them nor give them back as their own,' the answer to the words being represented as the same words given back with an answer. Vergil imitates Catullus twice Aen. i. 408 *Cur dextræ iungere dextram Non datur ac ueras audire et reddere uoces?* vi. 688 *datur ora tueri Nate tua et notas audire et reddere uoces?* where both *notas* and *ueras* apply equally to *audire* and *reddere*; and this might seem to support the latter and more artificial interpretation.

**167.** **prope iam** with the whole of the clause **mediis uersatur in undis**, 'has all but reached the middle of his course over the waters.' **uersatur**, see on 149.

**169.** **insultans** with **extremo tempore**, as Prop. iii. 6. 24 *Si placet, insultet, Lygdame, morte mea.*

**170.** **etiam** with **inuidit**, has gone the length of grudging me a listener. So Lucr. vi. 179 *Plumbea uero Glans etiam longo cursu uoluenda liquescit*, actually melts.

171-176. Besides a general resemblance to the famous opening of the Medea Catullus here imitates Apollon. iii. 772 'Ὡς δ' ἀφελόν γε Ἀρτέμιδος κραιπνοῖσι πάρος βελέεσσι δαμῆναι, Πρὶν τὸν γ' εἰσιδέειν, πρὶν Ἀχαιῖδα γαῖαν ἰκίσθαι Χαλκιόπης ὕλας' τοὺς μὲν θεὸς ἢ τις Ἑρινὺς Ἄμμι πύλινκλαῦτους δεῦρ' ἤγαγε κείμεν ἀνίας, iv. 32 αἶθε σε πόνοτος, Ξεῖνε, διέρραισεν πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰκίσθαι. Vergil copies Catullus, Aen. iv. 657, 8.

171. *tempore primo*, returns to the moment when Ariadne first saw Theseus. So Medea contrasts the past with the present, Med. 493, 4.

172. *Gnosia*. Homer Il. xviii. 590 describes Daedalus as working a representation of a *χόρος* for Ariadne ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ: Cnossus and Gortyn are associated in the catalogue Il. ii. 646: in Od. xix. 178 Cnossus is called a great city, in which Minos nine seasons was king (ἐντίκτορος βασιλεὺς). *puppae*. In 53 Theseus leaves Dia *celeri cum classe*; in 212 he leaves Athens *classi*; on the other hand in 85 he presses on his journey to Minos *naue leui*, and in 121 the one *ratīs* which bore him and Ariadne reaches Dia. It would seem therefore that the expedition consisted of more than one ship; and that the ship of Theseus, as forming part of the collective fleet, is sometimes included in this, sometimes spoken of independently, perhaps thought of as pursuing its journey apart from the rest.

173. *dira stipendia* looks like a translation from Isocrates, Encomion Helenae 213, speaking of the fourteen children taken from Athens to Crete, ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἀγομένους καὶ πανδημεὶ προπεμπομένους ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄρομον καὶ προδύπον καὶ πενθουμένους ἔτι ζῶντας οὕτως ἡγανάκτησεν ὥσθ' ἡγήσατο κρείσσον εἶναι τεθνήναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ἄρχων τῆς πόλεως τῆς οὕτως οἰκτρὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φόρον ὑποτελεῖν ἡναγκασμένης.

174. 'The faithless seaman had moored his cable on the shore of Crete.' *religasset funem* = *πείσματα* or *πρυμνήσια ἀνάψαι*, which Apollonius constructs sometimes with *ἐπὶ* and a genitive iii. 570, sometimes with a dative ii. 462, iv. 1637, sometimes with *ἐν* or *ἐπὶ* and a dative i. 965, iv. 523 ἐπὶ χθονὶ πείσματ' ἔδησαν. MSS mostly read *Cretam*: *Creta* however is found in *D* and *O*, and must, I think, be right, as in *Cretam* could scarcely mean 'on the shore of Crete.' The ordinary construction after *religare funem* is *ab*, Aen. vii. 106, Luc. vii. 860; Horace C. i. 32. 7 has a simple *abl.*, and so Seneca Med. 611: Ovid M. xiv. 248 *religata in lilore*, as Catullus here.

175. *malus*, substantively, 'caitiff.' Iason reproves Medea for continually λέγουσ' Ἰάσον' ὥς κάκιστός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ Med. 452.

176. *requiescet*, probably of actual repose as in LXVIII. 5: Ariadne would be more impressed by the beauty of the stranger who was resting his limbs under the same roof.

177-183. Closely modelled on Med. 502 Νῦν ποῖ τράπωμαι; πότρε πρὸς πατρός δόμους; Οὐδ' σοὶ προδοῦσα καὶ πάτραν ἀφικόμην; \*Ἡ πρὸς ταλαίνας Πελαϊάδας; καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν Δέξαντό μ' οἴκοις ὧν πατέρα κατέκτανον. Soph. El. 812 νῦν δὲ ποῖ με χρὴ μολεῖν; Μόνη γάρ εἰμι, σοῦ τ' ἀπεστερημένη καὶ πατρός. Ovid Met. viii. 113-118 expands Catullus.

177. *me referam*, 'am I to return?' Aen. vii. 286, Hor. S. i. 6. 115. The younger Dousa quotes Enn. Medea Exul fr. x. Ribbeck *Quo nunc me uertam? quod iter incipiam ingredi? Domum paternamne anne ad Peliae filias?* Similarly Eur. Supp. 1094 sqq. *nitor*, 'what hope have I to rest upon?' So Prop. ii. 34. 1 *Cur quisquam faciem dominae*

*iam credit amori?* Phaedr. Prol. iv. 20 *Inlitteratum plausum cur desidero?* For permutations of indic. and subj. see Hertz. Quaest. Propert. p. 118.

178. **Idomeneosne**, an anachronism. Idomeneus was the nephew of Ariadne, his father Deucalion, being, like her, a child of Minos and Pasiphae (Apollod. iii. 3. 1); Homer makes him leader of the Cretans in the Trojan war Il. ii. 645. The name is probably chosen as most readily suggesting Crete; mythologically Idomeneus and Crete were brother and sister, Apollod. iii. 3. 1. The tomb of Idomeneus was at Cnossus Diod. v. 79. 4. Lachmann proposed to read *Idomeneus* Ἰδομενεύς, a variant mentioned by the Schol. on Il. xiii. 424 Ἰδομενεύς δ' οὐ λήγε μίνος μέγα. Ramsay Latin Prosody p. 144 says *-eos* of Greek genitives is generally, perhaps always, to be scanned as two short syllables; but L. Müller de Re Metrica p. 275 seems right in defending *Idomeneos* on the analogy of *Peleo* 336, of *ostrea cerea* in Horace, *alveo alvearia aerei aureo aurea aureis ferrei Eurystheo Menestheo Orpheo Typhoeo Typhoea* in Vergil, *Enipeo Nereo Prometheo* in Propertius, *alveo* in Tibullus, not to speak of the more doubtful cases of Greek genitives in *-ai*, *Erechthei Pelei Thesei*, etc. [Schwabe and Riese write *Idaeos*, Bährens conj. *Sidonios*.] **a**, the interjection. *At*, the reading of Muretus, Statius and Doering, is compared by the younger Dousa to a very similar passage de Orat. iii. 56. 214 *Quo me miser conferam? quo uertam? in Capitoliumne? At fratris sanguine redundat. An domum? matremne uel miseram lamentantemque uideam?*

179. **Discernens diuidit**. Il. i. 157 ἐπεὶ ἡ μῦλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ Θρᾶς τε σκυέντα θάλασσά τε ἤχησσαν. Soph. Phil. 635 ὥς ἡμᾶς πολλὸ Πέλαγος ὀρίξει τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς νεώς. Lucr. i. 721 *Angustoque fretu rapidum mare diuidit undis Italiae terrarum oras a finibus eius*. Sen. Epist. 71. 1 *Oblitus uasto nos mari diuidi*. **truculentum**, LXIII. 16. After this word MSS have *ubi*, which though metrically and grammatically unlikely is at least explicable. 'Am I to sail for the Cretan mountains? Those mountains where a boisterous sea separates me, alas, with its waste of water and keeps me away.' So Ovid or whoever was the author of Heroid. xvii. 173 *Quid mihi quod lato non separor aequare prodest?* But **Discernens diuidit** more naturally refer to **montes**, 'parts and severs them,' sc. from me.

180. **patris**. Apoll. iv. 378 Πῶς ἔξομαι ὄμματα πατρός; **quemne**, i. e. *eiusne quem*; so often in Plautus, Epid. v. 2. 52. Epid. *Inueni, et domist*. Apoec. *Quemne hodie per urbem uterque sumus defessi quaerere?* Mil. i. 1. 13 *Quemne ego seruau?* See Holtze Syntax ii. p. 262.

181. **Respersum iuuenem fraterna caede**. Rosc. Am. xxiv. 68 *respersas manus sanguine paterno*. **fraterna caede**, i. e. *Minotauri*. See on 150.

182. **memet** is very rare in the poetry of the 'grand style' but Catullus here returns to the language of the earlier poets. Attius (Athamas fr. ii Ribbeck) said *utinam memet possem obliscier*. Here **memet** intensifies the idea of self, 'myself by myself,' suggesting the absence of the person from whom Ariadne would naturally look for consolation.

183. **incuruans**, with the strain of the rowing. The relation of **lentos** to **incuruans** is doubtful; **lentos** is not only supple or pliant, but 'resisting'; on this view the rower bends the resisting oar by the strain



of his pull, and the effect of the adjective is to heighten the eagerness of Theseus to get away, by suggesting the toil of his rowers as they beat the water, *lentos* thus conveying the reason of *incuruans*. Yet from Aen. iii. 384 *Trinacria lentandus remus in unda* it would seem that in connexion with rowing *lentos* expresses the *flexibility* of oars produced by their passing repeatedly and rapidly through the water; for this sense and this only suits equally well *lentare remum* and *lentare arcum* Stat. Achill. i. 436: since *lentare*, as Dr. Henry shows, must = *lentum facere*, and this is incompatible with the sense of tough or resisting. Then *lentos incuruans* would be 'making the supple oars curve' by their rapid motion through the water. Catullus perhaps imitates Apoll. R. ii. 593 ἐπεγράμπτοντο δὲ κῶπαι ἥτε καμπύλα τόξα. At any rate Catullus cannot allude to the *apparent* curvature of the oars in the water, an alternative suggested by Passerat, quoting Lucr. iv. 436 sqq.

184. *litus* in its connotative sense of *bare* shore. Att. i. 18. 1 *litus atque aer et solitudo mera*. *sola insula* in apposition with *litus*, 'it is an uninhabited waste shore, an island of desolation.' For the interposed appositional clause Bücheler compares Iuven. iii. 48 *Mancus et extinctae, corpus non utile, dextrae*. Luc. viii. 343 *Vidit ab Hircanis Indoque a litore siluis*.

186. *nulla spes*, as *pote stolidum* XVII. 24, *impotentia freta* IV. 18. For the description cf. Apollon. iv. 1235 Πάντη γὰρ τέναγος, πάντη μινδέντα βοθοῖο Τάρφρα, ib. 1245 οὐδὲ τιν' ἀρδμόν, Οὐ πάτον, οὐκ ἀπάνευθε κατηγύσσαντο βοτήρων Ἀδλίον, εὐκλήφ δὲ κατεῖχετο πάντα γαλήνη.

187. *omnia . . . Omnia*. Vulp. compares Lucr. v. 830 *Omnia migrant; Omnia commutat natura et uertere cogit*. Vergil imitates Catullus Aen. i. 91 *Praesentemque uiris intentant omnia mortem*, whence Orelli thinks he read *intentant* here.

188. *Non tamen ante*. Ovid Met. xiv. 724 *Non tamen ante tui curam cessisse memento Quam uilam*.

189. *fesso*, 'worn out with grief:' similarly Ovid Met. xiv. 729 *Si tamen o superi mortalia facta uidetis, Este mei memores, nihil ultra lingua precari Sustinet*.

190. 1. Voss quotes Pacuvius Iliona fr. ix Ribbeck *Di me etsi perdunt tamen esse adiutam expelunt Cum prius quam intereo spatium ulciscendi danunt*.

192. *uirum*, of men, as distinct from women, nearly = 'lovers.' Lygdam. 6. 41 *Sic cecinit pro te doctus, Minoi, Catullus, Ingrati referens impia facta uiri*, does not prove that *facta uirum* can itself mean 'the deeds of husbands:' on the other hand Sillig is wrong in explaining it as simply = *hominum*.

193. *anguino* not *anguineo* is the MS reading, and is supported by Pacuv. Antiopa fr. iv Ribbeck, Varro R. R. i. 2. 25, Prop. iv. 8. 10. According to Pausanias i. 28. 6, Aeschylus was the first who described the hair of the Furies as intertwined with snakes, Choeph. 1049 πεπλεκτανημένα Πυκνοῖς δράκονσιν.

194. *praeportat*, 'bears on its front,' a word occurring twice in Cicero's Aratea, 209 of the Centaur *partem praeportans ipse uirilem*, 430 of the Scorpion *prae se Scorpius infestus praeportans flebile acumen*. Lucr. ii. 621 *Telaque praeportant uiolenti signa furoris*.

196. *Vae misera*, the reading of most MSS, is retained by Bentley and

defended from Ov. Am. iii. 6. 101 *uae demens*, and Verg. Ecl. ix. 28 *Mantua uae miserae nimium uicina Cremonae*, where *uae* seems to have little connexion with *miserae*; cf. Hor. C. i. 13. 3. I have followed *D* in reading *miserae* (1) because when combined with *miser*, *uae* generally takes a dative, Andr. iv. 4. 4, Heaut. ii. 3. 9; (2) the assonance of the two *e* sounds *miserae extremis* would be in the manner of Catullus, see on XLV. 12; (3) *uae miserae* is certain in Heroid. iii. 82.

197. *ardens*, see on 124. *amenti caeca*. Sest. vii. 17 *caecus atque amens tribunus*.

198. Here I seem to trace a prolixity, not to say prosiness, unusual in Catullus, and quite in the manner of his great but less artistic contemporary. *ueræ*, containing true indictments: Lucr. iii. 57 has *ueræ uoces tum demum pectore ab imo Eiciuntur*.

201. *funestet*, 'bring the curse of death upon.' Cic. pro C. Rabir. iv. 11 *funeslari contionem contagione carnisicis uelo*.

202. *prōfudit*, as Lucretius has both *prōpello* and *prōpello*; so *prōcuro prōpino prōpago* (Munro in Public School Gramm. § 221).

204. *inuicto*. Most MSS have *inuilo* which was explained by Heinsius Aduersar. p. 574 'utpote qui fratris filio faueret,' Theseus being according to some accounts the son of Poseidon (Plut. Thes. 6, Tac. Ann. iv. 56). If so, Catullus confused two accounts of his parentage; for in 241 Aegeus is represented as Theseus' father. Voss suggests that Catullus is here expressing the Homeric *ἐκὼν δέκοντι γὰρ θυμῷ*, said of Zeus granting a thing with only half a mind; as Ovid says of Augustus Pont. i. 2. 126 *Et iacit inuila fulmina rara manu*. But it seems improbable that Catullus would introduce *inuilo* with so special a meaning, without any hint to explain it; I therefore follow nearly all edd. in reading *inuicto*. The two words are easily confused, Ovid A. iii. 9. 24, Ibis 502. Conr. de Allio quotes from Livy vii. 30 *Annuile, patres conscripti, nutum numenque uestrum inuictum Campanis et iubete sperare*. *numine* after *Annuil* might seem to be physical, as it must be in Lucr. ii. 632 *Terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas*; see Munro there, and cf. iv. 179; in iii. 144 *ad numen mentis momenumque mouetur* it seems to be in a transition stage, 'direction.' Lachmann however on Lucr. ii. 632, a line which recurs again v. 1315 with *undique* for *numine*, denies that *numen* ever means *nutus*; and Varro L. L. vii. 85 while deriving *numen* from *nuere*, implies that *numen* was not = *nutus*. The same connexion is found in Cic. de Rep. i. 36. 56 *Vt rex putaretur unus esse in caelo, qui nutu ut ait Homerus totum Olympum conuerteret*, but immediately after *deos omnis censent unius regi numine*, and in the passage from Livy vii. 30 just quoted. Cf. Paul. Diac. p. 172 M. It would seem that Catullus like Varro, Cicero, Livy, had in his mind the received etymology from *nuere*; but we need not conclude that *numine inuicto* therefore = 'nod,' as it certainly does not in Liu. vii. 30: 'sovereign inclination' perhaps expresses the idea in both passages.

205. Il. i. 528 *Ἡ καὶ κτανέησιν ἐπ' ὄφρουσι νεῦσε Κρονίων Ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χεῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλελίξεν Ὀλυμπον*. *motu* as in Stat. Theb. vii. 3 *Concussitque caput motu quo celsa laborant Sidera*, a passage cited by Bährens. *contremuere*. Panegyric. ii. 7 *Iouis sui more nutu illo patrio quo omnia contremescunt*.

**206.** The language seems to be Lucretian, v. 514 *Quo uoluenta micant aeterni sidera mundi*, 1204 *suspiciamus magni caelestia mundi Templa super stellisque micantibus aethera fixum*.

**207.** *caeca*, 'blank,' rather than 'blinding,' as in Aen. v. 589.

**208.** Plautus has *consitus senectute* Men. v. 2. 4, like *aerumnam obseuisti* Epid. iv. 1. 30 and the common *obsitus squalore illuic*, etc. The metaphor would thus seem to be a true Roman one, though in Lucr. ii. 211 *sol lumine conserit arua* Munro quotes a Greek fragment σπείρων θεοκρίσταν φλόγα from Arist. Poet. 21. Cf. Heliodorus ap. Galen. de Antid. ii. p. 776 Ald. (Meinek. Anal. Alex. p. 385) Ἡέλιον σπείροντα θεοῖς φαειμ-βροτον αἶγλην. It is remarkable that Catullus speaks of darkness, Lucretius of light, as thick-sown; but Catullus approaches more nearly to the Plautine use of the word, Lucretius seems to have in his mind the idea of various spots successively illumined by the sun; with him the word is more of a distinct simile, in Catullus it approaches a metaphor.

**209.** *mandata* as shown by 238 is substantive.

**210.** *sustollens*. Lucr. iv. 906 uses *sustollere* of a machine drawing up weights by pulleys. It is not simply = *tollens* but gives the idea of hauling up with some effort. *Dulcia signa*, viz. the white sail, 235.

**211.** *uisere*, 'sighted.'

**212.** *diuae*, the city of Pallas, Athens. *classi*, abl. as in LXVI. 46, 'in his ships,' see on 172.

**213.** *concrederet*, 'consigned to,' very common in Plautus. Cicero combines *commendare et concredere* pro Quint. xx. 62.

**215.** *unice*, as in XXXIX. 5. The position of *unice* between *iocundior* and *uita* is doubtless intentional. Theseus was more dear than long life as the only son of his father. *uita*, LXVIII. 106.

**216.** *Gnate*. Realinus notices a similar iteration in Aen. v. 724 *Nate mihi uita quondam, dum uita manebat, Care magis, nate Iliacis exercite fatis*, Stat. in Aen. i. 664, where Servius remarks '*Nate ab indulgentissimo nomine causa amoris*.' *dimittere*, MSS. But Catullus uses *dimittere* 208, LXVIII. 81 in the sense of 'letting go' = *omittere* or *omittere ex*, and Passerat shows from Fam. x. 8. 2 a letter of Plancus *Cum in eum casum me fortuna demisisset*, ix. 1. 2 *Cum me in res turbulentissimas infidelissimis sociis demissem*, that *demittere* was regular in the sense of 'launching,' sending into an arena or field of action. It should therefore be restored here.

**217.** *Reddite*. Theseus was the offspring of an amour of Aegeus with Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus king of Troezen. Aegeus, knowing her to be pregnant, left his sword and sandals beneath a rock, and ordered her, if she should bear a son, to bid him when he reached manhood, as a test of his strength, lift the rock and remove the tokens of his paternity. This Theseus did and on arriving at Athens was recognized by showing Aegeus' sword. Aegeus was old at the time he thus recovered his son. Plut. Thes. 12.

**218.** *fortuna*, 'ill fortune.' More usually *fortuna* and *uirtus* are united as the two sides of the same great Roman character. Liu. xxiii. 42. 4 *Tua nos uirtus fortunaque*, 'your valour and good fortune.' *feruida*, 'impetuous.'

**219.** *Eripit*. Augustus began his will with the words *Quoniam sinistra*

*fortuna Gaium et Lucium mihi eripuit*, Suet. Tib. 23 (Passerat). *languida*, 'failing,' as *languescant lumina morte* 188.

220. *saturata*, like *pascere oculos*, which Munro on Lucr. i. 36 calls a common phrase.

223. A line in the style of Cicero's poems, as indeed is most of this section of the Peleus and Thetis. *expromam mente* is illustrated by LXV. 3 *Nec potis est dulcis Musarum expromere fetus Mens animi*. The mind is the storehouse of grief or joy. Ion 923 μέγας θησαυρός ἐν ἀνολύγνται Κακῶν ἐφ' οἷσι πᾶς ἂν ἐκβάλαι δάκρυ. Plaut. Truc. ii. 7. 43 Schöll *Nunc ego meos animos uiolentos meamque ex pectore iram promam*.

224. *Canitiem*, 'grey hair,' as in Prop. i. 8. 46, and in Vergil *puluere*. Il. xviii. 23 Ἀμφότερῃσι δὲ χερσὶν δλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν Χείρῃσι κακὰ κεφαλῇσι χάρειν δ' ἥσχυε πρόσωπον.

225. *infecta*, 'coloured,' Prop. ii. 18. 23. *uago*, 'swaying' or 'wavering.' Nonius 469 quotes a line from the Hectoris Lustra of Ennius *Arbores uento uagant*, where the verb seems to have the same meaning; cf. Lucr. iii. 1052 *animi incerto fluitans errore uagaris*, where I think the metaphor is the same, 'you waver swaying to and fro with an unsteady vacillation.'

226. *Nostros . . . nostrae*, in opposition to *Non ego te gaudens laetanti pectore mittam*. The meaning seems to be, 'if others have a sign of joy, I will have a sign of my own, a sign of grief.' *luctus*, *incendia*, *hendiadys*, 'the grief kindled in my heart.' *incendia*, as the mother of Euryalus *incendit luctus* Aen. ix. 500, where Conington compares Od. xx. 353 Οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηκε.

227. *Carbasus*, which according to the Veronese Schol. on Aen. viii. 34 is both masc. and fem., is here fem. as in Ennius Ann. 560 Vahlen, Lucr. vi. 109, Prop. iv. 11. 54. *dicet*, may show. Nonius 287 *Dicare indicare nuntiare*. Lucilius lib. xxx *Sicubi ad auris Fama tuam pugnam clarans allata dicasset*. So Lucretius uses *dedicare* = *indicare*. There is however some plausibility in Lachmann's conjecture *decet*; *dicere* for *decere* occurs in the palimpsest of Fronto p. 159 Naber: the objection to it is that the statement though true is weak; whereas Aegeus would naturally go on to explain the reason of his hanging up a coloured sail. *ferrugine*. Non. 549 *ferrugineum colorem ferri similem esse uolunt*; *uere autem ferrugineus caeruleus est*, and he quotes Plautus Mil. iv. 4. 43 *Palliolum habeas ferrugineum, nam is colos thalassicus*. This is explained by Munro on Lucr. iv. 76 to denote a dark violet colour like that of steel after it has been heated in the fire and cooled; and he affirms the Mediterranean in certain weathers to have precisely such a colour. *Hibera*. Aen. ix. 582 *ferrugine clarus Hibera*, where Servius interprets *Hibera* of the Pontic Iberia, a country celebrated for dyeing colours. Yet on G. i. 467 he explains *ferrugo* to be *purpura nigrior, Hispana*; and this is more likely. Cato ap. Gell. ii. 22. 29 speaking of the *Hispani qui citra Hiberum colerent* says *Set in his regionibus ferrareae, argentifodinae pulcerrimae*, and Strabo i. 46 speaks of τὸ περὶ τὰς μεταλλείας εὐφύεις of Spain. Anth. P. ix. 561. 4 σιδηροτόκου Ἰβηριῶδος, Justin. xlv. 3. See the Excursus.

228. *Quod tibi si* for *Quod si tibi* is rare, as Süss noticed. Yet cf. Sen. ad Marc. 16 *Quod tibi si uis exempla referri*. Il. v. 260 Αἴ κέν μοι πολύβουλος Ἀθήνη κῦδος ὀρέξη Ἀμφότερῳ κτείνειν. *sancti*, from the sanctuary of Athena which made the town celebrated. So Soracte is *sanctum* as the

sanctuary of Apollo, Aen. xi. 785 (Passerat). Itonus or Iton (Il. ii. 696) is placed by Strabo near the Phthiotic Thebes, above the Crocian plain, 435 Τῶν Θεβῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ μεσσηγίᾳ τὸ Κρύκιον πῆδιον πρὸς τῷ καταλήγοντι τῆς 'Οθρύου, δὲ οὐδ' Ἀμφρυγίου ῥεῖ· τούτου δ' ὑπέρκειται ὁ 'Ιτῶνος, ὅπου τὸ τῆς 'Ιτωνίας ἱερὸν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ ὁ Κονάριος ποταμός, cf. Paus. i. 13. 2. The Itonian Athene is often mentioned, especially in the Alexandrian poets, Callim. Cer. 74, Apoll. R. i. 551, 721 as read by the Schol.<sup>1</sup>; Millingen pl. ii note 8 speaks of Thessalian coins on which she is represented as holding a spear to dart against the enemy. **Ἴtoni**, as in Callim. Cer. 74, Epigr. ap. Plut. Pyrrh. 26, Anth. P. ix. 743. 2. Homer and Apollonius make the first letter long. MSS give *ithomi* or *ythomi*. The *th* may be right. Hesych. 'Ἰθῶν ἡ πόλις Θεσσαλίας.

**229. nostrum**, the race of kings to which Aegeus and Theseus belonged. According to Apollod. iii. 14. 5 sqq. Cecrops was succeeded by Cranaus; Cranaus was expelled by Amphictyon, who in his turn was expelled by Erichthonius, the child born from the rape of Hephaestus on Athene. Erichthonius was succeeded by his son Pandion, Pandion by his son Erechtheus, the great grandfather of Aegeus; who is thus great-great-grandson of Athene. There is perhaps also a special reference in **Itoni**, for Itonus was traditionally the son of Amphictyon. **Erechthi**. The MSS point pretty uniformly to *Erechthi*, not *Erechthei*. This tendency to assimilate Greek nouns in *-eus -es* to Roman nouns of the second declension, like the tendency to decline Greek nouns in *-e* on the analogy of Roman nouns of the first declension, still predominates in Cicero and the writers of his time. Catullus may have thought of Il. ii. 546 sqq. Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον εὐκτίμενον πολίεθρον, Δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγάλῃ-τορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα, Κάδ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἶσεν, ἐφ' ἐνὶ πύλοι νηῶ.

**232. uigean** . . . *obliteret*. De Orat. ii. 87. 355 *ita audire . . . ut illi non infundere in auris tuas orationem sed in animo uideantur inscribere. Itaque soli qui memoria uigent sciunt quid et qualenus et quomodo dicturi sint*. Cicero talks of men with a vigorous memory; Catullus makes the memory the soil in which the words to be recorded live and grow (*uiuit uigetque* Liu. xxxix. 40).

**233. inuisent** seems to be little more here than 'look upon,' as in de N. D. ii. 43. 110 *Et natos geminos inuises sub caput Arcti*, though there is perhaps the idea of the eyes passing through a succession of objects and coming at last to the sight of the hills of Attica.

**234. antennae**. 'The yard-arm was made of a single piece of fir when the vessel was a small one,' but of two pieces braced together for those of a larger size. Hence the word is often met with in the plural number, while the sail attached to it is at the same time expressed by the singular, *antennis totum subnectite uelum* Ovid Met. xi. 483' (Rich, Companion s.v.). Hence there is an appropriateness in **undique**, not merely from end to end, but from each end of the two pieces which together form the yard-arm. **uestem**, as we might say 'housings,' meaning the sail.

**235. Candidaque**. Another version, followed by the poet Simonides, represented the sail which Aegeus gave not as white, but as purple or red. Plut. Thes. 17 Πρώτερον μὲν οὖν οὐδεμία σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ὑπέκειτο· διὸ καὶ μίλαν ἱστίῳ ἔχουσαν, ὥς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ προδήλῃ, τὴν ναὺν ἔπεμπον. τότε δὲ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> The MS reading is *Τριτανίδος*.

Θησέως τὸν πατέρα θαρρύνοντος καὶ μεγαλγοροῦντος ὡς χειρώσεται τὸν Μῆταυρον, ἔδωκεν ἕτερον ἱστίον λευκὸν τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, κέλυσας ὑποστρέφοντα συζομένου τοῦ Θησέως ἐπάρασθαι τὸ λευκόν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ μέλανι πλεῖν καὶ ἀποσημαίνει τὸ πάθος. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης οὐ λευκὸν φησιν εἶναι τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀλλὰ φοινίκεον ἱστίον ὑγρῷ πεφυρμένον πρὶνὸς ἀνθεῖ ἐριβάλλον· καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι σημεῖον.

*intorti*, like *tortos funes* Aen. iv. 575, Hor. Epist. i. 10. 48, is usually explained 'twisted,' suggesting either the strength of the cables which haul up the sails, or their tight and compact make. And so Petronius 131 *licium uarii coloris filis intortum*. Met. iii. 679 *ad intortos cupiens dare brachia funes* would justify a different interpretation, which Dr. Maguire Hermathena xi. p. 335 has suggested for Hor. Epist. i. 10. 48, 'strained *taut*' in the action of hoisting the sails.

236. Before this verse Faernus and Muretus inserted a line ascribed to Catullus by Nonius 546, to Cinna by Isidorus Orig. xix. 2. 10 and the Schol. on Lucan v. 418. Nonius gives it imperfectly *Lucida qua splendet carchesia mali*, Isidorus adds *alti*, the Schol. on Lucan *summi*; they besides read, Isidorus *consulgent*, the Schol. *cum fulgent*. This verse was generally admitted into the text till Lachmann's edition, and Lucian Müller has again inserted it. His reasons are (1) that it is appropriate: Aegeus would see the top of the mast first, and there if anywhere a white sail would naturally be hoisted. (2) Other verses have fallen out of our MSS of Catullus. (3) The authority of Nonius is unquestionable, and the more so here that he cites the verse from *Catullus Veronensis*. I reject the verse (1) because, though it is true that it might naturally follow the description in 234-235<sup>1</sup>, and *might* even be appropriate, it is doubtful whether Catullus had this idea, since in 243 the sail when it first comes in sight is puffed out by the wind, a description which better suits the central part of the sail than the comparatively small top-sail; (2) when other verses have fallen out, the sense always indicates it, which it certainly does not here; (3) the authority of Nonius is, as L. Müller himself admits, rather shaken by the fact that he ascribes to Catullus elsewhere (517) a verse attributed by Diomedes 513 Keil to Serenus, and though his circumstantiality here makes it less probable that he is wrong in assigning the verse to Catullus, it is possible that it came from one of the lost poems; (4) it seems here unnecessary, a descriptive accessory which mars the simple completeness of 234, 5, and spoils the force of the opposition of colours in these two lines by introducing another object, the mast-top, itself described as bright.

237. *Agnoscam* with *gaudia*, 'may recognize my joy as come,' i.e. as a thing realized, no longer in the future. The white sail is the *σύμβολον σαφές* (Soph. Phil. 403) by which Aegeus will know that his hour of rejoicing has arrived. Tac. Dialog. 7 *Aduenae quoque iam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac uelut agnoscere concupiscunt*. *aetas* is generally interpreted 'time'; it is perhaps more natural to refer it with Alex. Guarinus to the life of Theseus, cf. LXVIII. 16, and Propertius in several places ii. 5. 27 *Scribam igitur quod non unquam tua deleat aetas*, ii. 18. 5 *Quid si iam canis aetas mea candeat annis?* On this view we might compare (see Scioppius

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Schol. on Lucan v. 418 edited by Usener '*carcesia mali ligna quae antennam teneant aut certe quod est in summum arboris quod nunc calcese dicitur, in quo trochilias per quas funes currunt.*'

Veris. iv. 13) *aetati tuae* nearly = *tibi* Men. iv. 3. 1, Capt. iv. 2. 105, Ter. Hec. iii. 1. 53 *aliquid comminiscuntur mali Capiti atque aetati illorum*: thus *aetas prospera* would be a mere periphrasis for *tu prosperior factus*. But as the Datanus gives *aera* and *sistent*, and *G* has *sistent*, it is not impossible that a plural noun has been ousted by *aetas*, perhaps *frela* as Fröhlich conjectured. *reduoem sistet*, 'shall bring safe home.' Aen. ii. 620 *tutum patrio te limine sistam*. Liu. xxix. 27 *domos reduces sistatis*.

238. The construction of this and the following two lines is, as remarked by Haupt, peculiarly Alexandrian. Theocr. xii. 8 *σκυρὴν δ' ὑπὸ φηγὸν Ἡελίου φρύγοντος ὁδοπόρος ἔδραμον ὥς τις*. Apoll. R. iii. 858 *τῆς οἴης τ' ἐν δρεσσι κελαυήν ικμάδα φηγοῦ Κασπίῃ ἐν κόλῳ ἀμήσατο φαρμάσσεσθαι*. ib. 1293 *αὐτὰρ δ τοῦσγε Εἰ διαβάς ἐπιόντας ἄτε σπιλάς εἰν ἄλι πέτρῃ Μίμναι ἀπειρασίσῃσι δονούμενα κύματ' ἀέλλαις*. So Hor. A. P. 458 sqq. *Hic . . . Si ueluti merulis intentus decidit auceps In puteum foueamus*.

239. Catullus seems to be imitating Il. v. 522–526 ἄλλ' ἔμμενον νεφέλησιν ἰοκότες, ὥς τε Κρονίων Νηημέης ἔστησεν ἐπ' ἀκροπόλεισιν ὄρεσσιν Ἀτρήμας, ὅφρ' εὖδῃσι μένος Βορέας καὶ ἄλλων Ζαχρηῶν ἀνέμων, οἵτε νέφεα σκυδόντα Προΐησιν λιγυρῇσι διασκιδᾶσιν ἀέντες.

240. *niuei* (ὄρεϊ νιφόντι Il. xiii. 754, compared by Corn. Müller), in the very rare sense of *niueosi* or *niualis*: similarly however Verg. G. iii. 354 *Sed iacet aggeribus niueis informis et alto Terra gelu*, Germanicus Arat. 243 *niueus Haemus*. This forgetfulness on the part of Theseus was, according to Pausanias i. 22. 5, caused by grief for the loss of Ariadne, cf. Diod. iv. 61. 6: Plutarch says both Theseus and the pilot forgot for joy at their safe return (Thes. 22).

241. *prospectum petebat*, 'looked out to see.' Pacuvius in his Chryses (Non. 467) similarly *in omnis partis prospectum aucupo*. *arce*, the Acropolis. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth places the traditional locale of this precipitation towards the S. W. angle of the Acropolis, a little higher than the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos. 'This particular spot commands a wide prospect of the sea. Catullus has been saved from an error, perhaps by his acquaintance with the scene, into which later writers have fallen. They with few exceptions make Aegeus throw himself from the rock of the Acropolis into the sea, which is three miles off.' *Athens and Attica*, ed. 3, p. 89.

242. *absumens*. Mitsch. compares Theocritus in Anth. P. ix. 432. *Ἴ τί τοι πλέον, εἰ καταταξείς Δάκρυσι διγλήνως ὥπας ὀδυρόμενος*.

243. *inflati* MSS, *infecti* the Italian scholars of the Renaissance. The change is hardly necessary; as Riese observes, the reader does not require to be told again that the sail was black; *inflati* however is not merely a picturesque epithet; the out-puffing of the sail made it more conspicuous to the eye of the watcher. (K. P. Schulze.)

244. *scopulorum e uertice*, ἀναβάντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἑαυτὸν κατακρημίσαι Diod. iv. 61. 7. Pausanias i. 22. 5 mentions the exact spot. Another version made Sunium the place from which Aegeus threw himself into the sea called from him Aegean: see Stat. Theb. xii. 624–626, and cf. Schol. on Apoll. R. i. 831.

246. *funesta* with *paterna Morte*. Cicero uses *funesta familia* of a household in mourning for the death of one of its members, Legg. ii. 22. 55, and so Epicedion Drusi 474. Justin xxxii. 2 *compulso ad parricidium patre funestam omnem regiam fecit*.

**247. ferox Theseus** as in 73. **Minoidi.** A rare form of Greek dative. Neue i. 309 quotes *Telhyi* LXVI. 70, *Iasoni Palladi* in Statius (Theb. iii. 521, Ach. i. 285).

**248. Obtulerat.** Bährens cites Cas. iii. 5. 50 *offerit maerorem*, Lucil. xvi. 88 M. *homines ipsi hanc sibi molestiam ultro atque aerumnam offerunt*. Cicero generally says *afferre luctum*, as in Rosc. Am. v. 13. **mente inmemori** is placed between the two clauses as equally referring to either; with the first in the sense of faithlessness to Ariadne, in the second of forgetfulness towards Aegeus. For the sentiment cf. an epigram ascribed to Archias Anth. P. ix. 339. 5 *ὃν ἔτευχεν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ Ἐκ κείνου τλήμων αὐτὸς ἔδεκτο μόρον*.

**249. G and O** point to a reading *tum prospectans*; but **tamen aspectans**, the reading of most MSS, is more skilful as an expression. 'Yet all the while gazing still at his receding keel,' etc.; partly as indicating the fixed despair of Ariadne which took no heed of the lapse of time, partly as suggesting the immobility of the figures on the tapestry.

**250. saucia**, 'stricken,' not with grief (Doering) but with love as in Aen. iv. 1 *gravi iamdudum saucia cura*, Tib. ii. 5. 109.

**251-264.** Transition to another part of the subject embroidered on the coverlet: Bacchus in quest of Ariadne with his crew. Besides the natural connexion of this with the former part of the story, Catullus may have been led to introduce it by another reason, the connexion of the wandering Bacchus with *Thetis*. Apollod. iii. 5. 1 *ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς διὰ τῆς Θράκης ἡπειρίγγο*. Διούργος δέ, παῖς Δρύαντος, Ἡδωνῶν βασιλεύων, οἱ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν παροικοῦσι, πρῶτος ὑβρίσας ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. Καὶ Διόνυσος μὲν εἰς θάλασσαν πρὸς Θέτιν τὴν Νηρείως κατέφυγε, Βάκχαι δὲ ἐγένοντο αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ τὸ συνεπόμενον Σατύρων πλῆθος αὐτῶ.

**251. florens**, the bright-blooming or the fresh young Iacchus: a composite idea, expressing partly the youth of the god, partly the freshness of his complexion and look, like τὸν ὥραϊον θεόν as he is called Aristoph. Ran. 395. Delrio on Sen. Oed. 411 found an allusion to Διόνυσος Ἀνθους or Ἀνθεύς, 'quo cognomine cultus Athenis et Pataris, teste Pausania in Achaic. (vii. 21. 6), unde Catullus *At p. ex al. florens u. I.*' Cf. Paus. i. 31. 4. **uolitabat**, of rapid and indeterminate motion, as often in Cicero. Mitsch. compares Ciris 307 *Nunquam ego te in summo uolitantem uertice montis . . . Conspiciam*.

**252. Nysigenis.** Iacchus is supposed to be returning from the Oriental Nysa, as in Aen. vi. 805 *Nec qui pampineis uictor iuga flectit habenis Liber agens celso Nysae de uertice tigres*. According to Plin. H. N. vi. 79 *Nysam urbem plerique Indiae adscribunt montemque Merum Libero Patri sacrum*. Others, as Diodorus iv. 2, place Nysa μεταξὺ Φοινίκης καὶ Νείλου, following the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus 8. 34 Ἔστι δέ τις Νύση, ὑπαιον ὄρος, ἀνθίων ὕλη Τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτωιο ῥυάωι: others in Asia Minor or Thrace: Steph. B. mentions a Nysa in Naxos, and in an island so closely connected with the worship of the god, it is not unlikely that one of the principal legendary names associated with him should be introduced for that reason: but the description of Catullus is of a barbaric or non-Greek procession; oriental, even if not Indian. Strabo 687 quotes a fragm. of Sophocles 871 Nauck which closely corresponds with Catullus, Ὅθεν κατείδον τὴν βεβακχωμένην Βροτοῖσι κλεινὴν Νύσαν, ἣν ὁ βοῦκερως Ἰακχος αὐτῶ μαῖαν ἡδίστην τρέφει. Apollonius iv. 431 speaks of Dionysus as the prince of Nysa when he wooed Ariadne in Dia, a passage



which may have been in Catullus' memory. **Silenis.** Diod. iii. 72. 1 συστρατεύσαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ τῶν Νυσαίων τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους, οὓς ὀνομάζεσθαι Σειληνοὺς. Πρῶτον γὰρ τῶν ἀπάντων βασιλεύσαι φασὶ τῆς Νύσης Σειληνόν. Aelian V. H. iii. 40 Σάτυροι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι. Σειληνοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σιλλαίνειν. τὸν δὲ σίλλον ψόγον λέγουσι μετὰ παιδιᾶς δυσaréστου· ἐσθίς δ' ἦν τοῖς Σειληνοῖς ἀμφίμαλλοι χιτῶνες. 'Silenorum nomine seniores omnes Bacchi comites intelligi notum est' Hertzberg on Prop. ii. 32. 14.

**253.** tuo amore, 'love of you:' so mea cura, 'care for me,' Prop. i. 8. 1, amore meo, 'love of me,' Hor. Epod. v. 81.

**255.** 'Raving to the cry Euhoe, swinging their heads to the cry Euhoe.' The construction follows the Greek use of εὐοῖ, in such passages as Trach. 218 ἰδοὺ μ' ἀνατράσσει Εὐοὶ μ' ὁ κισσός, Thesmoph. 1003 κατ' ὄρεα Νυμφᾶν ἐρατοῖς ἐν ὕμνοις Εὐιον Εὐιον, εὐοὶ ἀναχορεύων, cf. Bacch. 158. Demosth. de Cor. 313 ἐπορχεῖσθαι ὕψις ἀττης. Lobeck Aglaoph. p. 1042 quotes Harpocration to prove that the pronunciation was eu-hoe, i. e. with an audible inter-aspiration: Lachmann on Lucr. v. 743 shows that the h is found in many Latin MSS. The MSS of Catullus here are in favor of euohe rather than of euhoe; so incohare by the side of inchoare; but in Aen. vii. 389 Ribbeck's MSS seem to give euhoē.

**256.** Harum alludes to the women who traditionally formed the main part of such Bacchic processions. See the Bacchae of Euripides *passim*, and cf. Diod. iii. 64. 6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν συναγαγόντα καὶ θυροῖς καθοπλίσαντα στρατείαν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι τὴν οἰκουμένην· καταδείξαι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ μεταδύναται τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς εὐσέβεισι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δίκαιον βίον ἀσκούσι. In the S. C. de Bacchanalibus it is decreed that *magister neque uir neque mulier quisquam esset*. *tecta*, either with vine-leaves (Ovid Met. iii. 667 speaks of Bacchus shaking *pampineis uelantam frondibus hastam*, Aen. vii. 396), or ivy (Prop. iii. 3. 35, Eleg. Maecen. 64, a plant resembling which, called σκινδαψός, grew on Nysa, Schol. Apoll. R. ii. 904), or fir-cones. Rich gives illustrations of all three.

**257.** iunuenco, as in the lines ascribed to Nero in Persius i. 100, Bacch. 737 Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἂν προσεῖδες εὐθελον πόριν Μυκωμένην ἔχουσιν ἐν χερσὶν δίε, ἄλλαι δὲ δαμάλας διεφόρουσιν σπαράγμασιν. Εἶδες δ' ἂν ἡ πλείρ' ἢ δίχληον ἱμβασιν ῥιπτόμεν' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω. On vases Bacchus is seen tearing the limbs of a kid or fawn, or holding a snake. Birch Ancient Pottery p. 294.

**258.** Bacch. 697 καταστίκτους δορὰς Ὀφείσι κατεζώσαντο λιχμῶσιν γένυν.

**259.** 'Some with deep caskets were bearing mysterious emblems in procession.' *cauis cistis* is abl. instrum., the caskets being the most prominent indication of the procession. *celebrabant* retains its proper sense of crowding or doing a thing in a crowd or concourse *infr.* 287, 302: but Ast is hardly right in interpreting 'frequenter adibant, ad orgia accedebant uenerationis causa,' as in Tib. i. 3. 33, Lygd. 5. 29. The meaning of *orgia* is fixed by Seneca's imitation Herc. Oet. 592 *Nos Palladias ire per aras Et uirgineos celebrare choras; Nos Cadmeis orgia ferre Tecum solitae condita cistis*, as well as by Theocr. xxvi. 13 Σὺν δ' ἐτάραξε ποσὶν μανιώδεος ὄργια Βάκχου Ἐξαπίνας ἐπιούσα, τὰ δ' οἶχ' ὀρέοντι βέβαλοι, which in 7 are called ἱερὰ ἐκ κίστας πεποναμένα. The *cista* was originally a cylindrical wicker-basket, as represented on numerous coins and bas-reliefs; later a casket or box of more costly materials, used for holding the mystic emblems of the rites of Bacchus or Ceres, and borne in procession by *cistophori*. Rich.

260. Hom. H. Cer. 476 καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργανα πᾶσιν, Σεμνὰ τὰ τ' οὐδὲς ἔστι παρέξμεν οὔτε πυθίσθαι οὐτ' ἀχέειν μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν ἄγος ἰσχύανει αὐδῆν. Bacch. 471 ΠΕΝ. Τὰ δ' ὄργι' ἐστὶ τιν' ἰδέαν ἔχοντά σοι; ΔΙΟΝ. "Ἀρρητ' ἀβακχεύουσιν εἰδέναι βροτῶν. ΠΕΝ. "Ἐχει δ' ὄρησιν τοῖσι θύουσιν τίνα; ΔΙΟΝ. Οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαι σ', ἔστι δ' ἄξι' εἰδέναι. Isocrat. Paneg. 28 Δήμητρος εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς οὐχ οἶον τ' ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς μεμνημένοις ἀκούειν. Theocr. iii. 51 ὅσ' οὐ πευσίσθε βίβαλοι. Apoll. R. i. 920 οἱ λάχον ὄργανα κείνα Δαίμονες ἐννοεῖται, τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἡμῶν ἀεῖδew. profani. Ovid A. A. ii. 601 Ehwald *Quis Cereris ritus ausil vulgare profanis?*

261. Lucr. ii. 618 *Tympana lenta sonant palmis et cymbala circum Concaua* (the *tenuis tinnitus* of Catullus) *raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu Et Phrygio stimulat numero caua tibia mentis* (the *cornua* and *tibia* of Catullus). *Plangebant*. Lucr. vi. 115. *proceris* gives the idea of tapering fingers.

262. *tereti*, 'rounded;' the cymbals consisted of two hollow half-globes *similia hemicyclis caeli* Servius on G. iv. 64. *ciebant*. G. iv. 64 *Tinnitusque cie et matris quate cymbala circum*.

263. *Multis*, many made horns blow out their hoarse-toned boom. *bombos*, as in Lucr. iv. 544, Pers. i. 99. From the passage in Lucretius it would seem that *bombus* expresses the under- or after-sound which is heard in playing horns and similar instruments. Augustinus de Dialect. v *Verbum cum dicimus, inquit, prima eius syllaba uerum significat, secunda sonum. Hoc enim uolunt esse bum. Vnde Ennius sonum pedum bombum pedum dixit*: an etymology which Wilmanns ascribes to Varro, De Marci Terenti Varronis libris grammaticis p. 144.

264. *Barbara*, LXIII. 22. *stridebat*, 'shrilled.'

265. *amplificæ*, 'gorgeously.' Forc. quotes no other instance, and *amplificus* only from Fronto p. 150 Naber.

266. *suo*, a drapery of its own; it was a special couch and had a special coverlet as befitted the marriage-bed of a goddess and its prominent position in the centre of the palace (47-49).

267. Od. iv. 47 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ὀρώμενοι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν. Spenser Prothalamion *Whom when they saw they stood amazed still Their wondering eyes to fill*.

268. *decedere*, 'to give place to,' Amph. iii. 4. 4, more fully *decedere de uia* Amphit. iii. 4. 1, Trin. ii. 4. 80, and in Cicero. *diuis* for πάντες δ' ἀντιάσθε θεοὶ γάμον Il. xxiv. 62.

269-275. The departure of the guests is compared to the waves of the sea stirred by a breeze at morning. At first it is slow and only a few are seen moving from the doors of the palace; by degrees the impulse becomes more general, till at last they are seen streaming in all directions, and at a long distance off. The simile is to some extent modelled on Homer, Il. iv. 422 sqq. 'Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγυλῷ πολυχηεῖ κύμα θαλάσσης "Ὀρρυτ' ἐπασσύτερον, ξεφύρου ὑποκινήσαντος, Πόντῳ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα κορυύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Χέρσῳ ῥήγνυμενον μεγάλα βρέμει. vii. 63 Οἷη δὲ Ζεφύρου ἔχειατο πόντου ἔπει φρίξ "Ὀρρυμένοιο νέον. It is partially imitated by Alciphron iii. 1. fin. and by Swinburne *Tristram in Lyonesse* vii, *As ripples reddening in the roughening breath Of the eager East*.

269. *flatu matutino* with *Horrificans*.

270. *Horrificans*, 'ruffling,' as *horror* Lucan v. 446. Homer uses φρίξ of the sea brushed by a wind Il. vii. 63 cited above. *procliuias*, proleptic with *incitat*, stirs into slanting ridges: Catullus seems to mean

no more than the curved form of waves just beginning to rise on a hitherto smooth and windless sea. *O* has a word which is generally thought to mean *procluiit*<sup>1</sup>, i.e. *procluiit* changed to *procluius*. I still think it is meant for *procluiiter*<sup>1</sup>, an adverb found in Gell. i. 6. 6: the comparative is used by Lucr. ii. 792 *multo procluius exorientur*. Similar adverbs are *humaniter* Fam. vii. 1. 5, *longiter* Lucr. iii. 676, *caduciter* Varro ap. Non. 91. Nonius gives a long list of them pp. 509-517.

271. *sub limina*, to which the MS reading *sublimia* points, naturally connects itself with *exoriente*, 'when Morn is rising upwards to the threshold of the far-travelling sun,' with which might be compared Il. ii. 48 Ἡὸς μὲν ῥα θεὰ προσεβήσето μακρὸν Ὀλυμπόν, Theocr. ii. 147, xiii. 11 Οὐδ' ὅκα δ' λεύκισσος ἀνατρέχει ἐς Διὸς ὥς, except that they speak of the morn as rising to the sky, Catullus to the east. It is an objection to this view that *exorients* when applied to the rise of the morning or the sun (Lucr. iv. 538, G. i. 438, Cic. Arat. 589) does not generally contain any farther idea, and is not, as here, constructed with a clause which implies motion in a particular direction. We might then punctuate after *exoriente* and construct *incitat* with *sub limina*, the west wind pushing the waves up against the eastern sky, as Aeschylus represents them Ag. 1180-1182. *uagi*, as in a fragm. of Laevius ap. Macrob. S. i. 18. 16 *Hac qua sol uagus igneas habenas Inmittit propius iugalque terrae*, not 'tremulous,' (Ast), nor 'straggling,' in reference to the broken and dispersed appearance of the sun at daybreak, as seen from the top of Ida (Voss). [Most edd. prefer *sub lumina* as in Aen. vi. 255 *primi sub lumina solis et ortus*. But there *primi* defines the time expressed in *sub*: here *sub lumina* after *Aurora exoriente* would be a weak, because less defined, expansion of these words: and to construct *sub lumina Solis Aurora exoriente uagi*, 'when the sun lights up as he travels forth at break of dawn,' would be unlike the ordinary style of Catullus. Whereas in *uagi sub limina Solis* each word contributes to the whole idea 'up to the threshold where the sun begins his travel (*uagi*).']

272. *tarde* with *Procedunt*, the slowness is in proportion to the lightness of the gust.

273. *plangore*, 'plash,' Lucr. ii. 1155: *clangore*, the reading of *ACL*, would give the idea of a ringing sound, like *clangente* in the passage from Attius below. *cachinni*, 'ripples.' A passage of Attius' Phinidae may have occurred to Catullus (571 Ribbeck) *Simul et circum magna sonantibus Excita saxis suavissona echo Crepitu clangente cachinnat*.

274. *magis magis*, like *μᾶλλον μᾶλλον* Iph. T. 1406, Ran. 1001, in each instance perhaps a nautical expression. *increbescunt* I retain as the reading of most good MSS; the MSS of Cicero fluctuate between *increbruit* and *increbuit*, though on Phil. xiv. 5. 12 Orelli says 'nullus ex meis *increbruit*;' on the other hand in Vergil all Ribbeck's primary MSS have the *r* in *increbescere* G. i. 359, Aen. viii. 14, *crebescere* xii. 222, *crebescit* xii. 407: in Plaut. Merc. v. 1. 9, Ritschl's MSS all give *increbescunt*. Cicero uses *increbescere* of the wind getting higher Fam. vii.

<sup>1</sup> On this view the dot which *O* gives under the *t* of *procluiit* was added later, when the contraction *s* was read as *s* instead of its proper meaning *er*. A very similar case is the word *concorditer* as written in the Rawlinsonian MS of Ovid's Met. iii. 752, *concordi*.

20. 3, Vergil of the sound of the winds gradually increasing G. i. 359; Catullus applies the word more strictly to the waves crowding faster and faster, *ἐπασσύτερον κύμα* Il. iv. 423: so Sallust quoted by Servius on Aen. i. 116 *crebritate fluctuum*.

275. *procul*, rather with the whole sentence than with *nantes* alone: 'and far out at sea as they float reflect a brightness from the glowing light.' *procul*, just as the guests are seen at last streaming off no longer in the vicinity of the palace only, but at a great distance from it. *nantes*, Ennius has *fluctus nantes* 584 Vahlen: Theocr. xxi. 18 *τρυφερὸν προσέσχεθ' ὠλάσσα* (Mitsch.). *ab luce refulgent* like *qua a sole conlucet (mare)* Acad. Prior. xxxiii. 105, where Reid compares Lucr. ii. 51 *fulgorem ab auro*.

276. *uestibuli regia tecta*, 'the inclosure of the royal vestibule.' *tecta* in a wide sense 'building,' here the buildings which made up the *uestibulum*, a spacious court from which the palace was entered. The adj. *regia* is transferred from *uestibuli* to *tecta*, as in XXXI. 13. This is easier than to regard the expression as a Grecism like *δώμαθ' ἐστίας* Eur. Androm. 593 'house and hearth,' 'palace and vestibule.' If any change is required, I would suggest *Sic tum e uestibulis*.

277. *At (ad) se*, 'to their own homes:' so *transcurrito ad uos* Mil. Glor. ii. 6. 45; *abi ad uos* ib. 54. Od. xxi. 215 *Οἰκία τ' ἐγγὺς ἐμείοι τετυγμένα*, 'near my own dwelling.' *uago pede*, as their feet bore them this way or that: *uagus* here = 'wide-ranging.'

278. *princeps*, 'first,' as might have been expected from the prominent part he plays in the legend of Peleus and Achilles. Pindar Nem. iii. 97 makes Chiron give Thetis in marriage to Peleus. Staphylus, in the third book of his work on Thessaly, represented Chiron as an astronomer who, wishing to make Peleus celebrated, contracted an alliance for him with Philomela the daughter of Actor, then gave out that Peleus was going to marry Thetis, and that the gods would come to the wedding in a storm. As soon as stormy weather set in he married Peleus to Philomela; the report meanwhile spreading that Peleus had wed a goddess. Schol. on Apoll. R. iv. 816. Riese quotes Il. xvi. 144 *πύρε Χείρων Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς*, Eur. I. A. 705-7 *Χείρων ἴν' οἰκεῖ σπηλεὶ Πηλίου βάθρα*. 'Ἐσταυθ' ἔδαισαν Πηλέως γάμους θεοί. *Pelei*. Where was the cavern in which Chiron lived. *Pelei* is archaic for *Peli*.

279. *portans*. On a vase figured by Millingen pl. x, and representing the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, Chiron carries over his left shoulder what looks like a branch or stalk of some large shrub. *siluestria*, in keeping with his character as well-versed in plants and herbs: the centaur was sometimes called Chironia. Mr. Tozer observes that the importance of the flora of Pelion is shown by the *Descriptio montis Peli* (Fragm. Hist. Graec. ii. p. 261 sqq.) being mainly occupied with a description of the trees and plants growing upon it. See Tozer's Highlands of Turkey, ii. p. 125. Descript. § 2 *ἔλης δ' ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶν φύεται γένος· πλείστην δ' ὀξύνην ἔχει ἐλάτην, σφίνδαμόν τε καὶ ζυγίαν, ἔτι δὲ κυπάρισσον καὶ κέδρον· ἔστι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνθη, τὰ τε ἄγρια καλούμενα λείρια καὶ λυχνίδες*.

280. *quodcumque* might be *quolcumque*, see Lachm. on Lucr. iii. 317, but the distance of *flores* makes it more likely that it is an indefinite expression 'all which.'

281. *fluminis*, here not of a particular river, but generally 'by river-waters.'

282. Callim. H. Apoll. 81 "Ἀνθεα μὲν φορέουσιν ἐν εἵαρι, τόσσα περ Ὀραι Ποικιλ' ἀγινεύσι ζεφύρου πνεύματος ἔεργον.

283. *indistinctis*, 'unsorted,' i.e. in which the flowers were of various kinds and colours, like the garland called *Eros* which was sold at Nicaea for the dead, Etym. M. *plexos*. Lucr. v. 1399 *plexis redimire coronis Floribus et foliis*: ἄνθη πλεκτά Pers. 618.

284. *Quo*, with *iocundo odore*. *risit*. Hom. H. Cer. 13 Κηῶδες δ' ὀδμῇ πᾶς οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερβην Γαῖά τε πᾶσ' ἐγέλασσε καὶ ἄλμυρόν οἶδμα θαλάσσης.

285. *Penios* not *Peneios* nor *Penius* is the best attested reading of the MSS: the river-god is meant. *viridantia*, as in a fragm. of Attius' *Bacchae* ap. Non. 489 (Ribb. 243, 244) *ubi sanctus Cilhaeron Frondet viridantibus fetis*; the word gives the idea of a *diffused* verdure. *Tempe*, as Callim. H. Del. 105 Πηνείος ελυσσόμενος διὰ Τεμπέων, where the river is also personified as here by Catullus.

286. *silvae*. 'The cliffs all through the pass are composed of grey limestone finely tinted with red, and their ledges and hollows are fringed with trees which fix their roots to the rocks. The vegetation is magnificent, and wherever the slopes are sufficiently gradual, runs far up the mountain sides: it is composed of oak, wild olive and dwarf ilex, together with a thick undergrowth of agnus castus, palluria, and oleander, while the banks of the stream are everywhere shaded by plane-trees of luxuriant growth. In a few places also may be seen the laurel of Apollo, which that divinity was said to have transplanted from hence to Delphi.' Tozer, *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* vol. ii. p. 68: the same author remarks that Catullus has shown his usual felicity in seizing on one salient feature of Tempe, its overhanging woods: whereas most other ancient accounts are more or less inaccurate.

287. 'To be thronged by the Doric dances of the Magnesian women;' the construction of *celebranda* like Aen. iii. 280 *Actiaque Iliacis scelebamus litora ludis*. *linquens*, XXXV. 3, Aen. vii. 562 *supera ardua linquens*. In retaining *Doris* I have followed Scaliger; the form is found as a variant in Cic. Flac. xxvii. 64, Servius on Aen. ii. 27, which seems identical with Isidor. Orig. ix. 2. 80, Festus p. 206: but *Doriis* Fest. p. 317, and this latter form with a double *i* may be the word meant in the other places. *Magnesson* is my conjecture for *Minosim*; I suppose it to stand for Μαγνησσών. Strabo 442 Πέπονθε δέ τι τοιοῦτον καὶ ἡ Μαγνήτις' κατηγορημένων γὰρ ἤδη πολλῶν αὐτῆς τόπων, οὐδένας τούτων ἐνόμασε Μάγνητας Ὀμηρος ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μόνους οὓς τυφλῶς καὶ οὐ γνωρίμως διασαφεῖ Οἱ περὶ Πηνεῖον καὶ Πηλῖον εἰσοσίφυλλον Ναιέσκον. ib. 443 Τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεχθέντας Μάγνητας ὑστάτους ἐν τῷ Θετταλικῷ καταλόγῳ νομιστέον τοὺς ἐντὸς τῶν Τεμπῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης ἕως Πηλίου. The general sense is expressed by Collins, *Ode to the Passions*, *They saw in Tempe's vale her native maids, Amidst the festal-sounding shades, To some unwearied minstrel dancing*: he probably read after Heinsius *Aemonisin*. Haupt's <sup>1</sup> *Naiasin*, though partially supported by Cul. 19, 117, 119, is tame and purposeless; the common interpretation which refers the v. to the Muses (*Mnemonidum Mnemonisin Aonisin*) has little support from the descriptions of Tempe: yet see Stat. S. v. 3. 209. It would seem that the Muses are only associated with Tempe as the attendants of Apollo (Hor. C. i. 21. 9), in whose honour a novennial procession of youths from

<sup>1</sup> Realinus (1551) had already conjectured *Naiadum*.

Delphi existed in historical times: but Catullus says expressly that Apollo stayed to guard heaven (299), and here therefore no such notion of association exists. [*Doris* is now universally thought impossible: but all the conjectures are unconvincing. In an Excursus to vol. i. p. 333 I proposed to read *Haemonisin linguens Chlōri celebranda choreis*. In the mythical stemma of the eponymous heroes of Thessaly, given by Steph. Byz. s. v. *Almōvia*, the poet Rhianus made Haemon son of Chlorus, and father of Thessalus. Possibly Rhianus introduced Chlorus (ὁ χλωρός, the Verdurous) marshalling dancing-bands of Thessalian maidens in the verdant (*uiridantia*) Tempe; and Catullus may be here following him. *Clōri* would become *dōri*, and by assimilation to *choreis*, *dōris*. The combination *Haemonisin choreis* would be like *τυμαῖς ἡρώεσσι* Apoll. R. i. 1048.]

**288. uacuos**, 'empty-handed.' Stat. compares a passage of Attius apud Festum 265 M. *Neque erat quisquam a telis uacuus, sed uti cui quisque obuiam Fuerat sic ferrum alius, saxum alius raudus sumpserat* (Ribbeck 263). So κενὸς Il. ii. 298, Od. xv. 214, κενὸς O. C. 359. *ille*, either an inversion of *non ille uacuos, namque tulit*, or more probably 'in his turn,' 'as his gift,' in reference to the *flower-gifts* which the other donor, Chiron, had brought. The banks of the Penios being fringed with trees of many kinds (see on 286) trees would be the appropriate offering for Penios to bring. *radicitus* with *tulit*, like Vergil's *teneram ab radice ferens, Siluane, cupressum* G. i. 20.

**289. recto** with *proceras*, 'stately with an upright stem.' *laurus*, for which Tempe was famous, δάφνης Τεμπίδος Nicand. Alex. 198. Hesych. Δυναρεῖα ἢ ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσι δάφνη· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Δηλία.

**290. nutanti**. Ennius apud Gell. xiii. 20. 13 *Capitibus nutantis pinos rectosque cupressos*. The word expresses the swaying of the luxuriant mass of foliage which forms the top of the plane-tree. *lenta*, 'limber,' a natural description of the poplar.

**291. aerea**, 'sky-springing,' Mart. xii. 50. 1, cf. 240: Vergil has *aeræe ulmi, aeræe quercus*, of high-towering trees. The younger Dousa quotes Theocr. xxii. 41 Λευκαὶ τε πλάτανοί τε καὶ ἀκρόκομοι κυπάρισσοι for the same combination of poplar, plane and cypress.

**292. Haec**, 'all these,' indefinite like *quodcunque* 280. *late contexta*, 'woven into a broad close screen.' Plin. Epist. v. 6. 9 *Sub his per latus omne uineae porriguntur unamque faciem longe lateque contexunt*.

**293. molli fronde**, as in Ecl. v. 31 *Et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas*.

**294 sqq.** Wilamowitz (Herm. xiv. 201) thinks that in this part of the poem Catullus may have followed the *Φαινόμενα* of Hermippus. Robert, Eratosth. p. 223, shows from the Schol. on Aratus Phaen. 436 that Hermippus identified the *Centaur* with Chiron, and connected the *Allar* with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Possibly too the identification of the *Genicularius* with Prometheus fastened on Caucasus which is found in Hyginus P. A. ii. 6 was drawn from the same work of Hermippus. It seems very doubtful however whether Catullus was acquainted with this not widely read poem. Mythology gives Prometheus a prominent part in the story of Peleus, since it was he who warned Zeus against marrying Thetis, as the son born of their union would expel him from the sovereignty of heaven. Apollod. iii. 13. 5, Aesch. Prom. 768. *sollerti corde*, as the inventor of the arts and sciences, Prom. 440-506. Prometheus says of himself, πᾶσαι τέχναι

βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως ib. 506. His prophetic power in reference to Zeus and Thetis (see above) is perhaps included.

295-7 seem based on Apoll. R. ii. 1250 sqq. Καὶ δὴ Κανκασίων ὄρεων ἀνέτελλον ἐρίπναι Ἡλίβατοι, τότῃ γυνὴ περὶ στυφελόισι πάγοισιν Ἰλλόμενος χαλκήρῳ ἀλυκτοπέτῃσι Προμηθεὺς Αἰετὸν ἥπατι φέρβε παλιμπετὲς αἰσσοντα.

295. *Extenuata*, 'faded.' Pliny uses *cicatrices extenuare* xxxii. 24 and 37. *uestigia*, the scars left by the nails which fastened Prometheus to Caucasus. Others, explain *Extenuata uestigia* of the piece of rock set in iron (Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 2, Servius on Ecl. vi. 42) which Jupiter gave Prometheus on setting him free, to wear as a ring in memory of his punishment: *Extenuata* would then mean reduced to small compass.

296. *silici* like *ungui classi capiti* may be ablative, *restrictus* following the construction of *reinxit* Aen. iii. 76, *ligauit* Anth. L. 707. 6 Riese, *religare* Hor. C. i. 32. 8. More probably it is dative, as *stringi* in Quintil. Declam. x. 8. Martial Spect. 7. 1 has in *Scythica religatus rupe Prometheus*.

297. *Persoluit*, 'paid in full.' Prom. 112 Τοῖωνδε ποινὰς ἀμπλακημάτων τίτω. *praeruptis*, πρὸς πέτραις Ὑψηλοκρήμυσι Prom. 4.

298. After Prometheus, whose counsel had diverted Jupiter from his own attempt at marrying Thetis, Jupiter himself with the rest of the younger dynasty of gods is naturally introduced. All appear except Phoebus and his sister Hecate, a detail peculiar to Catullus, and which has been variously explained. Corn. Müller thinks Catullus was here following an Alexandrian account: Preller ascribes the absence of Apollo to his strong feeling for Troy, a view substantially the same as that of Muretus, who connects it with the fact that Achilles was slain by Apollo; in Il. xxi. 278 Achilles speaks of this death as foretold by Thetis: its anticipation by both her and Apollo would be enough to keep the latter away. Hecate would do what her brother did, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Λητωῖας ὥσπερ Ἀπόλλων Callim. H. Dian. 83. A fanciful reason was suggested by Marcilius, founded on the story mentioned by Staphylus (see on 278) that the marriage of Peleus took place in stormy weather, when neither sun nor moon was visible: others, as G. F. Ottey, think the sun and moon could not absent themselves from their proper spheres. *coniuge natisque*. Homeric: Od. iii. 381 Αἰτῶ καὶ παῖδεςσι καὶ αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι. The hypermeter as in CXV. 5, also a hexameter; so XXXIV. 22 *Romulique* in a glyconic.

299. *Aduenit caelo*. Plautus uses the ablative after *aduenio* of any place where one has been for some time living, *Lemno aduenio* Truc. i. 1. 74, ii. 4. 4, *Aegypto aduenio* Most. ii. 2. 10, and so *aduenio Acherunte* in the verses quoted by Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. 16. 37: *domo* is habitually used without the preposition; and it seems likely that Catullus has this idea in his mind, heaven being the usual abode of the gods. Bonnet, and before him Mr. Pinder, take *caelo* with *relinquens*, to make the construction symmetrical with *montibus* (*relinquens*). This is arbitrary and improbable: for (1) *cultricem* cannot be sundered from *montibus Idri*, therefore (2) *relinquens caelo* is not symmetrical with *relinquens montibus*, (3) *cultricem montibus* is probably a latinization of *ἀφροῖουρον* a rare adj. found in an epigram ascribed to Archias Anth. P. vi. 181. 1. *Phoebe*. Phoebus in Il. xxiv. 62 Πάντες δ' ἀντιάσθε θεοὶ γάμου, ἐν δὲ τοῖσιν Δαῖνι' ἔχων φόρμυγγι is expressly stated to have been present at

the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, with his lyre; and Plato Rep. ii. 383 says Aeschylus introduced him singing a prophecy afterwards falsified of the happiness of Thetis and her child. Euripides does not expressly mention Apollo in describing the nuptial feast Iph. A. 1036-1074, but he perhaps included him in *θεῶν* 1041, unless, as he supposes the hymeneal song to be sung by the Muses, he followed a different account from that given in the Iliad. In Catullus neither Apollo nor the Muses are supposed to be present.

300. **Vnigenam**, also in LXVI. 53, either (1) 'only-begotten,' as in Cicero's translation of the Timaeus iv *Singularem deus hunc mundum atque unigenam procreavit* = Plato's εἰς ὃδε μονογενὴς οὐρανὸς 21 B, cf. Fest. 195 M. *oenigenos unigenitos*; or (2) 'of the same race,' 'sister,' *ὁμόγονοι* (Hertzberg): Artemis is called Il. xx. 71, Hom. H. 9. 1 *κασιγνήτη Ἑκάτοιο*, Hom. H. 9. 2 *ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνος*. The latter view is the general one, as the goddess is called Phoebus' sister in 301, and there is a *prima facie* absurdity in speaking of a goddess as an only child in one line, and as having a brother in the next. Yet, setting aside LXVI. 53, the evidence is more in favor of 'only-born' than 'of one and the same race:' whilst *μονογενής*, Plato's equivalent for *unigena*, is a recurring epithet of Hecate from the Theogony onwards, Th. 426 Οὐδ' ὅτι μονογενὴς ἦσσαν θεὰ ἔμμορ τιμῆς, 448 Οὕτω τοι καὶ μονογενὴς ἐκ μητρὸς ἰούσα, as the single child of Asterie, Leto's sister, by Perses 406-409. Similarly Apollon. R. iii. 1034 *Μονογενὴν δ' Ἑκάτην Περσηίδα μελίσσοιο*, on which line the Scholiast mentions another story adopted by Musaeus, that Zeus impregnated Asterie and then gave her to Perses. On this latter view she might be called *μονογενὴς ἐκ μητρὸς*, yet sister to Phoebus as in part the child of Zeus. Or again she might be called *unigena* as Hecate, *soror Phoebi* (301) as Artemis, with whom Hecate is often identified. The form of the two statements is rather against the prevailing view; for it is not in Catullus' manner to repeat the self-same idea in two consecutive lines. **cultricem montibus** = *quae colit montibus*: the ablative with *colere* is like *incolere* with ablative, Rud. iv. 2. 2, Varro Prom. fr. iv Riese 426 Bücheler; Gellius has *colere in loco* ii. 22. 19. Catullus seems to translate *οὐρεσίουκον*. **Idri** is explained by Voss of the Carian district Idrias Herod. v. 118; Steph. B. mentions a Carian city Idrias, formerly Chrysaoris, which was also called Hecatesia (s. v. *Ἑκατήσια*), and where Hecate was worshipped as Lagynitis. Strabo 660 also speaks of the territory of Stratonicea as containing a celebrated temple of Hecate at Lagyna, to which there were great gatherings yearly. Leake Numism. Hellen. Asiatic Greece p. 124 states that coins of Stratonicea bear a head of Diana surmounted by a crescent: others an altar with fire, others torches, both referring to the worship of Hecate at Lagyna. There would be less difficulty in identifying this goddess with the **cultrix montibus Idri**, if the form Idreus could be established. But the only known nominative seems to be Idrieus, the genitive of which ΙΔΡΙΕΩC (as satrap of Caria 351-344 B.C.) occurs on coins of Halicarnassus (Leake p. 64) and in inscriptions (C. I. G. ii. p. 584 when see Böckh): the MSS of Steph. Byz. s. v. *Ἰδρίας* give the genitive of the eponymous founder as *Ἰδρίω*, s. v. *Εὐρώπος* as *Ἰδρίος*: it is not easy to see how Idri as a Latin genitive could represent either. Nor is it easy to see why the Carian Hecate should be introduced here. Elsewhere in this poem the



geographical allusions are generally Greek, mainly indeed Thessalian. Possibly Catullus wrote *Iri*; a town Iru near Trachis is mentioned by Lycophron 905; Steph. B. calls it a Malian town, cf. Thuc. iii. 92 *Μήλιοι οἱ ξύμπαντες εἰσὶ τρία μέρη, Παράλιοι Ἰερῆς Τραχίνιοι* and Meineke's note on Callim. Del. 287. Herodotus vii. 198 describes Malis as hemmed in by high and inaccessible mountains called the Trachinian rocks, which would suit Catullus' *montibus*. That Apollo and Artemis were both worshipped in this neighbourhood seems clear from Trachin. 205 sqq. where a hymn is sung to Apollo, Artemis, and the neighbouring nymphs.

**302. celebrare**, 'to crowd,' i.e. form one of the procession carrying the torches. Sen. Oct. 708 cited by Realinus on 321, *Quorum toros celebrasse caelestes ferunt*, of Peleus and Thetis. The torches were, at least sometimes, carried in both hands, which, when the procession was numerous, would give an idea of *crowding*. Anth. P. vii. 711. 3, 4 *ἄλποντο δωαλίον φλόγα πείκας ἄψεν ἀμφοτέραις ἀνσχύμενοι παλάμαις*.

**303. niueis**, from the dazzling whiteness (*candor* 45) of the ivory seats. *flexerunt*, like *κάμπτειν*, O. C. 19 *Ὁδ' κῶλα κάμψον τοῦδ' ἐπ' ἀξέστον πέτρον*. Mr. Pinder remarks 'Catullus is here true to the customs of heroic times, making the gods sit and not recline at meals.'

**305. Cum interea**, 'and in the meanwhile,' without the notion of *tamen* which according to Hand Tursellinus s.v. it ordinarily has.

**306. Veridicos**, a word used twice by Lucretius in his last book, vi. 6 and 24. Persius has *Parca tenax ueri* v. 48. **Parcae**. Catullus seems to follow the fine description of the Fates in the tenth book of Plato's Republic 617, where each of them sits on a throne in a white robe and with a chaplet on her head, Lachesis singing the past, Clotho the present, Atropos the future, touching and turning the spindle of Necessity.

**307. His**, 263. **tremulum**, shaking with age.

**308. Candida**. Plato Rep. 617 *θυγατέρας τῆς Ἀνάγκης Μοίρας λευχειμοῦσας στέμματα ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἔχούσας*. (Stat.) Catullus adds to the white robe a purple border which falls round the feet. Hom. H. Cer. 182 *ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος Κνώτος ραδινοῖσι θεῆς ἐλελίζετο ποσσίν*. **talos**. Lygd. 4. 35 *Ima uidebatur talis illudere palla*. Alex. Guarinus observes that Catullus gives to the Fates the dress of a Roman matron, the *uillae tenues*, *insigne pudoris*, *Quaeque legis medios instila longa pedes* A. A. i. 31. *incinxerat* is rare, except in Ovid: the participle is found in Cicero Acad. Pr. ii. 28. 89, a translation, in Vergil G. iv. 342 and elsewhere.

**309. At roseo niueae**, all MSS, cf. Cir. 122 *At roseus medio surgebat uertice crinis*. **roseo** is explained by Alex. Guarinus of the rose-perfumed heads of the Fates, by Orelli of their divine brightness, by Mr. Pinder of the bloom natural to the faces and heads of the gods. But **roseus**, in the time of Catullus not a common word and here in immediate contrast with **niueae**, must refer to *colour*, just as in Cir. 511 *Purpureas flauo retinentem uertice uillas*, Stat. Ach. i. 610 *Cinxit purpureis flauentia tempora uillis*, C. I. L. v. tom. 2. 5. 3 *Candentem crocea gestans aspergine frontem*, the purple and white respectively form a contrast with the yellow. In Cir. 122 the purple lock in the middle of the white hair of Nisus is called **roseus crinis**, but this lock was peculiar to Nisus and could not be supposed to belong to the Fates: nor do I know of any passage where their hair is called bright, even were such an idea consistent with the description of them as aged women. It remains to suppose either (1) that **roseo** is

'rose-crowned,' as *roseis conuallibus Hennaë* = 'rose-grown,' Rapt. Pros. iii. 85; then the Fates would wear a chaplet of roses similar to that ascribed to the Muses by Sappho ap. Plut. Symp. iii. 2, and the white fillets would blend with these into a sort of *insula*, which was regularly made of alternate flocks of *red* and *white* wool; or (2) that the epithets are inverted; the hair was white, the fillets red, but as each colour blends into the other, Catullus attempts to express this blending by describing the hair as red, the fillets white. So Chaeremon ap. Athen. 608 speaks of yellow hair luxuriating in the *tawny* winds (*ζουθοῖσιν ἀνέμους*), and again of crocus-flowers wiping off on the dress of persons reclining on them a sun-like reflexion (Oeneus fr. 14. 14 Nauck); passages which show that the idea of rays of colour thrown off and communicating themselves to neighbouring objects was carried to great lengths by the ancients. So perhaps Ov. Met. iii. 125 *Sanguineam tepido plangebant pectore matrem*, the epithets are inverted: for it is the earth that is *warmed*, the breast that *bleeds*. [Yet, as Nāke Dir. p. 287 observes, 'nimium hoc colorum est in loco uno,' after *Candida purpurea* in the preceding verse: hence there is considerable probability in *Ambrosio* the conj. of Vulp. accepted by both Nāke and Bergk.]

810. *carpebant*, 'were busy with,' a word chosen here from its double use of pulling the fluff off wool, G. iv. 335, *carpentes pensa* G. i. 390, and pursuing a way or assigned course.

811-819. Delrio Comment. in Sen. Med. 19 well remarks on this famous passage, 'when we read the description of the Parcae spinning, we seem to have the very persons of the spinners before us.' All the details mentioned by Catullus will be found in an epigram ascribed to Antipater of Sidon, A. P. vi. 160.

811. *amiotum*. *Colus* is here masculine as in Prop. v. 1. 72 and 9. 48.

812. *deducens*, 'drawing down,' from the mass of wool at the upper part of the distaff, the fibres which are to become thread. Varro L. L. vii. 54 *Carere a carendo, quod eam tum purgant ac deducunt ut careat spurcicia (ex quo carminari dicitur tum lana) cum ex ea carunt quod in ea haeret, neque est lana, quam in Romulo Naeuius appellat asta ab Oscis.* *supinis*, 'up-turned,' the natural position, as the distaff was held high in the air, on a level with the head or above it.

813. *Formabat*, 'shaped,' i. e. gave to the fibres their new form of thread. *prono*. 'The right hand would be turned upward to twist the thread, downward to twirl the spindle.' Prof. H. J. S. Smith. *torquens*, probably *fusum*. Ovid Met. vi. 22 *Siue leui teretem uersabat pollice fusum*. Elegia Maecen. 73 *Torsisti pollice fusos*. Sen. Apocol. 4 *Mollia contorto descendunt stamina fuso*.

814. *Libratum* with *tereti turbine*, 'poised evenly on its rounded wheel.' Prof. H. J. S. Smith remarks: 'The principal use of the *turbo* was to *steady* the rotation of the spindle; and this is just what Catullus means by *libratum*.' The meaning of *turbine* is fixed partly by *tereti*, partly by Epiced. Drusi 164 *Hanc lucem celeri turbine Parca neat*. This *turbo* or more properly *uerticillus* was 'a small circular plate of wood, stone or metal, through which the lower end of the spindle was inserted, for the purpose of giving it rotation, and assisting by its weight to twist the thread tight.' Rich.

815. *Atque ita*, 'and as it went on' in reference to the process described in 312-314. *decerpens*, clearing the threads by plucking away the out-

standing shreds which made their surface uneven. To this perhaps refers Festus' *decernina dicuntur quae decerpuntur purgandi causa*. This process of picking off the flock or fluff was called by the Greeks *κροκιδίζειν*. Pollux vii. 29 *καὶ κροκιδίζειν δὲ Φιλόλλιος εἰρηκεν*. Τὸ κατάγμα κροκιδίζουσιν αὐτὴν κατέλαβον ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐκλέγουσαν τὸ τραχύ. *semper*, 'continually,' every time a new shred presented itself. *dens*, the finger might be lifted to the teeth without much disturbing the course of the operation.

316. *morsa* seems to be *ἀπ. λεγ.* Stat. compares *mansa*.

317. *leui*, on the otherwise smooth thread. Conversely Eleg. Maecen. 74 *Lenisti morsu leuia fila parum*. *fuertant extantia*. Lucr. ii. 1089, iii. 396, iv. 427, Prop. iv. 6. 1 *sint ora fauentia sacris*, Cic. N. D. ii. 8. 2 *ruae sunt his carentia*, quoted by Hertzberg on Prop. iii. 17. 37. Dräger Histor. Synt. p. 267 quotes from Cato R. R. praef. *male cogitantes sunt*, Cic. de Orat. iii. 27. 106 *inhaerentes esse debent*, B. Hisp. 29 *currens erat*, Liu. xxviii. 44. 17 *nec ad uos pertinens sit* and the comic *ut sis sciens*, with others. The construction is however rare. Vitruvius has *dummodo ad perpendicularum sint stantes* ii. 8.

318. At the feet of the Fates are baskets containing the thread already wound off and rolled up into balls, ready for use. These balls (*glomera*) as cleared from all impurities were of course much whiter than the unprepared wool: hence *candentis*. Cf. a fragment of Philetas (Bergk Anth. Lyric. p. 115) *Δμωίδες εἰς τάλάρους λευκὸν ἄγουσιν ἔρι*. Realinus and Mayor on Iuven. xii. 65 consider the whiteness to have reference to the happy fate foretold by the Parcae: Mayor cites Sen. Apocol. 4, Mart. vi. 58. 7, 8 *Si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores Stamina*, iv. 73. 3, 4. *mollia*. Od. iv. 124 *μαλακοῦ ἐρίοιο*. The wool-baskets lie at the feet of the Parcae as in Apoll. R. iii. 254 the serving-maidens *ποδῶν προπάρουθε βαλοῦσαι Νήματα καὶ κλωστήρας ἀλλήλεις ἔκροθι πᾶσαι* "Ἐδραμον.

319. *Vollera*. Varro R. R. ii. 11. 9 *Lanam demptam ac conglobatam alii uellera, alii uellimna appellant*. *uirgati*, of osier or wicker-work. Ovid F. iv. 435 *lento calathos e uimine textos*. Heroid. ix. 76 *Rasilibus calathis*. Elsewhere *uirgatus* is 'striped,' and Forcellini interprets it here of the variously coloured rods of which the baskets were made, but like *ῥαβδωτός* with which it is compared by Conington on Aen. viii. 660 it may easily have had both meanings. *custodibant*, like *scibant* LXVIII. 85, *audibant* LXXXIV. 8. *calathisci*, *καλαθίσκοι*, Thesm. 822, Lysist. 535, 579, Anth. P. vi. 160. 6 *καλαθίσκον Στάμονος ἀσκητοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πάρις φύλακα*. Both *τάλαρος* and *καλαθίσκος* were specially used of wool-baskets, Poll. vii. 29.

320. *Haeo*, MSS: which I retain as archaic for *Hae*. See note in Vol. I. *pellentes uellera*, 'filantes. Nam quae filant uellera digitis impellunt,' Alex. Guarinus. In drawing out the threads the mass of wool is from time to time smartly struck or tapped to facilitate the separation of each thread from the rest, and break up the knots which naturally form in it. So Eleg. Maecen. 75 *Percussit crebros te propter Lydia nodos*. *clarisona uoce* with *fuderunt*, with which *diuino carmine* is also constructed as a second ablative, a practice common in Lucretius (cf. Cicero's *uberibus grauidis uitali rore rigabat* de Diu. i. 12. 20) and more excusable here as *talie diuino carmine fata* is practically i. q. *talie carmen diuini fati*.

322. *perfidiae nulla arguet aetas*. Pind. Ol. x. (xi.) 56 'Ο τ' ἐξελήχων μόνος Ἀλάθειαν ἐτίγνυμον Χρόνος.

**323.** 'O thou that exaltest thy rare glory by great deeds of valour.' *decus eximium*, the special honour of marrying a goddess, as in 25 *eximie laedis felicibus aucte*. This is more probable than to take *decus* as referring to the glory of Peleus' heroic race, the Aeacidae, whose special gift from the gods was courage, Hes. fr. ccxxiii Markscheffel ἄλκιον μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Αἰακίδασι, xciii Αἰακίδας πολέμῳ κεχαρμένους ἦν τε δαίρι, though this is a particularly Roman idea: Epitaph. Cn. Scipionis 1 *Vir- tutes generis meis moribus accumulavi*, Nep. Timoth. 1 *hic a patre acceptam gloriam multis auxilii uirtutibus*, Ovid Pont. i. 8. 17 *Ille memor magni generis uirtute quod auget. uirtutibus augens*. τέλος ἐπιτίθει δ' ἀρετῆν Plato Cratyl. 395; Cicero has *dum nostram gloriam tua uirtute augeri expelo* Q. Fr. i. 1. 2.

**324.** *tutamen*, a rare but felicitous word, Aen. v. 262. *clarissima*, 'most glorious' on account of thy son, the yet unborn Achilles. Eur. I.A. 1063 Μέγα φῶς γεννάσεις addressed to Thetis at the marriage-feast. Stat. compares Cic. de Off. iii. 16. 66 *Vt enim caeteri ex patribus sic hic* (the father of Cato Uticensis) *qui illud lumen progeniuit ex filio est nominandus*. Ov. Met. xi. 266 *Felix et nato, felix et coniuge Peleus*.

**325.** *sorores*. Ovid Trist. v. 3. 17 *dominae fati quidquid cecinere sorores*.

**326.** *quae fata secuntur* depends on *ducentes*, to which *subtegmina* is added as an appositive predicate, 'but do you, ye spindles, run on, drawing out as threads the destinies which are to come:' cf. Theocr. xxiv. 69 Ὅ τι μοῖρα κατὰ κλωστήρος ἐπέλγει. To separate *quae* from *fata* either as nom. 'threads which follow the course of fate,' or accus. 'threads which fate follows,' Stat. Theb. i. 213 *et uocem fata secuntur*, is unnatural: to construct *quae fata secuntur* with *Currite*, 'run through the fate which is to come,' is harsh and only doubtfully supported by Vergil's *Talia saecula suis dixerunt currite fatis Concordes stabili folorum numine Parcae* Ecl. iv. 46, where see Servius<sup>1</sup>.

**328.** *iam*, straightway. *portans*, the bearer, see on 135. *maritis* refers not to husband and wife, a sense which it has in the Digest xxiv. 1. 52, but to the husband alone.

**330.** *flexanimo*, passive, as in a fragment of Pacuvius quoted by Cic. de Diu. i. 36. 80, Varro L. L. vii. 87 (Teucer 422 Ribbeck) *Flexanima tanquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris Commota*, where it seems to mean 'passionate.' Nonius 113 only quotes it in its active sense, 'heart-quelling,' also in a line of Pacuvius. Ast compares G. iv. 516 *Nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei*. *mentis* with *amorem*, an inward love. *perfundat amorem*. The ordinary construction of *perfundere* with an abl. of the thing with which an object is sprinkled is replaced by the more recondite accus. of the thing sprinkled and dat. of the recipient, as in Prop. ii. 4. 5 *Nequiquam perfusa meis unguenta capillis*. [Most edd. prefer the conj. of Muretus *Quae tibi flexanimo mentem perfundat amore*.]

**331.** *Languidulos*, like λυσιμελής applied to sleep Od. xx. 57 and love Hes. Theog. 911, Archil. 85 Bergk, Carm. Popul. 44 Bergk. Cicero used the word in a passage preserved by Quintil. viii. 3. 66 *Humus erat immunda, lulentia uino, coronis languidulis et spinis cooperta piscium*. The diminutive seems to give the idea of softness 'the soft languor of sleep.'

<sup>1</sup> Little stress can be laid on the late imitation, rather it would seem of Vergil than Catullus, in Symmachus' oration to the Emperor Gratianus p. 332 Seeck *iamdudum aurcum saeculum currunt fusa Parcarum*.

**332.** *Dirae* 171 *Grandia formoso supponens gaudia collo*, probably an imitation.

**334.** *contextit*, 'has roofed in,' i. e. safe from prying eyes : a variation from the more prosaic shutting-in of the bride, Theocr. xviii. 5. Lachmann conjectured *conexit*, which would be more nearly like *conunxit* in 335 ; *nexisti* for the more usual form *nexuisti* was read in Prop. iii. 8. 37 by Diomedes p. 369 Keil, *nexit* for *nexuit* in Lucilius, quoted by Priscian ii. 470 Keil.

**336.** *Qualis adest Thetidi, qualis Peleo* for *qualis adest Thetidi et Peleo*. *concordia*. LXVI. 87. Inscript. Pompeian. 2457 *Melhe Cominias Atellana amat Chrestum . . . Semper concordēs uetuant*. The four lines 334-337 are omitted in some good MSS and rejected by Scaliger, who thought they were added by Marullus or some other scholar of the Renaissance, to avoid the abruptness of the transition from 332 to the birth of a son in 338. But (1) the oldest MSS have them, and though absent from the Datanus, they are found in the similarly derived *codex a*; (2) they might easily have fallen out owing to the refrain *Currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi*, the eye passing from 333 to 337 and omitting the interval; (3) the difficulty of *contextit* and the juxtaposition of *amor amantes* would have been avoided by an interpolator; (4) the symmetry of the song is broken if they are omitted; as the 5 five-line strophes 337-361 are followed by a strophe of four lines, it would seem natural that they should be preceded by a strophe of the same number; the correspondence is chiasmic 5 6 4. 5 × 5. 4 6 10.

**339.** *tergo*. Schol. V. on Il. xvi. 380 *Δισχύλος δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖα σὺν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ φησὶν ὀπισθεν ὁρμήσαντα πηδῆσαι τὴν τάφρον μὴ δείξαντα τὰ νῶτα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς*. The expression seems derived from Il. xiii. 289 *Οὐκ ἂν ἐν αὐχίνῳ ὀπισθε πείσοι βέλους, οὐδ' ἐνὶ νότῳ*, 'Allá κεν ἢ στέρνων ἢ ἡδύος ἀντιάσειε'. So Sallust Jug. 85 *Cicatrices aduerso corpore*, Plin. H. N. vii. 101 *L. Siccus Denatus quadraginta quinque cicatricibus aduerso corpore insignis, nulla in tergo*, Ovid A. A. i. 209 *Tergaque Parthorum Romanaque pectora dicam*, Met. x. 706 of animals *Quod non terga fugae, sed praebebat pectora pugnae*.

**340.** *uago*, 'wide-ranging.' Stat. Achill. ii. 400 of Achilles *exhaustumque uago per gramina passu Laudabat gaudens*. *certamine*. In the Iphigenia in Aulis Euripides describes Achilles running a race in armour against a four-horse chariot 212 sqq. Cf. his Homeric names *ποδώκης*, *πόδας ὠκὺς*, Euripides' *τὸν ἰσάνεμόν τε ποδοῖν λαιψηρόδρομον* Ἀχιλλῆα I. A. 206.

**341.** *Flammea* like *igneae* Aen. xi. 718, *igneus* xi. 746. Pindar Isthm. viii. 39 Bergk calls Achilles *Χείρας Ἀρεῖ τ' ἐναλίγκιον στεροπαΐσι τ' ἀκμᾶν ποδῶν*, cf. Hes. Scut. H. 345 *προγίνοντ' ἱκελοι πυρὶ ἢ θυέλλῃ*. *praeuertot*, imitated by Vergil Aen. vii. 807, xii. 345, and more closely by Statius Achill. ii. 396 *uolucres cum iam praeuertere ceruos Et Lapithas cogebat equo*. *ceruae*. Pindar Nem. iii. 51 says Achilles slew stags without the help of dogs or nets by superior swiftness.

**343.** *Non quisquam se conferet*, for the nearest was *μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα*, *ab Achille secundus*: Achilles describes himself Il. xviii. 105 *Τοῖσι ἐὼν ὁῖος ὄντις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων Ἐν πολέμῳ*.

**344.** *campi* for *teuen* or *tenen* of MSS is confirmed not only by Stat. Achill. i. 84-88, but by a line in the Latin version of the Iliad 384 *Sanguine Dardanii manabant undique campi*.

**345.** *longinquo* might be 'distant,' i. e. a war over seas, as Cicero

speaks of *ex'erno hoste atque longinquo* Cat. ii. 13. 29 : but it is more probably 'lingering,' as Caesar has *longinqua oppugnatione* B. C. iii. 80. 4. Cicero and Corn. Nepos *longinquum tempus*, Propertius *longinquus amor* i. 6. 27. Catullus seems to have in his mind Il. ii. 134 sqq. where Agamemnon complains that nine years have past, the timbers of the ships are rotten and the ropes broken; the wives and children of the Greeks sit at home waiting for them, but their task is still unfinished. Isocr. Hel. Encom. 215 ὑπὲρ δὲ ταύτης τηλικούτου συνεστήσαντο πόλεμον οὐ μόνον τῇ μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν παρασκευῶν, ὅσος οὐδεὶς πώποτε γέγονεν.

**346. Periuri.** Pelops promised Myrtilus the charioteer of Oenomaus half his kingdom if he succeeded in making him conquer Oenomaus in a chariot-race, the condition of marrying his daughter Hippodamia. Myrtilus did this, and Pelops married Hippodamia; but falsified his promise to Myrtilus and threw him into the sea near Geraestus in Euboea, upon which Myrtilus cursed the house of Pelops, a curse from which sprang all the subsequent calamities of the Pelopidae. Soph. El. 504-515, Eur. Or. 985-1012, Plato Crat. 395, Lyc. Al. 165, Sen. Thy. 139 sqq. **Periuri** is thus not otiose: Pelops' perjury caused the rape of Helen, and this the siege of Troy. **tertius heres**, Agamemnon, as he explains in the speech just quoted Il. ii. 105 Αὐτὰρ δ' αὖτε Πέλοψ δῖκ' Ἀτρεΐ, ποιμένι λαῶν Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θηήσκων ἔλεπεν παλῶναι Θυέστῃ Ἀὐτὰρ δ' ὅστις Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι, Πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεὶ παντὶ ἀνέσσειν. Pelops himself is on this view not included, and this is in strict conformity with the use of *secundus tertius heres*; cf. also Ovid's *sic ab Iove tertius Aiax* (Met. xiii. 28), which he himself explains not to include Jupiter, thus, Aeacus, Telamon, Aiax: on the other hand Thyestes is not generally included in the line of Argive kings, then **tertius heres** would refer to Agamemnon as grandson of Pelops and heir to his throne in the third generation.

**348. Il. xviii. 122** Καὶ τίνα Τρωιάδων καὶ Δαρδανίδων βαθυκόλπων Ἀμφοτέρῃσιν χειρὶ παρειῶν ἀπαλάων δάκρυ' ὁμορξαμένην ἀδινὸν στοναχῆσαι ἐφέειν.

**350. incuruo** (so Stat.), of the bowed heads of old women, γῆραι κυφός Od. ii. 16, cf. the description of Polyxo Apoll. R. i. 672 λευκῆσιν ἐπιχρυσούσῃ ἐθείραις . . . ἀνὰ δ' ἔσχεθε δειρὴν Ἥκα μόλις κυφοῖο μεταφρένου, and Propertius' *curua anus* ii. 18. 20, *incurua procerilas* Tac. A. iv. 57. This would also suit the bowed heads of mourners at a funeral. Prop. iv. 7. 27 *quis nostro curuum te funere uidit?* MSS generally give *in cinium* which is already corrected in *D* to *in cinerem*, the common reading. This would refer either (1) to the custom of cutting off the hair and covering the corpse with it (Il. xxiii. 135. 152, Od. xxiv. 46, Eur. Tro. 480). or throwing it upon the pyre: 'when they unbind their hair to let it fall into the embers,' or (2) to the practice of sprinkling ashes or dust on the head in token of mourning, as Achilles does, Il. xviii. 25-27; cf. Eur. Supp. 826 Κατὰ μὲν θυξιν ἡλοκίσμεθ' ἀμφὶ δὲ Σποδὸν κἀρα κεχύμεθα: 'when they unbind their hair to receive the embers,' and so perhaps Seneca Troad. 99-102 *Soluimus omnes Lacerum multo funere cinem. Coma demissa est libera nodo, Sparsitque cinis feruidus ora*, cf. 84 *Soluile cinem: per colla fluant Maesta capilli, tepido Troiae Pulvere turpes*. Apul. M. vii. fin. *ambabus manibus trahens cinerosam canitiem*. But such a construction of *in cinerem soluent* is very harsh, if indeed

it is possible. Bährens conj. *incultum*, which is not far removed from the letters of *in ciuium*. But the word given by *O* points to something quite different. See the Excursus. *soluent* can hardly mean *scindent*, to which it is opposed by Ovid Met. xi. 682 *nec crinem soluere curat*, *Scindit*: Ovid Am. iii. 9. 3, Prop. ii. 15. 46, quoted by Passerat.

351. *Putrida*, 'withered,' *mammae pulres* Hor. Ep. viii. 7. *uaria-bunt*. Plaut. Poen. Prol. 26 *Ne et hic uarientur uirgis et loris domi-pectora*, which were stript bare for the purpose, see Sen. Troad. 90 sqq. Cic. Tusc. Disp. iii. 26. 62 *Varia et detestabilia genera lugendi: paedores, muliebres lacerationes genarum pectoris, feminum capitis percussiones*.

353. Il. xi. 67 sqq. *Οἱ δ' ὦσ' ἀμητήρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν Ὀγμόν ἐλάυνωσιν ἀνδρὲς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρουραν* Πυρῶν ἢ κριθίων, τὰ δὲ δράγματα ταρφέα πίπτει· ὧς Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι βορόντες Δήρουν. *praecerpens*, mowing the heads off, *lopping*. It can hardly mean 'cutting in front of him' like *προταμείν ἄρουραν* Ap. R. iii. 1386; nor, as seemingly in Ov. Her. xx. 143, 'reaping before the time.' (Postgate, who, considering that *praecerpens* of *O* and most MSS, *praeterriens* of *G*, point to an original *praesternens*, would read either *praesternens*<sup>1</sup> as Scaliger or *prosternens*. I prefer Stat.'s *praecerpens*, since *prosternere* is too exaggerated a word for mowing a cornfield; *praesternere* seems to mean *scattering* in front.) *cultor*, 'a husbandman,' less particularizing than *messor*, which *O* gives.

354. *Sole sub ardenti*. Verg. Ecl. ii. 13.

357. Catullus refers to the 21st book of the Iliad, where Achilles kills a number of Trojans in the Xanthus, *Ὅν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον* Il. xx. 74. Attius ap. Non. 192 is very like Catullus *Scamandriam undam salso sanctam obtexi sanguine Atque acervos alta in amni corpore expleui hostico* Ribb. 322.

358. *passim*, if we may suppose Catullus to speak from personal observation, may refer to the scattered and disunited character of the *Σκαμάνδρου ἐκβολαί*, as described by Strabo 595 *συμπεσόντες γὰρ ὁ τε Σιμόεις καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, πολλὴν καταφέροντες ἰλύν, προσχοῦσι τὴν παραλίαν καὶ τυφλὸν στόμα τε καὶ λιμνοθαλάττας καὶ ἔλη ποιοῦσι*. So Brutus in a letter to Cicero, Fam. xi. 13. 2 *Ille enim iit passim, ego ordinatim*, 'in loose order,' and so Asellio ap. Servium on Aen. xii. 121 opposes *passim* and *pilatim* as 'promiscuously,' and 'in a close column.' It seems more probable that *passim diffunditur* refers to the river losing itself in the whirling waters of the Hellespont and being carried hither and thither by their more powerful current: *passim* and *rapido* will then be in relation to each other, the latter explaining the former; cf. Il. xxi. 124 *Σκάμανδρος Οἴσει δαήμεναι εἴσω ἄλδς εὐρέα κόλπον*, where *εὐρέα* suggests an idea very similar to *passim diffunditur*. A third view, proposed by Mitsch., explains *passim* of the full body of water which the Scamander pours into the sea: the glossary of Philoxenus has *passim ἀθρώως*: but though Homer calls the river eddying, such a description of its mouth can scarcely have been true in his time, and was the very reverse of true in the time of Catullus, who, we must remember, visited this locality in person; nor is any real instance quoted of this meaning. *rapido*. *ἀγάρροον* Ἑλλάσποντον Il. xii. 30, *διη πορφύροντα* Apoll. R. i. 935.

359. Il. xxi. 7 *ἡμίστες δὲ Ἐς ποταμὸν εἰλεῦντο βαθύρροον, ἀργυροδίην*, ib.

<sup>1</sup> *Praesternens* is the reading of a Phillips MS. Here as in *Ancique* xxxiv. 23, the Italians of the fifteenth century anticipated the great critic by more than a hundred years.

20 τῶν δὲ στόνος δρυντ' αὐκῆς ἄορι θεωμένων, ἐρυθραίνετο δ' αἵματι θαρ.  
angustans, ib. 218 πλήθει γὰρ δὴ μοι νεκρῶν ἐρατεινὰ βέεθρα, Οὐδὲ τί πη δύσμεν  
προχέειν ῥόον εἰς θαλάσσαν, Στεινόμενος νεκίεσσι. caesis with caede following  
in 360 is weak. Hence Bährens conj. *celsis*, very plausibly.

360. *tepēfaciet*, but *tepēfaxit* LXVIII. 29, *madēficiet* LXIV. 368. *permixta caede* is found in Lucr. iii. 643, v. 1313 = 'promiscuous' or 'indiscriminate' slaughter. And so Il. xxi. 16 Πλῆτο ῥόος κελεύων ἐπιμιξέ  
ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν, cf. Aen. xi. 634 *Armaque corporaque et permixti caede  
uirorum Semianimes uoluuntur equi*. Bährens less probably explains  
'blood mingling with the tide.' Then when a slaughter'd heap his path-  
way watery choking, Brimmeth a warm red tide and blood with water  
allied. Metric. Transl.

362. *quoque*, the last and most terrible attestation. *reddita*, 'given over,' 'assigned,' not simply, I think, an archaism for *morti data* (Serv. on Aen. iii. 333). *Ollus lelo datus est* was the official notice of a *funus indictum* Varro L. L. vii. 42.

363. *teres*, 'rounded,' the natural shape of the *σήματα* or barrows in which the Homeric heroes were buried. It can hardly refer to the pillar with which such barrows were often surmounted (Forcellini); a gradually diminishing roundness is sufficiently in accordance with Festus' definition p. 363 M. *Teres est in longitudine rotundatum, quales aggeres natura ministrat*. *coaceruatum aggere*, like *frondatorum arboris* 41. These are the only two instances of this harsh elision in the fourth foot in the poem; cf. however *substernens se impia* in 403. *aggere*. Od. xxiv. 80 of the tomb of Achilles Ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀνύμωνα τύμβον  
Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν Ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προύχουσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεί  
'Ελλησπόντῳ, ὣς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντοφύων ἀνδράσιν εἴη: an account however in which the story of Polyxena forms no part. *bustum* (Ovid Met. xiii. 452) is correct, as the body was first burnt, then the barrow raised over the ashes, Od. xxiv. 71 sqq., Il. xxiv. 787 sqq.

364. *Excipiet*, perhaps with an idea of welcoming, as a gift to the dead Achilles, whose shade was restless till the sacrifice was completed. Hec. 537, Troad. 623 δῶρον ἀνύχῳ νεκρῷ.

366. *fessis*. Hor. C. ii. 4. 11 *Tradidit fessis leuiores tolli Pergama Grai*. It is remarkable that *copiam Achivis*, *corporum aceruis*, two unusually harsh elisions, should like *coaceruatum aggere* occur in this the most finished part of the poem. The infinitive after *dederit copiam* is like *adfari data copia* Aen. ix. 484: the construction with the gerund is very common in the comic writers.

367. *Neptunia*. Troad. 4-7 Ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τήνδε Τρωικὴν χθόνα Φοῖβός τε καὶ γὰρ λαῖους πύργους πέριξ Ὀρθοῖσιν ἔθεμεν κίονας spoken by Poseidon. *soluere uincla* looks like a free translation of Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν Il. xvi. 100, Τροίης λύομεν λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα Od. xx. 388; *uincla*, 'fastenings,' is naturally applied to the walls enclosing a city. Petronius de Bello Ciuili 291 *Non muris oppida soluis*.

368. *madefient*, for *madescunt* of MSS, as *liquefunt* for *liquescent* of Korn's MSS in Ov. Pont. i. 2. 55. There is however some probability in the reading of the Datanus *milescent*, as the sacrifice of Polyxena was to appease the shade of Achilles, Hec. 535-541; cf. the use of *μειλίσσειν* Il. vii. 410, Apoll. R. ii. 925. *sepulcra*, 'place of burial,' like *ταφοί*.



369. *uictima*, σφάγιον Hec. 108. Polyxena compares herself to a calf Hec. 206 and is so spoken of by Talthybius Hec. 526.

370. *summisso poplite*. Hec. 561 καθέισα πρὸς γαῖαν γόνυ. *truncum*, by being severed from the neck. Hec. 567 Τέμνει σιδήρῳ πνεύματος διαρροῖς.

372. *optatos animi amores* is not a mere variation of *oplatos animis amores*, cf. Ter. Heaut. ii. 4. 28 *Antiphila maxime animo exoptatam meo*, nor does *animi* simply mean 'inward,' as in *animi cupido* which Orelli compares with it (Sallust Orat. Philippi 11 Kritz); rather it expresses the surrender of the heart and feelings to an absorbing love, 'fond love.' So *ex animo* Lucr. iv. 1195, and similarly *habebam alibi animum amori deditum* Hecyr. iii. 1. 13.

373. *felici*, as Pindar says of Peleus, Isthm. vi. (v.) 36 Πηλέος αἵτε κλέος ἥρωος, εὐδαίμονος γαμβροῦ θεῶν.

374. *Dedatur*, LXI. 58. *iam dudum*, with *Dedatur* in the sense of 'forthwith,' as in Aen. ii. 103, Ov. A. A. i. 317, ii. 457, Val. Flacc. vi. 456. Hertzberg constructs *iam dudum* with *cupido*: this is in accordance with the frequent combinations *iam dudum exspectas* Ter. Eun. v. 3. 8, *iam dudum auent* Enn. Alexander 14 L. Müller.

376. *orienti luce*, 'at dawn of day,' like *orienti lumine* Lucr. v. 664, *luce serenanti* Cicero in the lines from his poem de Consulatu quoted de Diuin. i. 11. 18 which seems nearly = *luce serena*, like *nocte serena* Arat. 104, *luna silenti* Cato R. R. 40, but *luna decrescente* ib. 31. Madvig's rule that the participle never ends in *i* in ablatives absolute seems to be observed by Cicero in his Aratea, thus *minitanti murmure* 71, *uertenti cursu* 333, but *praecipitante nocte* 76; cases like *orienti luce, lumine* etc. are better regarded as temporal, a development, it would seem, of the local meaning of the ablative.

377. *Hesternno*, i. e. ante quam cum marito coiret (Alex. Guarinus). For a physical particularization of *compassion*, similarly against modern taste, see Apoll. R. iii. 762. *collum*. Nemesianus ii. 12, 13 mentions among signs of devirgination *improba ceruix Suffususque rubor crebro uenaeque tumentes* (Riese). *filo*, either 'necklace,' as perhaps in Epithal. Laurentii et Mariae 71, 2 *Nullum sit capiti quo crinis comitur aurum, Nec collo maneant nisi quae sunt laeuiā fila*; or simply 'thread,' if, as is not unlikely, a more homely test of consummation is alluded to. Ramage, Nooks and Byways of Italy, p. 208 'I met an intelligent inhabitant as I was strolling through Venusia. Among other things, he inquired, laughing, if I had ever heard of the following mode of discovering whether a youth or maiden is still without knowledge of the other sex. He said that the custom was not unknown to Southern Italy, and maintained that it was an excellent criterion. Measure the neck of a marriageable youth or maiden correctly with a ribbon; then double the length, and bringing the two ends together, place the middle of it between the teeth. If we find that it is sufficiently long to be carried from the mouth over the head without difficulty, it is a sign that the person is still a virgin, but if not, we are to infer the contrary.'

379. *discordis*, of quarrelling lovers, as *discordare* Ter. And. iii. 3. 43.

380. *Secubitu*, estrangement from her husband's bed. Ov. Am. iii. 10. 16. See on LXI. 101.

382. *praefantes* is explained by Orelli 'speaking as prelude to the

marriage; he quotes de Diuin. i. 45. 102 *Maiores nostri omnibus rebus agendis quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque esset praefabantur*, cf. *Ianum Iouemque praefamino* Cato R. R. 141, *praefatus diuos* Aen. xi. 301, where see Servius. Livy however uses *praefari carmen* v. 41 of the Pontifex maximus dictating the set form of words by which the Senate devoted themselves, cf. xxxix. 15 *solenne carmen precatōnis quod praefari, priusquam populum alloquantur, magistratus solent*, xlv. 5 *praefatio sacrorum*, and this may be the meaning here; the plural *carmina* occurs in this sense pro C. Rabir. iv. 13 *Tarquinii ista sunt cruciatūs carmina*. The Parcae dictate the set words which are to be followed by fate. *Pelei* in any case is genitive, not, as Scaliger and Voss thought, dative, for which Catullus uses *Peleo* 336, whether *felicia Pelei Carmina* is 'Peleus' happy marriage-song, or 'a form of happy words for Peleus' nearly = 'set words of felicitation to Peleus.' [Bährens constructs *Talia carmina cecinere, praefantes felicia P.*, but this would require *Peleo*.]

383. *diuino*, 'prophetic,' as in Aen. iii. 373 *Atque haec deinde canit diuino ex ore sacerdos*, cited by Bährens, who reads here *cecinerunt e pectore*, perhaps rightly, as *GO* with most MSS give *cecinerunt pectore*. The *Datanus* however and *a* give *cecinerunt*.

384. *Praesentes*, 'in bodily shape.' *ante*, in the heroic age, as Nestor says Od. iii. 420 of Athene *Ἡ μοι ἐναργής ἦλθε θεοῦ ἐς δαῖτα θέλειαι*, and as Alcinous says of the Phaeacians Od. vii. 201 sqq. that the gods feast with them in bodily form, sitting where they sit. So Hes. fr. 218 Markscheffel *ἔνθα γὰρ τότε δαῖτες ἔσαν, ξυνοὶ δὲ θέοισι Ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι καταθνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις*. Dousa compares Germanicus Aratea 107 of Justice *mediis te laeta ferebas Sublimis populis nec dedignata subire Tecta hominum et puros sine crimine, diua, penales Iura dabas*.

385. *mortali* = *mortalium*. *coetu*, dat. as in LXVI. 37.

387. *templo in fulgente reuisens* is explained by Scaliger as an archaism, nearly = *templum reuisens*: in the older language the abl. was often used where the stricter grammar of later times required the acc. as *ponere in mensa in scrobe in sole in tecto*, all in Cato R. R. (Holtze Synt. i. 85); *in oleo mittere, infundere in melle, in patella exinanire*, Apicius i. 5. 16, ii. 41; *in parte recipere* Ov. Heroid. vi. 20: *praeclium in publico obligatum* in the lex agraria C. I. L. i. 200. 74 corresponds, as Mommsen points out, to the more usual *in publicum obligatum*: and *colonium deducere* seems technically constructed with the abl. in Mon. Ancyr. 5. 35, perhaps in Liu. xl. 34, Suet. Caes. 81. This seems better than connecting *reuisens* with *Annua sacra*, or making *reuisens* a simple epexegetis of *templo in fulgente*, 'in his temple which he revisited,' a Greek rather than a Roman construction. [Possibly it is not only an archaism, but a religious archaism, as seemingly in the Acta Fratrum Arualium of 218 A.D. (p. cciii Henzen) *inde in tetrastilo reuersus subsellis consedit . . . in tetrastilo reuersus est, et in codice cauit, et praetextam deposuit, et in papilione suo reuersus*.] *fulgente* looks as if Catullus were thinking of the splendid temple of Jupiter at Olympia.

388. *Annua sacra*, as Alex. Guarinus saw, cannot refer to the Olympian games, the foundation of which by Hercules as a πενταετηρίς or quinquennial festival is explicitly stated by Pindar in a passage probably known to Catullus Ol. x. (xi.) 57 Bergk; the description in 387-389 is in fact a general one; Hom. H. Cer. 27 *ὁ δὲ (Κρονίδης) νόσφιν Ἦροθι θέων*



ἀπάνευθε πολυλλίστῳ ἐνὶ νηῷ Δέγμενος ἱερὰ καλὰ παρὰ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, and more closely parallel Callim. H. Apoll. 77-79 Δεῖμε δέ τοι μάλα καλὸν ἀνάκτορον ἐν δὲ πόλῃ ἦκε τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον, ἧ ἐνὶ πολλοὶ Ὑστάτιον πίπτουσιν ἐπ' ἰσχίον, ὦ ἄνα, ταῦροι.

**389. centum**, not merely in reference to ἑκατόμβαι, but to the regular Hellenic custom πάντα θύειν ἑκατὸν Strabo 155. **tauros** is an early correction, cf. Trist. ii. 75 *fuso laurorum sanguine centum*; MSS have *currus* with *procurrere* or *percurrere* as a variant for **procumbere**. *Procurrere currus* is not impossible as an imitation of the earlier poets; Ennius has *longiscere longe* Ann. 480 Vahlen, Cicero *signaque signavit* Arat. 163, *discurrere cursus* ends v. 16 of the hexameters to the ocean in Riese's Anthol. Lat. ii. p. 168; Val. Flaccus vi. 697, quoted by Orelli, has *infesto procurrat in agmina curru*; Tib. i. 1. 55 *Me retinent uinctum formosae uincla puellae*; Vergil's *parcere parto* Aen. viii. 317, is perhaps an imitation of the same love of identical sounds: Hom. H. Ven. 114 Τρῳὰς γὰρ μεγάρῳ με τροφὸς τρέφειν, Od. ix. 217 ἐνόμεινε νομόν κατὰ πῖονα μῆλα, Il. xx. 316 Τροίη μαλερῷ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάγεται Δαιομένη, δαίωσι δ' ἀρήϊοι νῆες Ἀχαιῶν. This would also suit **centum**, see Verg. G. iii. 18. But **terra** is then a rather meaningless addition, unless we suppose an opposition between the god in his temple and the chariots rushing along the ground before him. The general sense is as in Sil. xii. 332 *allaria fument Centum festa Ioui, centum cadat hostia cultris*.

**390. uagus**. Eurip. Hypsipyle fr. 752 Nauck Διόνυσος ὃς θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς Καβαπτός ἐν πύκναισι Παρνασσὸν κατὰ Πηδᾶ χορεύων παρθένους σὺν Δελφίσιν. **Liber**. Festus p. 182 M. *Oreos Liber pater, et Oreades Nymphae appellantur, quod in montibus frequenter apparent*. Macrob. S. i. 18. 3. **Parnasi uertice summo**, Lycorea, if Catullus is speaking exactly, as we might be led to suppose from Paus. x. 32. 7 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Κωρυκίου χαλεπὸν ἦδη καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Παρνασσῶς τὰ δὲ νεφῶν τέ ἐστιν ἀνωτέρω τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ αἱ Θυιάδες ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνί μαίνονται. But Lycorea is at a considerable distance *above* the Corycian cave; and in the earlier Greek poets it is this latter and the two peaks of Parnassus at some distance *below* it, between which the Castalian spring flows, which are specially associated with the worship of Dionysos. Soph. Antig. 1125 Jebb Σὲ δ' ὑπὲρ διλόφου πέτρας στέροψ ὤπωπε Διγνύς, ἔνθα Κωρύκειαι Στείχουσι νύμφαι Βακχίδες Κασταλίας τε νᾶμα. Cf. Eum. 22, Ion 1125, 6, Bacch. 306. These two summits are the most conspicuous feature in the scenery to anybody in Delphi, and the god would naturally be represented descending from these upon the city.

**391. egit**, drove before him. 'The ancient path to the heights of Parnassus ascended the mountain immediately above the city. It was a zigzag path consisting of more than a thousand steps cut out of the hard rock and forming an uninterrupted flight of steps to the heights above.' Dict. Geog. s. v. Delphi. This steep ascent may have suggested Catullus' picture.

**392. Delphi**, the people, Herod. i. 54. **certatim**, struggling which should be first. Phil. ii. 46. 118 *Certatim, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur*. **Cum**, as L. Müller well observes, is somewhat loosely connected with the preceding vv. 'Quid enim? Liber dum Thyiadas, Delphis oriundas, fanaticis agitatur furoribus, eodem tempore Delphorum incolae reliqui deum totum intentum in orgia sua celebranda fumantibus acciperent aris?' And he accordingly supposes some lines to have fallen out before 392, describing

the advent of Apollo. In this he was anticipated by Heinsius, who for *lacti diuum* proposed to read *Latonigenam* (Adversar. pp. 170 and 649). If the MSS are to be followed, which agree in marking no lacuna, the connexion would seem to be of two simultaneous events: Bacchus often drove the rout of Bacchanals before him, at the same time that the Delphians, seeing the signs of the god on the heights of Parnassus above their city, hastened to welcome him at their altars. *Cum* thus nearly=*cum interea*, and *certatim ruentes Acciperent*=*certatim ruerent accepturi*.

393. For *laeti* of most MSS *lacti* is found in *GO* and read by Voss, who shows from Eur. Bacch. 142, Hor. C. ii. 19. 10 that milk was offered as well as wine and honey to Bacchus. But this would hardly agree with *fumantibus aris*, which as in Cic. de Diuin. ii. 30. 63 would seem to mean altars steaming with sacrificed victims. [Bährens retains *lacti*, and explains *fumantibus* of altars steaming with incense, as in Hor. C. iii. 18. 7, 8 *uetus ara multo Fumat odore*.]

394-396. Ares encourages the Trojans Il. v. 461 sqq. Athene runs from Olympus to bid the Pylians arm for battle Il. xi. 714; in one of the Cyclic poems Ulysses and the Thesprotians are routed in a battle with the Brygi by Ares, and Ares is then opposed by Athene (Photii Excerpt. in the Didot ed. of Homer p. 525). The two deities are mentioned as the patrons of war together Il. v. 430 *Ταῦτα δ' Ἀρηϊ βοῶ καὶ Ἀθήνη πάντα μελήσει*.

394. *Mauors*, a poetical word according to Paulus Diac. p. 147 M. It is however explained by Cic. N. D. ii. 26. 67, iii. 24. 62 as the fuller name of Mars, *qui magna uorteret*, and *Maurte* occurs in an old inscription C. I. L. i. 63, *Mauortei* ib. 808. Corssen considers it to mean 'the battle-turner'; he connects it with *mah*, to cut, *μάχη*, *μάχαιρα*, and *uortere*, like *τροπαίος* in *Ζεὺς Τροπαίος*, etc. (i. p. 410 note). It is found in Ennius Ann. 12 L. Müller; but it is remarkable that in the other extracts from ancient writers referring to Mars and his wife, cited in the same chapter of Gellius (xiii. 23), the shorter and ordinary form of the name is preserved throughout, as shown by the appar. crit. of Hertz' large edition.

395. *rapidi*, 'streaming,' hardly suits a lake, especially the Libyan lake Tritonis which Lucan ix. 347 calls *torpens palus*: it remains doubtful whether Catullus speaks of the river Triton which falls into this lake, Herod. iv. 178 *ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ ὀνόμα Τρίτων, ἐκιδίδοι δὲ οὗτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα*, Plin. H. N. v. 28 *Palus uasta amnem Tritonem nomenque ab eo accipit, Pallantias appellata Callimacho et citra minorem Syrtim esse dicta, a multis uero inter duas Syrtis*, Sil. It. iii. 322, Schol. Apollon. R. iv. 1311 *Τρίτων ποταμὸς Λιβύης· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Βουωτίας· δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ Ἀθηναῖα παρ' ἐτέρω αὐτῶν γεγενῆσθαι*: or, of the small river Triton, near Alalcomenae in Boeotia, Paus. ix. 33. 7 *Ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα οὐ μέγας χειμαρρος· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ Τρίτωνα αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν τραφῆναι παρὰ ποταμῷ Τρίτῳι ἔχει λόγος, ὥς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Τρίτωνα ὄντα καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν Λιβύων*, cf. K. O. Müller Orchomenos p. 349, Leake Northern Greece ii. p. 136: or of a third in Thessaly. Schol. Apoll. R. i. 109 *Τρίτῳες τρεῖς Βουωτίας, Θεσσαλίας, Λιβύης, ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ Λιβύην ἐτέχθη ἡ Ἀθηναῖα*. Catullus seems to call Athene *Tritonis hera* in her warlike capacity; so Callim. Ep. 71. 5 Blomf. *Δούρατα δ' αἱματόεσσα μέθεσ Τριτωνίδι δια*, Verg. Aen. ii. 226, 615, xi. 483 *Armipotens belli praeses, Trilonia uirgo*, Sil. Ital. iii. 322, 3. ix. 297. *Ramnusia uirgo*, LXVI. 71, LXVIII. 77, Nemesis, of which goddess a famous statue and temple existed at Rhamnus. Paus.

i. 33. 2 describes both, *μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεως ἔστιν ἱερόν, ἢ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἔστιν ἀπαραίτητος*. *δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀποβάτων ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι μῆνιμα ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης· καταφρονήσαντες γάρ σφισιν ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας ελεῖν, λίθον Πάριον ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένους ἦγον ἐς τροπαίου ποιήσιν*. Τοῦτον Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἀγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ ἔπεστι τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλα; cf. Strabo 396, who ascribes the statue to either Diodotus or Agoracritus; Anth. Pal. xvi. 263, translated by Auson. Epig. 20 Schenkl. It might fall within the scope of Nemesis' attributes to interfere in defence of a weaker army hardpressed by an overpowering and confident enemy; or possibly her name *Adrastea* was thought to express her power of stopping flight in the weaker, producing it in the stronger: see Rhes. 468, where the name perhaps has this reference. But there is some plausibility in the clever conjecture of Bährens *Amarunsia*, referring to Artemis of Amarynthus in Euboea, where she had a celebrated temple and festival. Strabo 448 mentions a stele in this temple which estimated the numbers who joined in her procession at 3000 hoplites, 600 horsemen, 60 chariots; and another, also at Amarynthus, forbidding the use of missiles launched from a distance, bows, slings, javelins, etc.; the place seems therefore associated with *war*. See however the Excursus.

397 sqq. are modelled on Hes. "Ε. κ. 'Η. 172-201, in which Hesiod describes the fifth race of men. Cf. especially 182-188 *οὐδὲ πατὴρ παίδεσσιν ὁμοῖος, οὐδέ τι παῖδες, οὐδὲ ξείνος ξεινοδόχῳ, καὶ ἑταῖρος ἑταίρῳ, οὐδὲ κασίγνητος φίλος ἔσσεται, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ, Αἰψά δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀτιμῆσουσι τοκήας. Μέμψονται δ' ἄρα τοὺς χαλεποὺς βάζοντες ἔπεσσι, Σχέτλιοι, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄψιν εἰδότες, οὐδέ κεν οἷγε Γηράντεσσι τοκεῦσιν ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δοῖεν*.

398. Hes. "Ε. κ. 'Η. 192 *Δίκη δ' ἐν χερσὶ καὶ Αἰδῶς οὐκ ἔσται*, ib. 199 *Ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλον ἔβαν προλιπόντι ἀνθρώπους Αἰδῶς καὶ Νέμεσις*. *cupida* refers to the increasing desire of amassing wealth, and the crimes it produces. Lucr. iii. 70 sqq. is a commentary *Sanguine civili rem constant diuiciasque Conducunt auidi caedem caede accumulantes. Crudeles gaudent in tristi funere fratris* (399) *Et consanguineum mensas odere timentique*. This part of the poem is very like Sallust's account of the decline of Roman morals Catil. 10-13.

399. Verg. G. ii. 510 *Gaudet perfusi sanguine fratrum*.

401. As Catiline put his son out of the way in order to marry Aurelia Orestilla. Sal. Catil. 15 *Quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens priuignum adultum aetate, pro certo creditur (Catilina) necato filio uacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse*.

402. *Liber*, without the constraint which the presence of a son by the former marriage would produce. *nouercae* expresses the new bride's relation to her husband's former children. So *gener* of an intended, but not actual son-in-law, Hor. Epod. vi. 13; Verg. Aen. ii. 344 (Ast). *innuptae*, virgin, LXII. 6: it can scarcely be 'else unwed,' i. e. unless the son died.

403. *mater*, as Iocasta with Oedipus. *substernens se*. Suet. Aug. 68 *pudicitiam A. etiam Hirtio substrauerit*.

404. *Impia*, see on 62: 'ob ingens scelus idem repetit uerbum.' Alex. Guarinus. *diuos parentes*, the deified spirits of her parents, to whom there could be no greater offence than such incestuous confusion of their own relation with hers, as at once mother and wife. For the expression cf. a fragm. ascribed to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, p. 97

in Nipperdei's Corn. Nepos, *ubi mortua ero parentabis mihi et innocabis deum parentem*. An ancient law ascribed to Servius Tullius enacted *Si parentem puer uerberit aut olle plorassit, puer diuis parentum sacer esto*, Fest. s. v. *plorare*. See Nipperdei Opusc. p. 116, Plut. Q. R. 14, Renouf *Hibbert Lectures* p. 124. Jordan (Hermes xv. 530-535) cites ten inscriptions to the *di parentes*, eight Veronese, two Roman. No others were known to him. *scelerare*, 'to bring the stain of sin upon,' Verg. Aen. iii. 42.

405. *fanda nefanda*, that may be told or may not as too abominable. Sen. de Ira ii. 9. 2 *Velut signo dato ad fas nefasque miscendum coorti sunt*.

406. *Iustificam* seems to be ἀπ. λέγ. Delrio Comment. in Sen. Hipp. 990 compares as archaic *luctificus castificus terrificus*.

408. *contingi*, probably from *lango* as seems to have been the usage of Lucretius. See Munro on i. 934.

#### EXCURSUS ON LXIV. 23.

I HAVE retained my former note on this v. as explaining *O bona mater* the reading of the MSS of Catullus. But a reconsideration of the passage in the Veronese Scholia now inclines me to accept the universal verdict of modern scholars in favour of *O bona matrum Progenies*.

The passage in the Scholia runs thus (Aen. v. 80) 'Salve sancte parens. Catullus Saluete deum gens (*sic*) o bona matrum Progenies saluete iter (a space of about fifty uncial letters) Sancte parens iterum quia . . . salutauerat cum ad sepulturam mitteret.'

It seems clear therefore that the Scholiast knew the v. as ending with *o bona matrum Progenies*. More than this is, I think, uncertain. For, as Conington remarked, the immediately following words *saluete iterum* may well have been part of the Scholiast's comment on the passage, though the lacuna in the MS makes it impossible to say what form this comment took. And none of the proposed supplements which I have recorded in Vol. I can be thought satisfactory: nor yet on the other hand is it likely that Catullus left *saluete iterum*, and did not complete the line; a view doubtfully advanced by Orioli (Epistolae in C. Valerium Catullum Bononiae 1822 pp. 17-20), the first critic who treated the verse from the new point of view raised by Mai's publication of the Veronese Scholia. Such imperfect verses, though not unknown to the author of the Aeneid, are quite foreign to Catullus, as indeed to most other Latin poets. It might be said too that the addition of the extra verse recovered from the Scholia makes the address to the heroes, now of four verses, over long. The similar salutations in the Homeric hymns generally extend to only two verses: that in Theocr. xvii. 135-137 is not more than three. Yet, on the whole, the obscurity of the words *o bona mater*, as our MSS give them, and the difficulty of imagining *o bona matrum Progenies* to be an invention of the Scholiast's memory, combine with the Greek cast of the expression to leave on my mind a strong impression of genuineness.

#### EXCURSUS ON LXIV. 35-37, AND 350.

*Deseritur Scyros, linguunt Phthiotica Tempe,  
Crannonisque domos ac moenia Larisaea,  
Pharsaliam coeunt, Pharsalia lecta frequentant.*

In the notes I have tried to defend *Scyros*, the old reading of 35. But

since my last revision of the text (1878) was published, I have increasingly felt Meineke's conj. *Cieros* to be more than probable. Meineke shows p. 124 of his Steph. Byz. that the form *Kiépos* occurs in Strab. ix. p. 435, and is to be restored to Theophrastus *de causis plantarum* v. 14 where MSS give *Kíθpos*. *Cieros*, more commonly *Cierion*, is identified by Steph. Byz. with the more ancient Arne. This Thessalian Arne it is which seems to be meant in the Scut. Herc. (380, 475) ascribed to Hesiod—

Πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις κλειτή τ' Ἰωλκός,  
Ἄρνη τ' ἥδ' Ἑλίκη Ἀρθεῖά τε ποιήσσσα,

at least the association with the Myrmidons and Iolcos points in that direction. If indeed the Scholiast was right in identifying the *Μυρμιδόνων πόλις* as a single city with Pharsalus, a place specially connected with Achilles and his mother Thetis, we should have in this Hesiodic poem the same juxtaposition of the two towns which Meineke supposed in the passage of Catullus. This is perhaps not the only passage of LXIV in which Cat. has introduced *Cieros*. If I am right in a conj. first published in the Journal of Philology for 1888, p. 128, the corrupt *inciuium in curium*, or as *O* seems to give the word *inciuiō*, i. e. *inciueron* (see the facsimile on p. 145, vol. I) of LXIV. 350 conceals this forgotten name.

A few years ago in reading Ausonius I came on this distich in the Epitaphia Heroum. He is speaking of Achilles (v. 1, 2 Schenkl):

Non una Aeaciden tellus tulit, ossa teguntur  
Litore Sigeo, crinem Larisa cremavit,

where *crinem* is an old correction of the MS reading *crimen*, just as in the passage of Catullus cited above, the Oxford MS (*O*) gives *crimen* where the other MSS have *crines*.

If the epitaph were perfect, it would be more possible to speak of the meaning with certainty; as it is, of v. 3 only the words *Pars tumuli*, of v. 4 only *Orbe set in loco* remain: and we are not helped here by a corresponding Greek epigram, as in several others of the Epitaphia. Still I think no doubt can exist as to the general sense of 1, 2. Two lands received the remains of Achilles: his bones lie buried in Asia at Sigeum, his hair was burnt in his native soil, at Larisa. Vergil speaks of *Larissaeus Achilles* Aen. ii. 197, and there was a genealogical legend which made Larisa mother of Phthius, the *eponymus* of the Thessalian region Phthia (Serv. on Aen. ii. 197, Steph. Byz. s. v. *Φθία*). I should suppose then that a tradition existed which represented Achilles' hair as cut off before his body was burnt as described in the last book of the Odyssey, then sent to Larisa, and there solemnly burnt, no doubt with funeral rites of an appropriate kind. This would be a natural outgrowth of Achilles' lament, Il. xxiii. 144-146

Σπερχεῖ, ἄλλως σοί γε πατήρ ἤρῃσατο Πηλεὺς  
κείσέ με νοστήσαντα φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν  
σοί τε κόμην κρέειν ῥέξειν θ' ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην.

The hero was not destined to fulfil his father's vow; he was to die in a foreign land; but yet the hair, which Peleus had hoped his son would live to consecrate to the Spercheius, his natal river, will find its way back to Thessaly, and there be burnt, in everlasting memory of the great epichorion hero.

It is needless to dwell at length on the numberless legends connected with Achilles which a subsequent age developed not only in Greece, but Italy and elsewhere. Plutarch records such a legend at Tanagra (Qu. Graec. 17); Lycophron (859-865) commemorates a custom of the Crotoniat women to make perpetual mourning for Achilles, in which gold ornaments and purple robes were forbidden.

γυναιξὶ δ' ἔσται τεθμὸς ἐγχώροις ἀεὶ  
 πενθεῖν τὸν εἰνάπηχυν Ἀιακοῦ τρίτον  
 καὶ Δωρίδος, πρηστῆρα δαΐου μάχης,  
 καὶ μήτε χρυσὸν φαιδρὰ καλλύνειν ῥέθῃ  
 μήθ' ἀβροπῆρους ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι πέπλους  
 κάλῃ φορυκτοῦς, οὐνεκεν θεῶν θεὸς  
 χερσὶν μέγαν στόρνυγα δωρεῖται κτίσαι.

Now if Ausonius has rightly preserved a tradition, elsewhere, so far as I know, unmentioned, in connexion with Achilles; if that legend, perhaps embodied in some yearly or at least recurring solemnity, connected the burning of Achilles' hair with Larisa; similar observances may, nay are likely to, have existed in other parts of Thessaly. No attentive reader of the *Nuptiae Thetidis et Pelei* can fail to be struck by the prominence given to Thessalian localities. 35-7 *Phthiotica Tempe Crannonisque domos ac moenia Larisaea, Pharsaliam coeunt, Pharsalia tecta frequentant.* 280 *quos Thessala magnis Montibus ora creat.* 285 *Penios adest, uiridantia Tempe, Tempe quae siluae cingunt superimpendentes . . . linguens.* 300 *Vni-genamque simul cultricem montibus Iri.* 324 *Emathiae tutamen opis.* Hence it seems *a priori* likely that in the song of the Parcae, which forms the culmination of the poem, at least one reference to the native land of Achilles would find a place.

I would write then in LXIV. 350

*Cum in Ciero canos soluent a uertice crines*

and explain of the Trojan women carried captive into Thessaly, and there performing rites of sepulture, like those ascribed to Andromache in Aen. iii, to the memory of their sons slain at Troy, or perhaps as part of similar rites in honour of Achilles. Catullus may have either (1) read in some of the countless Greek poems now lost the description of such a ceremony (in which the Trojan *αἰχμαλωτίδες* were introduced mourning for their sons slain by Achilles at Troy) connected with Cieros, or (2) had witnessed in person some such recurring rite at the place itself. It would be only natural that he should use this for the imaginative purposes of his poem, thus giving to the prophetic chant in which the Parcae foretell the glories of Peleus' son, something of a local glow. 'To Achilles' great deeds shall many a Trojan mother be an unwilling witness, when at Cieros, in the land of their Phthian conqueror, they perform rites of absent sepulture to the sons that fell at Troy slain by Achilles' hand.'

This view will not seem improbable to those who remember how conspicuous a part is assigned in Greek legend to the *αἰχμαλωτίδες* carried from Troy by the returning Greeks. The starting-point of these stories may have been Il. vi. 457, where Hector prophesies to Andromache *καὶ κεν ὕδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηίδος ἢ Ὑπερείης*, names which the Pharsalians identified with two springs near a ruined town sixty stadia distant from



Pharsalus (Strab. 432). Lycophron records several such legends; a very curious one connected with Eretria is mentioned by Plutarch Quaest. Graec. 31: and see Seeley's interesting discussion on the Aeneas-legends in the Introduction to his Commentary on Liv. B. i. If indeed we might argue from the memorial honours paid to Achilles by the Crotoniat women, as recorded in the verses before cited from Lycophron, we might believe that some such ceremony existed in *historic* times at Cierion. There would be a concourse at the *ήρώων*, attended by women in black robes; possibly a recitation from Homer, or a solemn funeral lament.

It is perhaps some confirmation of my belief that Catullus has introduced the Thessalian name *Cieros* in the song of the Parcae (for the second time, if Meineke is right in his view of LXIV. 35, in the course of the poem) that the word looks like a variation of *Cuorios*, the name of a river which like *Arne* and *Itonus* exists in both regions, Thessaly and Boeotia (Strab. 411, 435). *Cuorios* with its adjoining *Itonus* was probably known to Catullus; for he has introduced *Itonus* in 228, and the river in its Aeolic form *Coralios* was mentioned in an alcaic ode by Alcaeus.

## EXCURSUS ON LXIV. 89.

*Quales Eurotae progignunt flumina mirtus.*

MSS give *Europea pergignunt*. Bährens retains *Europae*, with some probability, as will be clear from the following passages, all quoted by Meursius (Op. iii. 858).

Athen. 678 Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν ταῖς γλώσσαις ἑλλωτίδα καλεῖσθαι φησι τὸν ἐκ μυρρίνης πλεκόμενον στέφανον, ὅντα τὴν περίμετρον πηχῶν εἴκοσι, πομπεύειν τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλωτίων ἑορτῇ· φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅσα κομίζεσθαι, ἣν ἑκαλουν Ἑλλωτίδα.

Etym. M. 332 Ἑλλωτία· Ἡ Εὐρώπη τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο· ἥ δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν παρθένον ἑλλωτίαν καλοῦσιν· ἥ παρὰ τὸ ελεῖν, ὅτι ὑπὸ ταύρου ἐάλω, κατὰ τὸν μῦθον.

Hesych. Ἑλλωτία· ἑορτὴ Εὐρώπης ἐν Κρήτῃ.

Ἑλλωτίς· Εὐρώπης στέφανος πλεκόμενος, πηχῶν εἴκοσι.

From these passages it appears that there was a Cretan festival in honour of Europa called Hellotia, in which a large myrtle-wreath, of twenty cubits in size, containing the bones of Europa, was carried in procession: that Europa was herself called Hellotis, and that the name was believed to be Phoenician for a young girl. These facts suit well with the verse of Catullus; and the connexion of Europa with Ariadne (both daughters of Minos) might perhaps justify a somewhat recondite allusion.

The *Europae flumina* might be the legendary streamlet mentioned by Antigonus of Carystus, Hist. Mirabil. 179 καὶ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἰδαίου οὗ οἱ ὑπερκαθίζοντες, ὅταν ὑετὸς ᾗ, διατελοῦσιν ἄβροχοι, παραδεδῶσθαι δὲ τοῖς Κρησὶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου λούσασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς μίξεως. (Meursius Creta vol. iii. p. 414.) Or it might be the Lethaeus to which Europa was carried by the bull, as stated by Solinus p. 81, 21 Mommsen *Gortynam amnis Lethaeus* (MSS *Lenaeus*) *praelerfluit, quo Europam lauri dorso Gortynii ferunt uectitatam*. (See my article on the Ciris, American Journal of Philology for 1887, p. 9.)

## EXCURSUS ON LXIV. 227.

Mr. F. HAVERFIELD (Journ. of Philology xiii. p. 300) objects to my interpre-

tation of *obscurata ferrugine Hibera*, 'dyed with iron colour of Spain,' that such mineral dyeing was unknown to the Greeks and Romans. He therefore considers *Hibera* to be otiose, iron being common in Spain, and *obscurata ferrugine* as simply = *ferruginea*. If however the reading of *G* and *O* *obscurata dicet* is right (which is not quite certain, as many MSS give *obscura*, two *duget*) I think it impossible that Catullus could use so defined a participle as *obscurata* with the meaning of a simple adjective, like Ovid's *obscuraque carbasa pullo* (Met. xi. 48). Even allowing that in the corresponding *obscura tinclas ferrugine habenas* Met. v. 404, *tinclis ferrugine pannis* Ibis 233, the less distinct word *tinclus* might bear an explanation short of its natural participial force, as we might say 'reins of a sombre dye,' it would be dangerous to assume this for the comparatively rare *obscuratus*. The word seems necessarily to convey the idea of a process of darkening effected by *ferrugo*. A chemical friend of some eminence, Mr. Dunstan, suggests that before dyeing in its modern acceptation, with a mordant for fixing the colour and making it insoluble, was discovered, the ancients, had found a method of mixing oxide of iron (*ferrugo*) with some substance, such as bark of trees, which would combine with it to form a dark colour. But it seems clear from Plin. xxxiii. 88 *nisi rapui colorem, adduntur et scylanum atque turbistum. ila uocant medicamenta sorbere cogentia* that mordants were, at least to some extent, known and used by the ancients.

Mr. Haverfield in the article above quoted shows from Plin. xix. 10 *Et ab his Hispania citerior habet splendorem lini praecipuum, torrentis in quo politur natura, qui adluit Tarraconem. et tenuitas mira ibi primum carbasis reperiis*, that flax-stuffs (*carbasa*) were a special growth of Spain. It is strange he did not go on to conclude, as Bährens has since done, that *Hibera* in LXIV. 227 is nominative, not ablative. If we might combine *obscura* of the two Laurentian MSS, one of them believed by Schwabe to be written very little after 1400, with *duget* of *D*, *duget* of Riccardi 606, we might read with Conington (who, I remember, thought his conjecture right in this place)

*Carbasus obscura signet ferrugine Hibera,*

'that canvas of Spain may signalize my grief by its dark iron hue.'

#### EXCURSUS ON LXIV. 395.

*Aut rapidi Tritonis hera aut Ramnusia uirgo.*

Much difficulty has been found in this combination of Athena with Nemesis. The only other passage in which they stand in juxtaposition known to me is in an inscription on a monument raised on the via Appia by Herodes Atticus circa 161 A.D. to the memory of his wife Annia Regilla, Jacobs Anth. Graec. iii. p. 14, Kaibel Inscriptt. Graec. 1046. The first two verses of the second portion of this inscription are—

Πάντι 'Αθηνάων ἐπιήρανε Τριτογένεια,  
'Η τ' ἐπὶ ἔργα βροτῶν δράσας, 'Ραμνούσιας Οὔπτι.

Herodes had made the two goddesses *σύνναοι* probably from the vicinity of his native Marathon to Rhamnus (Jacobs ix. 372, who quotes Philostr. Vit. Sophist. xii. p. 562 *διηγάτο μὲν δ' Ἡρώδης ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ περὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους ἐαυτῇ δῆμους Μαραθῶνα καὶ Κηφισίαν*, Paus. i. 33. 2 *Μαραθῶνος δὲ*

σταδίους μάλιστα ἐξήκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥαμνοῦς τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Ὀρωπὸν. καὶ αἱ μὲν οἰκῆσεις ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶ, μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεώς ἐστιν ἱερὸν, ἡ θεῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ὑβρισταῖς ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητος. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀποβάσιν ἐς Μαραθῶνα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπαντῆσαι μῆνιμα ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, &c.), perhaps also from some Athenian association, as seems to be indicated by vv. 7, 8 of the inscription :

Ὡς ὅτε καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ εὐρυχόρους ἐς Ἀθήνας  
ἤλθετε, δώματα πατρὸς ἐριγδούποιο λιποῦσαι.

Pausanias i. 33. 3 states that the Parian marble which the Persians brought with them in anticipation of their triumph over Athens was worked by Pheidias after their retreat into an image of Nemesis, on the head of which was a crown with sculptured stags (the symbol of flight) and small figures of Victory. It was natural that this famous statue should be alternately regarded as a monument of the humiliation which overtakes overweening arrogance, and the triumph which awaits depressed but defiant patriotism. This indeed is the very idea of Nemesis; the alternation of success by which hopes are reversed and the stronger side becomes the weaker, as it is expressed in an epigram of the Greek Anthology (xvi. 221. 9, 10 Dübner) Ἀντιταλαντεύω τὰς ἐλπίδας' εἰμὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν Νίκη Ἐρεχθεΐδαις, Ἀσσυρίοις Νέμεσις. The same notion is well brought out in another epigram ascribed to Parmenias, a writer of the Augustan age, A. P. xvi. 222

Μήδοις ἐλπισθεῖσα τροπαιοφόρος λίθος εἶναι,  
Ἥλλάσθην μορφὴν καίριον εἰς Νέμεσιν,  
Ἐνδικὸς ἰδρυνθεῖσα θεὰ Ῥαμνοῦντος ἐπ' ὄχθαις,  
Νίκης καὶ σοφίης Ἀτθίδι μαρτύριον,

and with the additional conceptions which were the accretions of a later age by Ammianus Marcellinus xiv. 11. 26 *Haec (Nemesis), ut regina causarum et arbitra rerum ac disceptatrix, urnam sortium temperat, accidentium uices alternans; uoluntatumque nostrarum exorsa interdum alio quam quo contendeant exitu terminans, multiplices actus permutando conuoluit. eademque necessitatis insolubili retinaculo mortalitatis uinciens fastus tumentes in cassum et incrementorum detrimentorumque momenta uersans, ut nouit, nunc erectas mentium (? amentium) ceruices opprimit et eneruat, nunc bonos ab imo suscitans ad bene uiuendum extollit.* Cf. Philostr. Epist. 14, where Nemesis is called ὄξυς θεὸς καὶ στρεφόμενος.

It is perhaps with this notion of Nemesis, as a power which interferes to assist the cause of the weak against the strong, of the smaller army in conflict with the greater, that Catullus has here combined her with Athene. It is true that such a conception of Nemesis is foreign to the heroic age, and seems to have been the growth of a later time. Yet this appears preferable to another view which has also occurred to me, that Catullus identified Nemesis with Victory, as Mesomedes, a poet of the era of Hadrian, has done in the opening verses of his hymn (Jacobs Anth. Graec. iii. p. 6, Bergk Anth. Lyric. p. 403)

Νέμεσιν θεὸν ᾗδομεν ἀφθίταν  
Νίκην τανυσίπτερον, ὀμβρίμαν  
Νημερτία καὶ πάρεδρον Δίκας.

Cf. the epigram above quoted A. P. xvi. 221. 9, 10 Dübner.

## LXV.

THE immediate object of this poem is to introduce a translation of Callimachus' *Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος* to the notice of Hortalus, probably<sup>1</sup> Q. Hortensius Hortalus, the orator and rival of Cicero (Att. ii. 25. 1, iv. 15. 4). Voss indeed considered the Hortalus here addressed to be the grandson of the orator, the M. Hortensius Hortalus of Tacitus Ann. ii. 37. This however, as Ernesti observes, would ill agree with the date of the poem; nor do I see any ground for thinking that Q. Hortensius Hortalus, the son of the orator, a Caesarian, but a friend of Cicero's, who speaks of him as a profligate (Att. vi. 3. 9, x. 4. 6), is meant. But it would be quite in Catullus' manner to inscribe a poem to one of the most famous speakers of the day, as indeed he inscribes XLIX to Cicero. If in XCV. 3 Hortensius is derided as a poetaster and contrasted with the author of *Zmyrna*, C. Helvius Cinna, this also is quite in agreement with the character of Catullus, to love and hate alternately; nor is there anything to preclude the supposition of Schwabe (Quaestt. p. 272) that XCV was composed after a quarrel.

Catullus has however worked into these introductory verses to Hortalus a second theme which reappears more distinctly in LXVIII, his grief for the death of his brother. The emphatic iteration in that elegy of the lines in which this death is recorded 20-24, 92-96, as well as the short epicedion *CI Multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus* show how deeply he felt the loss. This brother at the time when LXV was written had recently (*nuper* 5) died in the Troad (cf. LXVIII. 91), where Catullus saw his grave (CI), no doubt during his Bithynian journey. From LXV. 9-14 as well as from the general scope of all the allusions to this event, it seems probable that the sad news reached the poet some time after it happened, and from a considerable distance, whilst he was still in Italy, whether at Verona or Rome. From LXVIII. 34-36 it might appear that he was at Rome, his ordinary residence, and was driven by grief with a few books as his companions to Verona.

It is a question whether Catullus sent with the *Coma Berenices* any other poems translated from Callimachus. The words *carmina Balthiadae* LXV. 16, CXVI. 2 are ambiguous; the 'verses of Callimachus' might as well be one long, as several short poems; *carmina* is used of a single poem LXI. 13, LXIV. 383. But it seems improbable that Catullus would have either tasked himself to translate more than one long and difficult elegy, or if he did so would not have recorded it more distinctly<sup>2</sup>.

The date is fixed by Iungclaussen, Schwabe, Westphal and B. Schmidt at 694 | 60. This supposes the Bithynian journey to fall in 57. But if

<sup>1</sup> By an odd accident a Narbonese Inscription C. I. L. xii. 4399 has preserved the name of the orator in combination with that of the poet, *Liguriæ Q. Fil. Frontinae Q. Hortensi Catulli*.

<sup>2</sup> O. Schneider, Callim. ii. 161, 2 infers from CXVI. 2 that Catullus translated several poems of Callimachus, but considers that the only one of these retained for the edition dedicated to Corn. Nepos, was the *Coma Berenices*.

Catullus went to Bithynia in 65-64, the composition of LXV must be assigned to the years immediately preceding.

1 sqq. This exordium is imitated by the author of the *Ciris* 1 sqq. *Etsi me uario iactatum laudis amore.*

1. **confectum dolore.** Lucilius ap. Non. 268 *doloribus confectum corpus.* The reading of some MSS *defectum*, 'fainting,' might be supported by German. Aratea 65 *defecta labore*, Col. v. 6. 37 *Arborem senio defectam*, Grat. Cyn. 435 *defecta mala pecuaria tabe*: but its other sense 'abandoned by' with an abl. of the thing lost *defectus uiribus*, etc. makes the word an awkward one and less likely therefore to be used by Catullus.

2. **doctis**, the Muses, Lygd. 4. 45 *doctae sorores*, Catal. 11. 2 *doctae Pegasides*. **uirginibus**, ἑλικῶναι παρθένοι Pind. I. vii. 59 (105). **Ortale** MSS, and so most edd. including Munro. It is however more probable that the right spelling was *Hortalus*: in Att. ii. 25. 1 MSS give *hortalus*, iv. 15. 4 M and R *hotalus*: in Tac. Ann. ii. 37, 38 where the name occurs four times, the Mediceus invariably has *hortalus*, in Suet. Tib. 47 the IXth cent. Memmianus at Paris, as well as the XIth cent. Laurentianus 68. 7 both give *hortalum*. I have not found the name in any of the Indices to the published volumes of the C. I. L., nor in the C. I. R. N.

3. **fetus**, perhaps with the idea found in Pindar that poets are the keepers of the golden apples of the Muses (fr. 273 Bergk). *fetus* is used of the produce of trees Verg. G. i. 55, ii. 390. **expromere.** Catal. 11. 7 *nostros expromere cantus Maximus et sanctos dignus inire choros.*

4. **Mens animi**, 'the thought of the mind,' is found in Plautus, Epid. iv. 1. 5, Cist. ii. 1. 6, and four times in Lucretius, iii. 615 *animi mens consiliumque*, iv. 758 *Mens animi uigilat*, v. 149 *animi uix mente uidetur*, vi. 1183 *Perturbata animi mens*. Cicero de Rep. ii. 40. 67 speaks of *mens* as *pars animi*. **ipsa.** The mind is too unquiet itself to produce anything else.

5. **Lethæo in gurgite.** Catullus appears to mean the river Lethe, which does not seem to occur before Plato Rep. 621 C as another expression for the previously mentioned river of Indifference (Ἀμύλη). Moschus Epitaph. Bion. 22 Ἀλλὰ παρὰ Πλουτῆι μέλος ληθαῖον ἀεῖδει applies the word to the forgetfulness of the living world which comes upon the dead. Like Catullus, Tibullus i. 3. 80, Lygdamus 3. 10, Propertius iv. 7. 10, 91, speak of the water and boat of Lethe; Vergil describes it Aen. vi. 705 *Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatal amnem*. So Culex 215 *Lethaeas cogunt transnare per undas*.

6. Theocr. i. 140 *χὼ Δάφνις ἔβα ῥέον ἐκλυσε δίνα Τὸν μοῖσαις φίλον ἄνδρα, τὸν οὐ νύμφαισι περὶ ἀπὸ χειρὸς.* **manans**, 'slow-streaming,' suggests the same idea as the *uada lenta* and *implicat* of Prop. iv. 11. 16. **alluit**, present, as in Prop. ii. 32. 23, the action extending from a recent past to the present.

7. **Rhoeteo**, the reputed grave of Ajax, as Sigeum of Achilles, Anth. P. vii. 146. 1, Mel. i. 96, Plin. H. N. v. 125: it is here that Vergil makes Aeneas erect a cenotaph to Deiphobus, Aen. vi. 505.

8. **obterit**, 'crushes,' Lucr. iii. 893 *Vrgeriue superne obtritum pondere terrae* similarly of a grave. Pindar fr. 191 *Ταρτάρου πυθμὴν πίττει σ' ἀφανίος.*

9. **audiero nunquam**, 'shall I never for a moment hear thee?' The

fut. perf. seems to give the notion of a moment of time, or a momentary action cut off and separated from other moments, isolated, Madvig Opusc. ii. p. 95, where he quotes Planc. xxxiii. 79 *Multo citius meam salutem prole abiecero quam Cn. Plancii salutem tradidero contentioni tuae*, 'I would rather once for all,' Att. iii. 19. 1 *Nusquam facilius hanc miserrimam uilam uel sustentabo uel quod multo est melius abiecero*, where as here the two futures are combined. Possibly however the notion may be simply that of a second action included in the first, as in the instances quoted by Madvig p. 89; 'shall I never speak with thee, and in speaking hear thee talk of what thou hast done.' The word lost after *tua* is more likely to have been *facta* than *uerba*, *gesta*, or *fata*. But see the Excursus.

10. *uita*, LXVIII. 106, LXIV. 215, Cul. 212.

11. *at certe semper amabo*. Inscript. Orell. 4847 *Namque ego te semper mea alumna Asiatica quaeram Adsidueque tuos uoluit fingam mihi merens*. Süß compares Dir. 102 *Quamuis ignis eris, quamuis aqua, semper amabo*.

12. *tegam*, I will keep close or veil in silence. That this is the meaning is shown by the comparison with the nightingale singing veiled from sight amid the leaves. See Excursus. *tua morte* after *maesta*, as LXIV. 379; cf. Verg. G. iii. 518 *Maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuuenem*.

13. So Barry Cornwall to a nightingale at midday *Thy holy strain Should be amongst* (? *amid*) *the silence born: Thy heart may there unfold its pain, Leaning upon its bridal thorn*. Hom. Od. xix. 518 'Ὡς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη χλωρὴς ἀηδὼν Καλὸν ἀείδουσιν ἔαρος νέον Ἰσταμείνιο, Δενδρέων ἐν πετράλοις καθέζομένη πυκνινούσιν, Ἥ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυχῆα φωνήν Παιδ' ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴγυλον φίλον, ὃν ποτε χαλκῷ Κτείνε δι' ἀφραδίας, κούρον Ζήθοιο ἀνακτος. This however is not the commoner legend alluded to by Catullus, according to which Procne and Philomela were the daughters of *Pandion*; Procne married the Thracian prince Tereus, who fell in love with her sister Philomela and violated her; for which both the sisters killed Tereus' son Itys and served him up to his father as a meal: the three were then changed into birds, Procne into a swallow, Philomela into a nightingale, Tereus into a hoopoe. Apollod. iii. 14. 8, Ov. Met. vi. 424-670.

14. *Daulias*, from Daulis an ancient town of Phocis, on the road from Orchomenus and Chaeroneia to Delphi (Dict. Georg. s. v.), where Tereus ruled. Thuc. ii. 29 'Ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς ὁ Τηρεὺς ᾔκει τότε ὑπὸ Θράκων οἰκουμένης· καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἔπραξαν· πολλοὶς δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνας μῆμη Δαυλιάς ἡ ὄρνις ἐπώνομασται. The name is derived from δαῦλος = *dāsus*, owing to the thick woods which grow there. Paus. x. 4. 7. *absumptei*, 'foully slain,' *Increpet absumptum nec sua mater Ityn* Prop. iii. 10. 8.

15. The sentence begun with *Etsi* in 1 and interrupted by the long parenthesis 9-14 is resumed here, the *Sed* implying that it has been broken off and as it were begins *de nouo*. An exactly similar construction is Cic. Fam. xiii. 27. 1 *Licet eodem exemplo saepius tibi huius generis litteras millam, cum gratias agam, quod meas commendationes tam diligenter obserues—quod feci in aliis et faciam, ut uideo, saepius—sed tamen non parcam operae. maeroribus*. This spelling is confirmed by Inscriptions, e.g. C. I. L. i. 1202 and one of the Augustan age Orelli 4859. For the plural Mr. Pinder compares Stat. S. v. 5. 8 *Quem luimus tantis maeroribus?*—spoken of frantic grief for the loss of an adopted son. So the Inscr.

above quoted C. I. L. i. 1202 *Interieisti et liquisti in maeroribus matrem. mitto*. Pindar fr. 101. 2 Τοῦτό τοι πέμπω μετάδορπον.

16. *expressa*, 'translated,' so Ter. Adelph. Prol. 11 *uerbum de uerbo expressum extulit*. Cicero in his poem *Limon* (Sueton. Vita Terenti 5) *Conuersum expressumque Latina uoce Menandrum*. Plin. Epist. iv. 18. 1. *Battiadae*, Callimachus son of Battus of Cyrene: so he calls himself in a distich written to be placed upon his tomb, Epig. 36. 1 Blomf.

17. *nequicquam* because *credita uentis*, LXIV. 59, Lucr. iv. 1096. The meaning is not that the words had been trusted to the winds, and then that the winds had betrayed their trust; but that they had been committed to the winds, and were *therefore* ineffectual. *tua diota*, probably some request which Hortensius had made to have a poem of Callimachus translated by Catullus.

18. *Effluxisse*, of forgetfulness. So Cic. Fam. vii. 14. 1 *Si nostri oblitus es, dabo operam ut istuc ueniam ante quam plane ex animo tuo effluo*, de Orat. ii. 74. 300 *nihil ex illius animo quod semel esset infusum, umquam effluere potuisse*, where he is speaking of memory. So διαρρεῖν. Longin. Art. Rhet. p. 164 Bake φοβεῖσθαι μὴ διαρρεῖν σε τὸ μᾶθημα οἰχίσηται. Placidus has *deliquio obliuio*: see Capt. iii. 4. 93.

19-24. The comparison is not merely fanciful. As the lover's gift falls unconsciously from the girl's bosom, so, Hortensius might think, had the words he had spoken in friendship have passed out of the memory of his friend.

19. *missum* might be 'thrown,' as in Justin xii. 15. 11 Rühl *ueluti malum Discordiae misisset*, but Vergil's *Aurea mala decem misi, cras altera mittam* Ecl. iii. 71 favors the ordinary interpretation. *munere*, as in Cl. 8. Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 74 *munere missum zmaragdum* (but *muneri* the best MSS). *malum*. Apples were sent as gifts by lovers, Theocr. iii. 10, Verg. E. iii. 71, Prop. ii. 33. 69, 71: perhaps from a supposed resemblance to the breasts. Crates, fr. 40 Kock Ἀπικώ-τιστα τὰ τειβί, ὥσπερ μῆλον. Cantharus fr. 6 Kock, and often in Aristophanes. The apple-tree was sacred to Venus, as the bay to Apollo (Dilthey Cydipp p. 63)<sup>1</sup>.

20. *Procurrit . . . gremio*. Festus p. 165 M. *Nec mulieri nec gremio credi oportere: prouerbum est, quod et illa incerti et leuis animi est, et plerumque in gremio posita, cum in obliuionem uenerunt propere* (so K. O. Müller, pro MS) *exsurgentium, procidunt*.

21. *miserae*, to be taken in close connexion with *oblitae*; so perhaps LXIV. 57. *molli sub ueste locatum*. Lucian Dial. Meretr. xii. 1 Τέλος δὲ τοῦ μῆλου ἀποδακὼν προκίψας πως εὐστόχως προσηκόντως εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ λαβεῖν γε πειρώμενος ἐμέ. ἡ δὲ φιλήσασα μετὰ τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἀποδέσμῳ παρεβύσατο, a passage which Aristaenetus has copied nearly word for word.

22. *Atque*, as in Verg. G. i. 203 *Atque illum in praeceps pronò rapit alueus amni*, Most. ii. 2. 56, 57 *Lucernam forte oblitus fueram exstinguere*

<sup>1</sup> 'The apple was used as a love-offering, not, I think, as resembling the breasts, but from its pips, as a sign of fecundity. In the popular tales the power of begetting children is frequently given to the barren by eating an apple, either the wife only, or husband and wife, eating half each: similarly the quince and other fruits with many pips and seeds play a prominent part in marriage ceremonies. So when Proserpine in Hades has eaten the pomegranate, she becomes the wife of Pluto.' H. F. TOUL.

*Atque ille exclamat derepente maximum*, is not simply for *statim* (see Gell. x. 29) but introduces in the form of an emphatic concluding clause a sudden and unexpected catastrophe. *illud* in contrast to *Huic prono*, the apple shoots forwards to the ground. *decursu*. Conington on Verg. G. iii. 276 *Saxa per et scopulos et depressas conuallis* considers that Vergil there and Catullus here meant to indicate the one swiftness the other indecorum by the spondaic ending: he compares Il. iv. 74 Βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων αἰξασα, x. 359 Φευγόμεναι τοὶ δ' αἶψα διώκειν ὁρμήδην. At the end of his note however he adds that, judging merely by the ear, we might say that the change from dactyl to spondee in all the lines except Il. x. 359 expresses motion downwards. To me it seems more likely that in each case the interruption of the dactylic movement by a spondaic rhythm expresses a sudden check: the line is as it were pulled up; the level sinks into a valley, the apple comes to the ground, the rapid flight is arrested and after a time becomes slower: meanwhile the slowness of the spondees throws into greater relief the quick movement of the dactyls which precede it. *Decursus* is used by Lucretius of the rush of water down a hill side v. 946.

24. *manat*, 'spreads.' *consciens*, 'guilty,' Most. iii. 1. 13 *Nihil est miserius quam animus hominis conscius*, which however is not accepted by Langen as Plutine. The 'conscious blush' has in English become almost proverbial.

#### EXCURSUS ON LXV. 9-12.

*Alloquar audiero nunquam tua loquentem,  
Nunquam ego te uita frater amabilior  
Adspiciam posthac? at certe semper amabo,  
Semper maesta tua carmina morte tegam.*

THE first of these four vv. is absent from both *G* and *O*. On the other hand it is found as printed above with a lacuna between *tua loquentem* in *D* and Paris 7989 written in 1423, without such lacuna in Brit. Mus. 11,674 (my *c*): and with various supplements *uerba facta fata* in many other MSS, as detailed by Schwabe in his Berlin ed. of 1886. It was accepted as genuine by Lachmann and Haupt; but Statius and Scaliger both thought it spurious, and this view has been revived with some force by Bährens (Prolegom. p. xxviii), with whom Munro, somewhat overconfidently, and B. Schmidt less decidedly, agree.

In the doubt which hangs over the question of the archetype and the number of copies made from it, it is rash to conclude anything from the absence of LXV. 9 in *GO* and most of the more authoritative MSS. The original codex from which it is believed all existing MSS were copied may have contained the verse in the margin, or, as Sydow suggests (*de recensendis Catulli carminibus* 1881), in faint characters which it was difficult to read. It would thus be omitted in some copies, retained in others. From its appearing not only in the Datanus and its congener *a*, two MSS in which a sober judgment traces indisputable marks of antiquity, but in Paris 7989 written in 1423 and containing, besides, the unique fragment of Petronius known as the *Cena Trimalchionis*, it may be inferred with some probability that the original from which it was derived



rior to 1400. For, as Fröhner has observed and as every unbiassed will admit, the general character of the Datanus precludes the ansian hypothesis of a simulated and counterfeited antiquity; while sence in Paris 7989 of any note of interpolation, such as that MS in the supposed parallel case LXVIII. 47 *Omnibus et triuiis uulgetur passim*, to which is appended in the margin of 7989 *Seneca suppluit*, s it equally improbable that LXV. 9 was the work of a 15th century olator. Supposing however that it was so, it seems unlikely that the should have come down to us with so many variations; whereas if it d in the archetype in the form in which *D* and Paris 7989 give it, ith a lacuna between *tua* and *loquentem*, we have a reason for the variety of shapes it assumes, *tua uerba loquentem*, *tua facta loquentem*, *ita loquentem*, &c. (Sydow p. 58). Nor can I think it likely that an olator would be so unskilful as to repeat *loquentem* after *Alloquar*: ould have taken care to make his participle *differ* from his verb, *item*, *gementem*, or something similar. Again, the idiomatic use of it. perf. *audiero* and its perfectly classical combination with the ury future *Alloquar* were hardly within the scope of an early forger (abe, Sydow); while the *sentiment*, as Sydow shows p. 59, is thoroughly ian, cf. IX. 6, 7 *Visam te incolumem audiamque Hiberum Narran- ra, facta, nationes*.

though I am not yet convinced that LXV. 9 is an interpolation, not prepared to defend *canam*, the reading of the Datanus and rdianus 606, against *tegam* of *GO* and nearly *all* my other MSS. ild seem that the difficulty of interpreting *tegam* caused the substi- of the more intelligible *canam*. Munro's explanation of *tegam* as itution of the last syllable of *morte* combined with *cam* (for *canam*), es that *g* can take the place of *c* and that *canam* could be con- l or distorted into *cam*. Neither seems to me likely: still less that Catullus would declare his intention of singing epicediums brother's memory *for ever* (*semper*). But if distress at his loss him, as he tells us, from society into solitude, it would be natural, g as that distress lasted, that he should hug his solitude, brood over s, and declare his intention to meditate in his seclusion on that and er theme of song.

Here can I sit alone, unseen of any,  
And to the nightingale's complaining notes  
Tune my distresses and record my woes.

SHAKESPEARE, *Gentlemen of Verona* v. 4.

ius has three parallel instances of *legere*. In two of them the : 'to keep from the public,' 'suppress,' 'withhold from the world.'

vii Sapientum Introd. 4 *Aequanimus fiam te iudice, siue legenda, genda putes carmina quae dedimus*. 17, 18 *Interea arbitrii subiturus a tanti Optabo, ut placeam: si minus, ut lateam*. Epigr. xxxv. 12 cl *Qui sua non edit carmina, nostra legat*. *Huius in arbitrio est, seu nescere cedro Seu iubeat duris uermibus esse cibum*. *Huic ego, quod uperest ignobilis oti, Deputo, siue legat quae dabo, siue tegat*. In the he sense closely corresponds to that of our passage 'to keep ad or sequestered.' Epist. xv. 19 *Inuitus olim deuoravi absentiae itatem pristinae, Quondam docendi munere adstrictum graui Iculisma*

(Angouleme) *cum te absconderet, Et inuidebam deuio ac solo loco Opus Camenarum legi.* Munro's objection that 'the nightingale never muffles its song' and 'fills the air with music' is beside the point: for the comparison is between the poet meditating his songs of grief *in solitude and seclusion* and the nightingale singing screened from the eye in a close thicket of leafy boughs where 'All may hear but none may see.' I prefer this explanation of *legam* to that of Marcilius 'Ortalo petenti carmina respondet Valerius sibi decretum tegere semper deinceps carmina sua, quia maesta sint morte fratris; tamen in Ortali gratiam mittere, "*Sed tamen in tantis*," &c.' On this view Catullus professes his resolution not to give his poems publicity any longer; to sing unobserved as the nightingale sings out of human ken. This interpretation closely agrees with the two first passages of Ausonius.

## LXVI.

THE Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος, of which Catullus has here given a translation, is, if we except the Δουτρά Παλλάδος, the only surviving specimen of the Callimachean elegy. The few certain fragments of the original which remain are not enough to decide whether Catullus has given a literal version or not; but there is at least no reason to think that he has merely paraphrased Callimachus (see vol. I. pp. 332-334). The obscurity however which the loss of the Greek necessarily produces in a translation from so elaborate a writer as Callimachus makes many passages of the Latin poem doubly difficult; it may indeed be doubted whether we shall ever be able to explain completely vv. 51-58. But even if we had this original we should still be in perplexity as to the time when it was composed, or the exact circumstances in the life of Berenice and her husband to which it alludes. In the diversity of conflicting statements it seems best to place together those passages in the poem itself which speak clearly. They are these—

8-14 E Beroniceo uertice cesariem  
Fulgentem clare, quam multis illa dearum  
Leuia protendens brachia pollicita est,  
Qua rex tempestate nouo auctus Hymenaeo  
Vastatum finis iuerat Assyrios,  
Dulcia nocturnae portans uestigia rixae,  
Quam de uirgineis gesserat exuuiis.

19-22 Id mea me multis docuit regina querellis  
Inuisente nouo proelia torua uiro.  
At tu non orbem luxti deserta cubile,  
Set fratris cari flebile discidium?

25-29 At te ego certe  
Cognoram a parua uirgine magnanimam.  
Anne bonum oblita es facinus, quo regium adeptæ's  
Coniugium, quod non fortior ausit alis?  
Sed tum maesta uirum mittens quæ uerba locuta es!

**35-38**

## Is haut in tempore longo

*Captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat.*

Quis ego pro factis caelesti reddita coetu

*Pristina* vota *nouo* munere dissoluo.

77

dum *uirgo quondam* fuit.

From these passages it appears that Berenice vowed a lock of her hair to the gods shortly after her nuptials with her cousin Ptolemy Euergetes, and that the occasion of the vow was her husband's starting on an expedition to lay waste the Assyrian (or Syrian) borders. Ptolemy is called *king*, and would seem to have been so at the time: similarly Berenice is called *queen*. She was not a girl at the time of her marriage, though that marriage had been brought about by an act of heroism performed when she was still a girl. Ptolemy's expedition was soon successful, and ended in the subjugation of Asia. Then, apparently some time after it had been first made (*pristina uota*), Berenice performed her vow; the identification of the lock with a group of stars discovered or named by Conon, and the poem of Callimachus recording the event, were perhaps considerably later.

The expedition alluded to in 12, 36, has usually been identified with that mentioned by Polybius v. 10 Συνέβαινε γὰρ Σελευκίαν ἔτι τότε κατέχεσθαι φρουραῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλείων, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐεργέτην ἐπικληθέντα Πτολεμαῖον καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐκείνος, διὰ τὰ Βερενίκης συμπτώματα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης ὀργήν, στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν τόπους ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο ταύτης τῆς πόλεως. Appian Syr. 65 Δύο δὲ (γυναῖκας) εἶχε (Antiochus Theos, King of Syria) Λαοδίκην καὶ Βερενίκην ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ ἐγγύης Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου θυγατέρα. καὶ αὐτὸν (Antiochus Theon) ἔκτεινε Λαοδίκη, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ Βερενίκην τε καὶ τὴν Βερενίκης βρέφος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δ' τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ταῦτα τιnunόμενος Λαοδικὴν τε ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἤλασε. Hieronymus Comment. in Daniel. xi. 7 Occisa Berenice et mortuo Ptolemaeo Philadelpho patre eius in Aegypto, frater illius et ipse Ptolemaeus, cognomento Euergetes, tertius successit in regnum . . . et uenit cum exercitu magno et ingressus est provinciam regis Aquilonis, id est, Seleuci cognomento Callinici, qui cum matre Laodice regnabat in Syria: id abusus est eis et obtinuit in tantum ut Syriam caperet et Ciliciam superioresque partes trans Euphraten et propemodum uniuersam Asiam. Cumque audisset in Aegypto seditionem moueri, diripiens regnum Seleuci, quadraginta milia talentorum argenti tulit et uasa pretiosa simulacraque deorum duo milia quingenta; in quibus erant et illa quae Cambyses, capta Aegypto, in Persas portauerat. Denique gens Aegyptiorum idololatriae dedita, quia post multos annos deos eorum retulerat, Euergetem eum appellauit; et Syriam quidem ipse obtinuit, Ciliciam autem amico suo Antiocho gubernatorem tradidit, et Xantippo alleri duci provincias trans Euphratem. Justin xxvii gives a rather indistinct account. Polyaeus viii. 50 Μεταπεμφθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν Πτολεμαῖος ἦκεν ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἀνηρημένης καὶ διαπύμων ἀπὸ τῆς προσσηγορίας τοῦ πεφονευμένου παιδὸς καὶ τῆς ἀνηρημένης Βερενίκης ὡς ἔτι ζώντων ἐπιστολάς, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου μεχρὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χωρὶς πολέμου καὶ μάχης ἐκράτησε. Inscription of Adule in Montfaucon's Collect. Nou. Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum ii. p. 141 transcribed by Cosmas in the beginning of the reign of Justin, who began to reign A.D. 518 (Clinton F. H. iii. p. 387 note, p. 382, ed. 1) Βασιλεὺς μέγας Πτολεμαῖος υἱὸς βασιλέως

Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν, τῶν βασιλέων Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης θεῶν σωτήρων ἀπόγονος, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ πατρὸς Ἡρακλῆος τοῦ Διός, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μητρὸς Διονύσου τοῦ Διός, παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων, ἐξεστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ δυνάμειον πεζικῶν καὶ ἱππικῶν καὶ ναυτικοῦ στόλου, καὶ ἐλεφάντων Τρογλοδυτικῶν καὶ Αἰθιοπικῶν οὓς δὲ τε πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν χώρων τούτων ἐθήρευσαν, καὶ καταγαγόντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον κατεσκεύασαν πολεμικὴν χρεῖαν. κυριεύσας δὲ τῆς τε ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου χώρας πάσης, καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Ἰωνίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Θράκης, καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν ἐν ταῖς χώραις ταύταις πασῶν, καὶ ἐλεφάντων Ἰνδικῶν, καὶ τοὺς μονάρχους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τόποις πάντας ὑπηκόους καταστήσας, διέβη τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ Βαβυλωνίαν καὶ Σουσιάνην καὶ Περσίδα καὶ Μηδείαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν ἕως Βακτριάνης ὑπ' αὐτὸν ποιησάμενος, καὶ ἀναζητήσας ὅσα ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἱερὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξήχθη, καὶ ἀνακομίσας μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης γούνης τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων εἰς Αἴγυπτον, δυνάμεις ἀπέστειλε διὰ τῶν ὀρυχθέντων ποταμῶν.

Ptolemy Euergetes succeeded his father Philadelphus as King of Egypt B.C. 247, Clinton F. H. iii. p. 379 (p. 386, ed. 2), and the Syrian conquests mentioned by Jerome and the inscription of Adule must have followed soon after. This accords with the historical sequence of events. (1) Antiochus Theos the king of Syria to whom Ptolemy Philadelphus had married his daughter Berenice, was killed in 247-246 B.C. and succeeded by his son Seleucus Callinicus. The murder of Antiochus was followed by that of his wife Berenice and her infant son, and it was to avenge this last outrage that Ptolemy Euergetes the son of Philadelphus and brother of the murdered Berenice, invaded Syria. We thus obtain 246-245 as the probable date of the beginning of the expedition alluded to in 12, and, without pressing *haut in tempore longo*, we may perhaps conclude that he returned not later than 244; (2) Berenice, the wife of Euergetes, had been betrothed to him in infancy by her father Magas of Cyrene. But on the death of Magas, his widow Apame, or, according to Justin xxvi. 3, Arsinoe, disapproving of the marriage, invited from Macedonia Demetrius surnamed δ Καλός, brother of Antigonus Gonatas, to take the place of Ptolemy as the intended husband of her daughter. Demetrius, however, instead of ingratiating himself with Berenice, formed an amour with her mother, and was killed in her arms at the instigation of Berenice (Justin xxvi. 3). This, as since Niebuhr has been generally agreed, is the *bonum facinus* alluded to in the poem (27), by which Berenice secured her marriage with Ptolemy. If then she was at that time a girl, *Cognoram a parua uirgine magnanimam*, i.e. probably not more than 13 or 14 years old, and the marriage with Ptolemy followed as soon after the death of Demetrius as the conditions of age and the circumstances of the time allowed (the language of the poem in 25-30 implies, I think, that Berenice was then a full-grown woman), the marriage can hardly fall later than 247, the date of Ptolemy's accession. The ordinary chronology places the reign of Magas, which lasted<sup>1</sup> 50 years, B.C. 308-258; allowing two or three years for the arrival and death of Demetrius, Berenice might be 14 in the year 255, and 22 in 247<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Agatharchides ap. Athen. 550.

<sup>2</sup> Droysen, *Hellenismus*, vol. iii. part i. p. 275 note, accepting Niebuhr's view (Kl. Schriften, p. 235) that the statement of Eusebius, which fixes the death of Demetrius at Ol. 130. 2, B.C. 259, is corrupt, determines from Trogus Prol. xxvi that event at

Merkel however, Prolegomena to Apollonius xii, xiii, with whom Donaldson agrees (Hist. of Greek Literat. ii. 432), maintains that the war mentioned in the poem cannot have been the Syro-Assyrian expedition of 246-245. For if it had been, we should expect to find some allusion to the cause which occasioned that war, the outrage on Ptolemy's sister Berenice. Again, if the death of Demetrius happened in Ol. cxxx<sup>1</sup>, 260-257 B.C. as stated in the Eusebian Chronicle, the marriage of Berenice with Ptolemy Euergetes would naturally follow soon, and could not fall as late as 247. Hence he concludes that the war alluded to is that mentioned by Jerome Comment. in Daniel. xi. 6 *Iste aduersus Ptolemaeum Philadelphum—gessit bella quamplurima et totis Babylonis et Orientis uiribus dimicauit. Volens itaque Ptolemaeus Philadelphus post multos annos molestum finire certamen filiam suam nomine Berenicen Antiocho uxorem dedit.* This war seems to have brought to the dominion of the Egyptian king many cities of Asia Minor; and caused others to be founded or receive new names. It was conducted, he supposes, not by Ptolemy Philadelphus in person, perhaps owing to his weak health (Athen. xii. 536), but by his son Euergetes, the hero of the poem.

This view might seem to receive some confirmation from recent research. Wiedemann (Rhein. Mus. for 1883 pp. 384-393) shows that Suidas<sup>2</sup> s. v. *Καλλίμαχος* dated the commencement of Euergetes' reign from Ol. 127. 2 (271 B.C.), i.e. from the fourteenth year of the reign of his father Philadelphus. In accordance with this, two papyri published by Revillout name Euergetes as joint-regent with his father in the nineteenth and twenty-first years of Philadelphus' reign. Further as, in the *stèle* of Mendes, Arsinoë, the second wife of Philadelphus, is stated to have received divine honours already in the fifteenth year of his reign (270 B.C.), her marriage with him, and her nearly contemporaneous adoption of his sons by his former wife as recorded by Greek writers, must have preceded. From the *stèle* of Pithom (Heroon-Polis) published by Naville (*The Store-city of Pithom*, pl. 8-10) lines 15, 16, it appears that the marriage had already taken place in the month Pachon, 273-2 (Wiedemann in *Philologus Neue Folge* i. p. 84). In default of direct evidence of an earlier date, Wiedemann accepts Suidas' year 271 as that from which the joint-regency of Euergetes began.

The passage of Suidas, on which this argument is based, is unhappily doubtful. But allowing that Euergetes might have been called *king* (v. 11) at any time after 271, and with less violation of strict correctness as each successive year brought him nearer to his real assumption of the crown in 247, I object to Merkel's view on the following grounds.

1. The war described by Jerome as carried on between Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) and Antiochus Theos seems to have been signalized by

some period between the revolt of Ptolemy the son of Philadelphus at Ephesus (Athen. 593) and the death of Antiochus Theos in 247-246. Assuming it to have happened in 251-250 when Berenice was 14 years old, he thinks she may have married Ptolemy in her 17th year, 248-247. Cf. Couat *La poésie Alexandrine* p. 43.

<sup>1</sup> Obiit etiam Demetrius, cuius cognomentum Pulcher uocabatur, anno c. trigesimae Olympiadis secundo. Hieron. Chron. i. p. 237 ed. Schöne.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS of Suidas give the passage thus: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἦν (Καλλίμαχος) Πτολεμαῖον τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου· πρὶν δὲ σπασθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, γράμματα ἐδίδασκεν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, κομυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ παρέτεινε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐεργέτου κληθέντος Πτολεμαίου, ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ρκς', ἥς κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ὁ Εὐεργέτης Πτολεμαῖος ἤρξατο.

no striking successes on the part of Ptolemy, such as Callimachus implies. It was a *molestum certamen* which was ended pacifically by the marriage of Antiochus with Ptolemy's daughter Berenice. In fact if not an obscure war it seems not to have been a great one: and nothing is said by any of the recording chroniclers of Euergetes playing any part in it. The story mentioned by Libanius Orat. xi (vol. i. p. 306, ed. Reiske 1791) seems to show that Philadelphus was, at any rate, not kept in Egypt by ill-health during the latter years of his reign.

2. It is at least *more* likely that a court-poet would speak of an expedition in which his royal patron had gained real distinction. Everything in the poem points to the war being a more than ordinarily serious one, Berenice would hardly have vowed her lock if Ptolemy had been merely starting on a short raid into Syria: she must have contemplated an absence of some time and dangers from which her husband might perhaps not return at all: such a war, a gigantic war as Niebuhr calls it, is that mentioned by Polybius, Appian, Jerome, and the inscription of Adule, in which Euergetes at the head of a vast army, after making himself master of Syria and Cilicia, passed the Euphrates and subjugated a great part of Asia. It was after this expedition that he received the name of Euergetes, probably, as Jerome says, for bringing back the images of Egyptian gods which had been carried away by Cambyses into Persia; cf. the decree of Canopus line 7 Ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ βασιλίσσα Βερενίκη ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνὴ, διαπολοῦσιν πολλὰ καὶ μέγαλα εὐεργετοῦντες τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς τίμας τῶν θεῶν ἐπὶ πλείον αὔξαντες . . . καὶ τὰ ἐξενεχθέντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἱερὰ ἀγάλματα ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἐξοστρατεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέσσωσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπέδωκεν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ὅθεν ἕκαστον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐξήχθη: it was in fact the great event of his reign. The words of the poem *Vastatum fines iueral Assyrios* and *Captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat*, suit this war quite as well as the earlier one; and though no hint is given in the poem of the object of the expedition, the one obvious motive for such reticence may be found in the euphemistic wish to suppress a tragic event which could only bring painful memories to the brother of the murdered Berenice.

3. Catullus and therefore Callimachus pointedly *contrast* the time when Berenice killed Demetrius with that of her nuptials. At the former she was a girl, and yet showed the courage of a woman: at the latter she was a woman and yet completely overcome by the grief of parting with her husband. There was therefore some interval between the two periods.

Accepting then the ordinary view that Callimachus speaks of the Syro-Assyrian war of Ptolemy III, we must suppose him to have written the poem after the return of Ptolemy to Egypt, perhaps in 245, which would agree with the short time (*haut in tempore longo*) Euergetes took to practically secure his victory (Busch de Bibliothecariis Alexandrinis p. 21),

*Βασιλείας*. Ol. 127. 2 = B.C. 271. Most editors alter the number to ρλγ' = Ol. 133. 2 = 247 B.C., and it certainly seems unlikely that Suidas, after stating that Callimachus lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, should go on to say he lasted on to the reign of Euergetes, if he meant the *joint* reign of Philadelphus and Euergetes. Possibly Suidas confused the date of the joint-regency with that of the actual accession. Or as Busch suggests, after Kaibel, some words are lost and the passage was originally to this effect: *ἤκμασε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ρεζ' καὶ παρέεινε μέχρι τοῦ Εὐεργέτου κληθέντος Πτολεμαίου, Ὀλυμπιάδος δὲ ρλγ' ἦς κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ὁ Εὐεργέτης Πτολεμαῖος ἤρξατο βασιλεύειν*.

and would not be inconsonant with the earliest date ordinarily assigned to the death of Callimachus, if Busch is right in concluding from Suidas s.v. *Καλλίμαχος*<sup>1</sup> that the poet did not live beyond the Olympiad of Euergetes' accession to the sole sovereignty (Ol. 133 = B.C. 248-245). The earlier views of Clinton and Ritschl, who respectively place Callimachus' death in 230 B.C. and 236-233 B.C., are now generally abandoned: but so far as the *Coma Berenices* bears on the question, the poem would seem more naturally to have been composed rather later than 245, hardly so late as 240, the earliest limit assigned to the poet's death by Couat (p. 57).

The *Coma Berenices* shows Callimachus in two points of view which are not very discernible in his other extant poems, first as a student of astronomy, secondly as a man familiar with Egyptian habits and ideas. From a Scholion on Homer Il. xviii. 487, as well as from Hyginus P. A. 18 and 34, we know that he wrote about the stars, a branch of science which was then making great advances under the patronage of the Ptolemies, and which had very shortly before been popularized in the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, and worked into the *Hermes* and *Erigone* of Eratosthenes (Couat *La poésie Alexandrine* p. 115). Niebuhr calls the reign of Euergetes the golden age of the exact sciences (Lect. on Anc. Hist. iii. 242, 3); and we may look upon this poem as a scientific not less than a poetical tribute paid by learning to the founders and supporters of the Museum. It is thus not without reason that Callimachus dwells so long on the stars at the beginning of the poem, and that he returns to them in the middle and at the end of it: the same spirit of flattery which had prompted Conon to associate a royal name with a constellation would induce Callimachus not only to versify the event, but to turn his astronomical knowledge to account in doing so. Compare 1-9, 59-74, 89-94.

Again, the poem becomes more significant if explained by Egyptian allusions. It is true that to offer locks of hair in vows was not uncommon in Greece; but the conceit of making Berenice's lock a star was more natural in a country where all the males shaved their heads, and only women wore their hair (Herod. ii. 36); fine locks would be finer and be fitter objects of admiration than elsewhere. Nor would Callimachus have dwelt on the double connexion of sister and wife, so odious to the Greeks, had he not been writing in a country of abnormal customs, where Greek influences had only made their way in proportion as they fell in with the national usage. If the Ptolemies one after another adopted a form of marriage generally thought incestuous, we may be sure it was to please their subjects: and Callimachus in the sentimental eulogy which he pronounces on the connexion, must have known that he was pleasing not his royal patrons only, but the great mass of the Egyptian people. Perhaps, too, we may trace in 90 one of those Egyptian *λυχροκαίαι* which Herodotus ii. 62 mentions in connexion with Sais.

The poem is of course full of references to the reigning dynasty: 45, 6 are motivated by the completion of the canal between the Pelusiac branch of the Nile and the Red Sea, which Philadelphus is said to have carried on from the Bitter Lakes to the head of the Heroopolite bay at Arsinoe near the modern Suez (Strab. 804, Plin. H. N. vi. 165), a great work which we have seen revived in our own day. Even if, as Sir G. Wilkinson

<sup>1</sup> See the passage cited in the note on p. 359.



infers from Herod. ii. 158, all that the Ptolemies did was to reopen and improve the canal (Rawlinson's Herodotus ii. p. 239, ed. 1875), this would be enough to give a point to the otherwise far-fetched introduction of Athos. Again, the deification of Arsinoë as Aphrodite, mentioned in 53-58, is quite in accordance with the traditions of the Ptolemies. The decree of Canopus ordains the apotheosis of a Berenice, daughter of Euergetes and his queen, who died young, and speaks besides of 'King Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, the brother-gods, and Queen Berenice, his sister and wife, the Benefactor Gods,' and similarly the Rosetta stone (lines 4, 5 ed. Sharpe, 1871) has θεῶν Σωτηρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς Εὐχαρίστου, and decrees divine honours to Ptolemy Epiphanes, as well as additional honours to his ancestors who were deified already; ib. l. 10 Epiphanes is called θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς καθάπερ Ὀρος ὁ τῆς Ἰσίου καὶ Ὀσίριος υἱός. Again, 59-62, in which, as in the passage of Nonnus' *Sylloge Historiarum* quoted below, the crown of the yellow-haired Ariadne in the sky is compared with the golden lock of Berenice now similarly exalted, is in distinct reference not only to the fact that one of the Alexandrian demes was called Ariadnis, but to the mythical connexion of the Ptolemies with Bacchus, his family and descendants. Satyrus ap. Theophilum in Meineke's *Analecta Alexandrina* p. 346 Σάτυρος ἱστορῶν τοὺς δήμους Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Φιλοπάτορος τοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου προσαγορευθέντος, τούτου μνησεὶ Διόνυσον ἀρχηγέτην γεγονέναι . . . ὅθεν καὶ τὰς προσωινμίας ἔχουσιν οἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς δήμοι, Ἀριάδνης ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Μίνω γυναικὸς δὲ Διονύσου, Παιδὸς πατροφίλας τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσου Ἐν μορφῇ πρύμνιδι (i. πρύνῃ), Θεστὶς ἀπὸ Θεστίου τοῦ Ἀλθέας πατρὸς, Θοαντὶς ἀπὸ Θόαντος παιδὸς Διονύσου, Σταφυλὶς ἀπὸ Σταφύλου τοῦ Διονύσου, Εὐανίς ἀπὸ Εὐάνος τοῦ Διονύσου, Μαρωνίς ἀπὸ Μάρωνος υἱοῦ Ἀριάδνης καὶ Διονύσου· οἷτοι γὰρ πάντες υἱοὶ Διονύσου; cf. *Inscript. Adul.* τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρακλῆος τοῦ Διός, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μητρὸς Διονύσου τοῦ Διός. *Alciph.* ii. 4. 19 Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ Διόνυσον, οὐ δημοκρατικόν, ὡς οἶσθα. So 76-78 have a particular force in reference to the princesses of the house of Ptolemy, who were devoted to unguents, *Athen.* 689 ἤκμασε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ (μύρα) διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἀρσινώης καὶ Βερενίκης σπουδὴν. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν Κυρήνῃ ῥόδιον χρηστότατον καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἔζη ἡ Βερενίκη ἡ μεγάλη (Μάγα Schweighaeuser). Lastly with 91, 92 compare the following passages which speak of the *liberality* of the Ptolemies, *Memnon lib.* xiii, xiv. c. 25 in Müller's *Fragment. Histor. Graec.*, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς λαμπροτάταις μὲν δωρεαῖς εὐεργετῆν τὰς πόλεις προήγετο; Decree of Canopus lines 7-10 (Sharpe).

In 58 where *Graia* seems to be opposed to *Canopieis* as Greek to Egyptian, the selection of Canopus as a generic term may have been partially determined by the favor which that town received from Euergetes and his queen. The decree of Canopus mentions τὸ ἐν Κανώπῃ ἱερὸν τῶν Εὐεργετῶν θεῶν (l. 7. Sharpe), and the infant daughter of the royal pair was consecrated as a goddess μετὰ τοῦ Ὀσίριος ἐν τῷ ἐν Κανώπῃ ἱερῷ, ὃ οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἱεροῖς ἐστὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν πάντων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμωμένοις ὑπάρχει (l. 50 Sharpe).

Couat in his analysis of the poem (*Poés. Alexand.* pp. 113-120) traces two main *motifs*, a scientific, which is occupied with the new constellation, narrates its genesis and recurs to astronomical allusions; a dramatic, which centres round Berenice and her bridegroom. In this latter lies the



main interest for the reader; but in the development of his subject the poet has so artfully blended each *motif* in succession, that neither can be said to predominate.

I have used for this poem the special commentaries of Valckenaer 1799, Ugo Foscolo 1803, and Brüggemann 1830; as well as that of Orelli in his *Eclogae Poetarum Latinorum* ed. 2. 1833. Vahlen's discussion *Über ein Alexandrinisches Gedicht des Catullus* (1888) I have also found suggestive.

1. **dispexit**, for *despexit* of MSS is certain (*a*) from the frequency with which the words are confounded; see Madvig on Cic. Fin. ii. 30. 97, iv. 23. 64, 24. 65, (*b*) from the sense. *Dispicere* is used of seeing through a dark or confusing medium, Cic. Acad. Pr. xix. 61 *tantis offusis tenebris ne scintillam quidem ullam nobis ad dispiciendum reliquerunt*, Tusc. Disp. i. 19. 45 *cum has terras incolentes circumfusi erant caligine, tamen acie mentis dispicere cupiebant*, Verg. Aen. vi. 733 *neque auras Dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*; sometimes of coming to the light for the first time, as in Fin. iv. 23. 64 *catuli qui iam dispecturi sunt*, 24. 65 *catuli caeci priusquam dispexerunt*, where the idea is not so much, I think, of seeing through a narrow opening (Reid on Cic. Acad. Pr. xix. 61) as of piercing the darkness which forms a film in front of the eyes. In the verse of Catullus, at any rate, there is no idea of *catching a glimpse*; the notion is obviously of seeing distinctly where the number of stars might perplex or confuse the vision. So in Lucr. vi. 647 *latest alleque uidendum Et longe cunctas in partibus dispiciendum* Munro translates 'you must make a wide survey in all directions.'

2. **obitus**, 'settings.' Cicero de Fato ix. 17 *signorum ortus obitusque perdiscere*. Apuleius de deo Socratis 120 Lütjohann *qui signorum ortus et obitus comperit*.

3. **rapidi**, 'scorching.' Verg. G. i. 92, 424. Brüggemann compares ξῆρ *ἥλιον* in an epigram of Callimachus (31, 1 Blomf.). **obscuretur**, in eclipses. Plin. H. N. ii. 47.

4. **cedant**, not 'yield,' overpowered by the blaze of the sun (Ugo Foscolo), but 'withdraw,' like Horace's *decidentia certis Tempora momentis* Epist. i. 6. 3.

5. **Latmia saxa**, the cave on Mount Latmos in Caria where the Moon was said to have kissed Endymion. Apoll. R. iv. 57 Οὐκ ἄρ' ἐγὼ μούνη μετὰ Λάτμιον ἄντρον ἀλύσκω Οὐ δ' οἷη καλῶ περιδαίωμα Ἐνδυμίωνι, with the Schol. λέγεται δὲ κατέρχεσθαι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἄντρον τὴν Σελήνην πρὸς Ἐνδυμίωνα. Pausanias v. 1. 5 says there was a sanctuary (ἄδυτον) of Endymion on Latmos. **relegans**. Love makes her an exile from the sky: a graceful conceit to express a lunar eclipse.

6. **guro**, 'her circling course,' as in Sen. Phaedr. 312 *Nocturnas agitare bigas Discit et gyro breuiore flecti*. Valck. and Orelli explain it less probably of the circle of the sky, like γῦρον γῆς Esaias xl. 22. **deuocet**. Theocr. xx. 37 Ἐνδυμίων δὲ τίς ἦν; οὐ βακχὸς; ὃν γε Σελάνα Βακχολέοντα φώσασεν ἄπ' Οὐλύμπω δὲ μολοῖσα Λάτμιον ἄν νάπος ἦλθε καὶ εἰς ἔνα παιδὶ κάθητο. **aereo** is not to be changed to *aetherio*: Callimachus has Τείρασιν, ἡνίκα πλείστα κατ' ἡέρα βουκολέονται Del. 176, where O. Schneider shows that αἰθήρ and ἀήρ are interchanged by Callimachus, Apollonius, and their imitators.

7-10. The original is preserved here by the schol. on Arat. Phaen. 146

Bekker Κόνων ὁ μαθηματικὸς Πτολεμαίῳ χαριζόμενος Βερενίκης πλόκαμον ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατηστέρισε. Τοῦτο καὶ Καλλιμάχος πρὸς φησὶν Ἡδὲ (Ἡ με) Κόνων ἐβλεψεν ἐν ἡμέρῃ τὸν Βερενίκης Βόστρυχον ὃν τ' ἄρα κείνη Πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖσιν, which seems to be the truncated remains of *five* verses, of which Βόστρυχον began the second, ὃν τ' ἄρα κείνη ended the third, Πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖσιν began the fifth.

7. **numine** with **Fulgentem**, 'shining with the divinity of a god,' i.e. with the effulgence proper to celestials. The Greek, as preserved by the Scholia on Aratus, has nothing corresponding to **numine**, and Canter accordingly conjectured *lumine*, Voss *in lumine*. But Catullus seems to have abridged the original five lines of Callimachus to two and a half: hence any change is hazardous.

8. **cesariem**, a *tuft* of hair, corresponding to the seven stars of the constellation. Generally *cesaries* is used of a head of hair, particularly if thick or long, *promissa cesaries* Liu. xxviii. 35, *decoram Cesariem* Aen. i. 589.

9-10. Valck. rejects these verses, (1) because the stars in Berenice's hair are not bright, but dim. (2) **multis dearum** is in opposition to *cunctis diuis* in 33. Berenice would have avoided the offence of praying to some gods and omitting others, and the Greek is πᾶσιν θεοῖσιν. (3) **Leuia protendens brachia** is meaningless. But (1) to say that the lock shone brightly is little more than saying that it had become visible as a constellation, though even if an exaggeration it would be pardonable in a court-poet. (2) All the *gods* may include many *goddesses*, Catullus says **dearum** not *deorum*; and yet if he did write *deorum*, as from πᾶσιν θεοῖσιν is possible, this would not necessarily be in opposition to *cunctis diuis*; a poet varies his expressions on grounds not to be tested by logic. (3) As Haupt remarks Quaesit. p. 81, to stretch out the arms is a natural way of expressing prayer; cf. the Homeric χεῖρας ἀνέχειν Il. i. 450, iii. 318, and Callim. Del. 107 πῆχεις Ἀμφοτέρους ὀρέγουσα μάτην ἐφθέγγετο τοῖα, cited by Stat. Paus. v. 25. 5 προτείνοντάς τε τὰς δεξιὰς καὶ εἰκασμένους εὐχομένους τῷ θεῷ. E. Voulliéme, in his treatise *Quomodo ueteres adorauerint*, collects many instances, pp. 26-28.

9. **Fulgentem clare**. 'Most of the stars in Berenice's hair are visible to the naked eye, and are perfectly distinguished in the sky, a little to the east of the Lion. No very brilliant star in the vicinity inconveniences the eye by effacing their light.' (Guillemin, *The Heavens*, translated by Lockyer, ed. 3. p. 372.) **dearum**, as Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemaeus, offers a plait of her hair to Artemis and leaves it in her temple, Anth. P. vi. 277. In the six epigrams there which speak of hair offered in dedication, the four addressed to goddesses are in behalf of women, the two addressed to gods of males (Anth. P. vi. 274-279). Sil. Italicus makes a warrior vow to offer his hair to Gradivus if victorious, Pun. iv. 200, and Tacitus Germ. 31 says the Catti used to make vows not to shave their head till they had slain an enemy.

11. The hiatus **nouo auctus** (cf. CVII. 1) is followed and perhaps compensated by a lengthening of the final syllable of **auctus** before **hymenaeo**, with which cf. LXII. 4, LXIV. 20 *dicetur hymenaeus, despectit hymenaeos*. **auctus**, LXIV. 25.

12. **Assyrios**. Anna Lefevre and Blomfield Callim. fr. 152 thought the original was preserved here. \*Ἡ' ἐπ' Ἀσσυρίων ἡμεδαπὴ στρατῷ (Etym. M. s. v. Ἀσσυρία, where MSS give Ἡ ἀπ' Ἀσσυρίων). But O. Schneider Callimachea ii. p. 420 points out that the Assyria of the Etym. M. is the

country of the Leucosyri near Sinope, which could not be meant by Callimachus here. Nor is it easy to determine whether **Assyrios** is Assyrian, as Callimachus calls the Euphrates the Assyrian river (H. Apoll. 107), or Syrian, as in the passages cited by Nöldeke *Hermes* v. p. 466, Verg. G. ii. 465, Ciris 440, Culex 62, Sen. Phaedr. 87. It is perhaps in favor of the latter view that the poet says in 36 that Ptolemy soon annexed *Asia* to Egypt: and that Lucian de Dea Syra 17 calls Stratonice the celebrated wife of Antiochus I king of Syria, wife of the king of the *Assyrians*.

13. A line imitated by the author of one of the Catalepta, 11. 5 *Horrida barbaricae portans insignia pugnae. Dulcia uestigia*. 'Signa et notas iocundas ferens, quas puella marito infixerat, dum pudicitiae florem uiolenter quodammodo auferret' Alex. Guarinus. Claudian. Fescenn. 30 *Nocturni referens uolnera proelii*. Valck. compares the *νυκτομαχείῳ* of the Greek Erotici.

14. *de*, to win. Ibis 171 *Deque tuo fiet, licet hac sis laude superbus, Insatiablem corpore rixa lupis. uirginis exuuiis*, 'the spoils of virginity,' LXVIII. 14.

15-38. 'Are brides in earnest when they weep on reaching the marriage-chamber? Their tears must surely be hypocrisy. Else Berenice would not have been so sad when she had to part from her bridegroom. She will say it was as a brother, not as a husband that she wept for him. But her grief was too overpowering to make that credible. In fact she seemed to have quite lost all self-control. Yet as a girl, she feared nothing; she cannot have forgotten the splendid crime which secured her marriage with the king of Egypt. What then overpowered her so completely in parting from her husband? It must be love. Then she vowed to offer a tuft of her hair, as well as a sacrifice of oxen, if Ptolemy returned safe. This he soon did, and I am now given up to the gods in fulfilment of the vow.'

15. Scaliger compares Callim. fr. 118 Blomf. *Ἡ παῖς ἡ κατάκλειστος τὴν αἰ φασὶ τεκόντες Εὐναίους ὀδύσσοις ἔχθην ἴσον δλέθρῳ*. Sententiae Varronis 11 *Sic fiet heres ut puella uiro nupta; utriusque fletus non apparet est risus. anne*. MSS have *atque*, which either necessitates *salsis* or gives a weak sense, 'Is it true that brides hate love? and is it possible that they disappoint their parents' pleasure by pretended grief on the verge of union? Surely their hatred is hypocritical, their tears are feigned.' In this case *falsis* anticipates and therefore spoils the conclusion **Non uera gemunt**. It seems clear that *falsis* is the determinative word in the second half of the interrogative sentence, and that an opposition is implied to the first. Hence *anne* seems necessary. *parentum* need not imply that the father and mother of Berenice were still living at the time of her marriage: and it is questionable whether it could be extended to mean the father of her husband (Philadelphus) and his wife (Arsinoe) (Vahlen).

16. *falsis lacrimulis*, like Terence's *Haec uerba illa una me hercle falsa lacrimula* (tear-drop) *Quam oculos terendo misere uix ui expresserit Restinguet* Eun. i. 1. 22 Wagner, Fronto p. 229 Naber *Gullam unam minimam quanta dissimulantis lacrima esse solet*.

17. *Vbertim*. Fronto p. 268 Naber *Vbertim flentem desiderio tui atque huius discitii dolore*. MSS vary between *intra inter, lumina limina*. *Τῷ*



choice would seem to lie between *intra limina, inter lumina*, 'among the lamps of the marriage-chamber,' Mart. x. 38. 7. Yet in Aen. xi. 267 Ribbeck reads *prima inter limina* where the MSS give both *inter* and *intra*.

18. i. e. *ita me diui iuerint, non uera gemunt*. The separation of *non* from *gemunt* gives prominence to the negation, as in XIV. 16. For the adjuration cf. LXI. 189 *ita me iuuent Caelites. iuerint*. In Phorm. iii. 3. 4 *adiuerit comiler*, most of Umpfenbach's MSS including the Bembine give *adiuuerit*, as the MSS of Catullus *iuuerint* here.

20. *torua*, not quite otiose, but in contradistinction to *nocturnae rixae* above (Alex. Guarinus).

21. *Et*, the reading of some of the best MSS, is perhaps right; as Hand thought Tursellin. i. 441. 'And will you say it was not for the desolation of your couch you mourned?' like *Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens?* Phil. ii. 43. 110.

22. *fratris*. Decree of Canopus line 7 ed. Sharpe. Βασιλεῖς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ βασιλίσσα Βερενίκη ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνὴ θεοὶ Εὐέργεται, and similarly the golden plate containing the dedication of a temple to Osiris at Canopus, quoted by Paley Theocritus p. 94. Mr. Sharpe, note on the hieroglyphics p. 37, considers that Berenice is so called in compliment, as in Solomon's Song the king styles his wife his sister. Other explanations are that (1) Berenice and her husband were both children of Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, Arsinoe having married Magas, Berenice's father, after her banishment from the court of her first husband, Ptolemy Philadelphus (Niebuhr), a view based on Hyginus' *Ptolemaei et Arsinoes filiam* cf. Justin. xxvi. 3; but Droysen Hellenismus ii. p. 244 rejects the authority of Hyginus as doubtful, and according to other accounts the name of Berenice's mother was Apame (Paus. i. 7. 3); (2) that Berenice is cousin of Euergetes as being daughter of Magas, the son of Berenice, wife of Ptolemy I (Soter), by a former husband. Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) would then be ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφός to Magas: and the children of each might thus be called ἀδελφοί as cousins by the mother's side. This latter is the generally received view, and the pronounced manner in which Callimachus dwells on the relation makes it probable that this, or possibly some other link, gave an air of reality to what would otherwise be a rather overstrained compliment. Yet it is not to be forgotten that this sisterwife connexion had a religious meaning to the Egyptians. 'As the Egyptian Osiris and Isis, identified with Sun and Moon, were at once brother and sister, and husband and wife, so it was with the Peruvian Sun and Moon, and thus the sistermarriage of the Incas had in their religion at once a meaning and a justification.' Tylor, Primitive Culture, ed. 2, vol. i. p. 289. See Theocr. xvii. 130-134.

23. Orelli rightly shows that this verse is in close connexion with the two preceding. Catullus often carries on a sentence begun in one distich to the middle or end of the hexameter of the next: cf. 7-9, 59-61, 79-81, LXV. 9-11, and several times in LXVIII. *Cum*, 'at a time when,' = 'when all the time.' Phorm. Prol. 21, 22 *De illo iam finem faciam dicundi mihi, Peccandi quom ipse de se finem non facit?* Verr. iii. 54. 125 *Cum bellis Carthaginiensibus Sicilia uexata est, et post nostra patrumque memoria cum bis in ea prouincia magnae fugitiuorum copiae uersatae sunt,*

*tamen aratorum interitio facta nulla est.* Cum populo gratias egit, ix. 21 *Cum custodes reipublicae esse debuerunt, salutem meam uendiderunt.* Liu. ii. 40. 7 *Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit 'intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater coniunx liberique?'* cura, the grief of lovers, see on LXIV. 72, LXVIII. 51. *exedit*, like *Est mollis cura medullas* Aen. iv. 66; XCI. 6 *magnus edebat amor.*

24. *Vt*, 'how,' interjectionally as Manil. v. 88, compared by Stat. and Valck. *Quae tua tunc fuerat facies! quam fugit in auras Spiritus! ut toto caruerunt sanguine membra!* Most of the commentators take *toto pectore* with *excidit*: cf. Ovid Pont. ii. 4. 24 *Excidere haec credam pectore posse tuo*: to me it seems more naturally to connect itself with *sollicitae*, 'in the utter disquietude of thy heart.' Cf. for the dative Ov. Met. iv. 174 *at illi Et mens . . . Excidit*, quoted by Bährens.

25. 'Thy senses were ravished from thee, thy reason fell away.' *Sensibus ereptis* like LI. 5, 6 *Misero quod omnis Eripit sensus mihi.* Brügge-mann suggests that Callimachus may have used the word used by Sappho there, *ἠρωεῖν*, cf. Callim. H. Dian. 191. *at te ego certe* for *at ego certe* of most MSS is more likely than *atque ego certe*: yet *atque* might well mean 'and all the time,' 'yet for all that,' as in Cic. ad Fam. xiv. 4. 5 *Cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atque ego qui te confirmo ipse me non possum.* Suet. Cal. 54 after mentioning Caligula's skill as an actor and dancer, *Atque hic tam docilis ad cetera natum nesciit.*

27. *facinus*. According to Hygin. P. A. ii. 24 Berenice mounted a horse and rallied the flying army of Ptolemy Philadelphus, thus saving her father's life, an exploit for which Callimachus called her magnanimous (*magnanimam*). Though Hyginus must here have Catullus in view, his explanation is probably wrong. The *bonum facinus*, as Niebuhr pointed out, is the assassination of Demetrius the paramour of Berenice's mother. Justin xxvi. 3 (Arsinoe) *inuicta se contractum matrimonium solutura misit, qui ad nuptias uirginis regnumque Cyrenarum Demetrium fratrem regis Antigoni a Macedonia arcesserent, qui et ipse ex filia Ptolemaei procreatus erat. Sed nec Demetrius moram fecit. Itaque cum . . . Cyrenas aduolasset, fiducia pulchritudinis, qua nimis placere socrui coeperat, statim a principio superbus regiae familiae militibusque impotens erat, studiumque placendi a uirgine in matrem contulerat. Quae res suspecta primum uirgini, dein popularibus militibusque inuisa fuit: itaque uersis omnium animis in Ptolemaei filium (Euergetem) insidiae Demetrio comparantur; cum in lectum socrus conscendisset, percussores immittuntur. Sed Arsinoe audita uoce filiae ad fores stantis et praecipientis ut matri parcerent, adulterum paullisper corpore suo prolexit. Quo interfecto Beronice et stuprum matris salua pietate ulla est et in matrimonio sortiendo iudicium patris secula.* So Corn. Nepos calls Timoleon's murder of his brother *praeclarissimum factum* Tim. i. *quo* for *quam* of MSS is doubtful. Alex. Guarinus gives *cum*, which Bährens retains, writing *quom* and comparing Tac. Dial. 14 *Apri sermo cum Maternum exhortatus est.*

28. *quod non fortior ausit alis*. Not, 'which no one else though braver would venture' (Voss), but 'which none else would show themselves braver by venturing,' 'could venture and so win the title of braver.' *fortior* is part of the predicate. So Hor. C. iii. 23. 18 *Non sumptuosa blandior hostia Molliuit auersos Penates*. Polybius v. 36 speaks of Berenice's *ῥάψα*. *alis* = *alius*. Catullus speaks generally.

**29. tum**, in pointed opposition to the period of girlhood mentioned in 26-28. **mittens**, when you were sending on his way, like *Mittend in magnum imperium* Aen. xi. 47.

**30. Iuppiter**, here and 48 perhaps a translation of *Zeū páter*, a form of invocation which may have been connected with marriage, or at least with women. Alcman introduced *παρθένους λεγούσας Zeū páter ai gár emós pósis eĩh* fr. 29 Bergk. **tristi**, for *triuisti*, like *Misti* XIV. 14. Catullus has also *lucti* 21, *duxti* XCI. 9, *promisti* CX. 3, *subrepsti* LXXVII. 3, *abstersti* XCIX. 8. Berenice rubs her eyes to brush away the tears. Propertius i. 15. 35 *Hos tu iurabas, si quid mentita fuisses, Vt tibi suppositis exciderent manibus* suggests another idea not incompatible with the former; tears are often dashed from the eyes as much in anger as in grief: the new bride would be revenging herself on her eyes for losing sight of her husband, and would feel a pleasure in punishing them violently.

**31.** 'Who is that great God that changed thee?' **tantus** is in reference to **mutauit**, as in *Quae te tam laeta tulerunt Saecula?* Aen. i. 605, 'what age bore thee, an age happy enough to do so?' 'what God changed thee, a God great enough to do so?' Stat. compares Theocr. xx. 20 *Ἄρα τις ἐξαπίνας με θεὸς βροτῶν ἄλλον ἔτευξεν*; **an quod**. Fam. vii. 13. 1 *Audi, Testa mi: utrum superbiorem te pecunia facit, an quod te imperator consulit?* In such passages *an quod* = *an eo fit quod?* Munro, who shows that it is common in the plays of Terence.

**32. caro corpore**, 'body of their beloved.' Calvus fr. 14 Lachm. *Et leges sanctas docuit et cara iugauit Corpora conubiis et magnas condidit urbes*. In both passages *carum corpus* is used of the newly-wed.

**33. me** seems absolutely necessary here, as the object of **pollicita es** cannot be supplied from the preceding lines: otherwise *prae cunctis*, which occurs first in the Commentary of Alex. Guarinus, 1521, would be forcible enough, suggesting the idea of Berenice standing as it were in front of the whole company of gods, and calling upon them collectively to hear her promise. **ibi**, 'thereupon,' as often in Plautus, Amph. v. 1. 39; ib. 42 *ibi continuo contonat*; Curc. ii. 3. 61 *Dico me illo uenisse animi causa*. *Ibi me interrogat* (Key L. D. s. v.).

**34. Non sine taurino sanguine**, the sacrifice might accompany the vow, as in Lygdam. 3. 2 the vow for Neaera's safe return is accompanied by an offering of incense. It is perhaps more likely (so Vulp. and Brüggemann) that Berenice vowed to cut off her lock and to sacrifice bulls, as in Iliad vi. 93 Hecuba promises to sacrifice oxen in the temple of Athene if she take pity on the Trojans, cf. ib. 115 *Δαίμοσιν ἀρήσασθαι ὑποσχέσθαι δ' ἐκατόμβας*: so Achilles' father Peleus vows to the Sperchius if his son return to his native land *Σοὶ τε κόμην κέρεεν ῥέξεν θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην*, Πεντήκοντα δ' ἑνορχα παρ' αὐτόθι μῆλ' ἱερεύσειν Il. xxiii. 146, 7.

**36. Asiam** as recorded in the inscription of Adule quoted above. The inscription records Ptolemy's conquest both of Asia Minor and the more eastern part of Asia, to the east of the Euphrates. The former seems to be meant by Justin xxvii. 3 speaking of this actual expedition *Ea tempestate omnia bella in exitium Asiae gerebantur; uti quisque fortior fuisset, Asiam uelut praedam occupabat. Seleucus et Antiochus fratres bellum propter Asiam gerebant: Ptolemaeus rex Aegypti sub specie sororiae ultionis Asiae inhiabat*: but the word does not seem to occur in the extant remains of Callimachus, and Justin would be no guide as to the poet's usage.



**37. reddita**, 'given up,' according to promise, as in Horace's *Ergo obligatam redde Ioui dapem* C. ii. 7. 17. So *reddere epistulam* of delivering a letter to persons who ought to get it, Cic. Att. iv. 15. 3, and see on LXIV. 362. **coetu**, LXIV. 385.

**38.** 'I pay the vow of the past by an offering of to-day.' This is the only sense which the antithesis **Pristina nouo** can bear, and such is the meaning of Vergil's *Seque nouo ueterum deceptum errore locorum* Aen. iii. 181, and Martial's *Taliter exulta est ueterem noua Roma senectam* v. 7. 3. Cf. too Verr. v. 56. 145 *nouum monstrum ex uelere illa inmanitate*, where Émile Thomas notes the *ἀξέμωρον*. **Pristina** need not imply that the vow had been made a long time before, as *die pristini* = *pridie* (Gell. x. 24. 8, cf. Caesar B. G. iv. 14), *nox pristina* = 'the night before,' Suet. Aug. 94. **dissoluo**. Cic. ad Att. xv. 11, quoted by Valck. *Erat absurdum quae, si stetisset respublica, uouissem, ea me euersa illa uota dissoluere*. Valck. observes that Catullus is fond of resolving *uoluere* and *soluere*, so *euoluam* infr. 74, *peruoluent* XCV. 6, *soluunt* LXI. 53.

**39-50.** 'I was very unwilling to leave the head of my queen, but who can resist steel? Steel could open a way through Athos when Xerxes cut a canal through it for his fleet; how was a lock of hair to stand against steel? My curse upon the Chalybes, and upon the wretch who was the first to dig the ore and fashion it for the purposes of war!' In 38 the lock is cut off in fulfilment of the vow; 39-50, we may suppose, represent the interval during which it lies by itself before being transported to the sky, as described in 51 sqq.

**39.** Imitated by Vergil Aen. vi. 460 *Inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*.

**40. adiuro teque tuumque caput.** The Greek is here preserved by the Etym. M. *ὅην τε κάρην ὅμοσα σὺν τε βίον*. Forcell. gives no instance of *adiuro* constructed with an accusative of the things worn by from Cicero, Plautus, or Terence, who say *adiuro per*. Vergil Aen. xii. 816 *Adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis* perhaps follows Catullus. Cf. Apuleius Met. ix. 41, Koziol Styl des Apuleius p. 348. The lock swears by the head and person of Berenice, as Aeneas swears by the head of Ascanius (Aen. ix. 300), and as Aeneas calls to witness the head of himself and Dido, Aen. iv. 357. Cf. Trist. v. 4. 46 *Per caput ille suum solitus iurare tuumque Quod scio non illi uilius esse suo*. There is of course a strict propriety in making the lock of hair swear by the head whence it has been severed.

**41. quod, i. e. caput.** **inaniter**, not uncommon in Cicero.

**42. qui.** Holtze Syntax. i. p. 392. **se postulet esse parem**, as in Menaechm. ii. 3. 88 *Set ego inscitus sum qui ero me postulem moderarier*, Cic. de Orat. i. 22. 101.

**43.** 'Even that famous mountain was levelled to the ground, which is the highest of shore-mountains, that Thia's bright child rides above.' **euerus**, as in Ov. Met. xi. 554 *Si quis Athon Pindumue reuolsos Sede sua tolos in apertum euerterit aequor*. Here the word is an exaggeration; it seems to allude to the loss of earth caused by cutting the canal. **in oris**, MSS. This can hardly mean, as *caelestibus oris* Met. ix. 254 or Lucretius' *luminis orae*, the limits of the sun's course: it remains to explain it of *mountains on the sea-shore*, like Athos or Atlas. Athos is emphatically a mountain of this kind, rising into a height straight up from the sea: see Mr. Riley's description cited in the Excursus. A possible conj. would be *in auris*. This explanation assumes Bentley's emendation *Thiae* in 44

to be right: which however is very doubtful. For the words *in oris* are easily and naturally explicable if *Progenies Phthiae* or *Thyiae clara* refer to the Macedonians or the Macedonian kings; and to some such interpretation I increasingly lean. Athos would properly be described as the highest mountain which the Macedonians sailed past on their coasts. *maximum*. Cic. de Rep. iii. fr. inc. (Orelli iv. p. 833) *Quis enim ut Athos aut Olympus tantus?* Strab. 331 fr. 33 "Ἐστι δ' ὁ Ἄθως ὄρος μαστοειδές, ὀξυτάτον, ὑψηλότερον· οὗ οἱ τὴν κορυφὴν οἰκοῦντες ὁρῶσι τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πρὸ ὠρῶν τριῶν τῆς ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ ἀνατολῆς, cf. ib. fr. 35. Nicander described Athos as a giant, Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἄθως.

44. *Progenies Thiae clara*, the Sun. Pind. Isthm. iv. 1 *Māter αἰλίου πολυνώνυμε Θεία*. Hes. Theog. 371 *Θεία δ' ἡελίον τε μέγαν λαμπρὰν τε σελήνῃ Γείναθ' ὑπομηθεῖσ'* Ὑπερίωνος ἐν φιλότῃ. Apollod. i. 2. 2 Ὑπερίωνος δὲ καὶ Θείας Ἡὼς Ἥλιος Σελήνῃ. This is Bentley's reading; and explanation: for the expression Valck. compares Paus. viii. 33. 3 *Βαθυλῶνος δὲ ταύτης ἦν τινὰ εἶδε πόλεων τῶν τότε μεγίστην ἥλιος*, 38. 1 *Πόλεων δὲ ὅσας ἐπὶ τῇ ἡπείρῃ ἔδειξε γῇ καὶ ἐν νῆσοις Λυκόσουρά ἐστι πρεσβυτάτῃ, καὶ ταύτην εἶδεν ὁ ἥλιος πρῶτην*; and so Verg. Aen. vii. 217 *Regnis quae maxima quondam Extremo ueniens sol adspiciebat Olympo*. MSS have *Phitie* which would naturally be a corruption of *Phthiae*<sup>1</sup>, and this was the old reading till Voss suggested and Bentley explained *Thiae*: Bentley's explanation is made more uncertain (see above on *in oris*) by *superuehitur* which is used in Liu. xlii. 48 of sailing past a promontory *praeter oram Italiae superuectus Calabriae extremum promuntorium in Ionio mari Dyrrachium traiecit*. (1) Servius on Aen. i. 242 says *ACHIVIS. ab Achaeo, Iouis et Pithiae (Phthiae) dicti*. The children of Phthia might thus be the Achaeans, i.e. the Greeks, generally. But then the epithet *clara* seems unmeaning, while the association of the two names Achaia Phthiotis<sup>2</sup>, Achaei Phthiotae as part of *Thessaly* (see Polyb. xviii. 29 and 30), even in pre-historic times (Strab. 363), makes this the more probable explanation of the mythic pedigree mentioned by Servius. Hence (2) Phthia might = Thessaly, and this be still farther extended to include the kingdom of Macedonia. Callimachus Del. 112 calls the river Peneios *Phthiotic* (Πηνεῖ Φθιώτα) at the extreme northern limit of Thessaly: Seneca speaks of *Haemonian* Athos Med. 720. That the Macedonians are meant was the view of Scaliger, who however does not define how, and of Conr. de Allio, who for *phitie* of MSS conj. *Thyiae*, Thyia being the mother of Macedon, founder of the Macedonian race. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Μακεδονία*. Ἡ χώρα ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Θυίας τῆς Δευκαλίωνος, ὥς φησιν Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητής· Ἡ δ' ὑποκυσσαμένη Διὶ γένετο τερπικεράυνῃ Υἱὲ δὴ Μάγνητα Μακεδόνα θ' ἱπποχάρμην Οἱ περὶ Πιερὴν καὶ Ὀλύμπου δώματ' ἔβαιον. The Macedonians might be called *famous* since the victories

<sup>1</sup> So in Ov. Am. iii. 6. 32, where see Heinsius.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that the scholiast on Iuven. x. 174, when speaking of Xerxes' canal, calls Athos a mountain in Achaia: *Xerses dicit qui Athonem montem in Achaia dicitur perforasse et inmisisse terris novum mare, pontum contabulasse navibus atque ita exercitum in Achaia transulisse*. He seems to mean the Roman province of Achaia. I see that Peiper retains *Phthiae* and explains of the Hellenes generally 'Der dichter erinnert an die Kriegsfahrten der Hellenen gegen Asien, nach Colchis und Troja, die von südlichen Thessalien und den nachbargebieten aus am Athos vorbeigingen. "Das grösste vorgebirge, das die Hellenen kannten, haben ihre feinde mit dem eisen durchgebohrt."'



of Alexander; Plin. H. N. iv. 39 *Haec est Macedonia terrarum imperio potita quondam, haec Asiam Armeniam Iberiam Albaniam Cappadociam Syriam Aegyptum Taurum Caucasum transgressa, haec in Bactris Medis Persis dominata toto oriente possesso, haec etiam Indiae uictrix per uestigia Liberi patris atque Herculis uagata.* Epigr. in Paus. i. 13. 3 Τὰς μεγαλήτων σκῦλα Μακεδονίας. (3) The Macedonian kings may be meant. They would be *Progenies Phthiae*, as descended from Achilles, the lord of Phthia. So Prop. v. 11. 39, 40 *Et Persen proauī simulantem pectus Achillis Quique luas proauo fregit Achille domos.* Sil. Ital. xv. 291 speaking of Philip king of Macedonia, *Hic gente egregius, ueterisque ab origine regni, Aeacidum sceptris proauoque tumebat Achille.* Velleius i. 6 *Circa quod tempus Caranus uir generis regii sextus decimus ab Hercule profectus Argis regnum Macedoniae occupauit; a quo Magnus Alexander cum fuerit septimus decimus, iure materni generis Achille, auctore paterni Hercule gloriatus est.* (4) It had occurred to me that an actual king, son of a Phthia, might be meant: but the only Macedonian king whose reign approaches the limits of the poem, Philip V, son of Demetrius II and Phthia, daughter of Alexander II King of Epirus, seems to have been born after 239 B.C. and would thus have been a child in 230, the extreme limit up to which Callimachus could still be living. Whatever the real explanation, it seems probable that Callimachus should, in speaking of Athos, introduce some definite reference to Macedonia. The Ptolemies were proud of their Macedonian descent, and mentioned it in their inscriptions (Paus. vi. 3. 1, x. 7. 8). **superuehitur** if it refers to the sun is like *circumuehi* in Festus s. v. October equus. *Rhodii qui quodannis quadrigas soli consecratas in mare iaciunt, quod is tali curriculo fertur circumuehi mundum.*

**45. peperere nouum mare**, like Petronius' *Mare nascitur aruis.* Lysias Epitaphios 29 of Xerxes ὑπεριδὼν καὶ τὰ φύσει πεφυκότα καὶ τὰ θεία πράγματα . . . ὁδὸν μὲν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποιήσατο, πλοῦν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς ἠνάγκασε γινώσθαι. Aristot. Rhet. iii. 9. 7 πλεῦσαι μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πεσεῖν δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, τὸν δ' Ἄθω διορύξας. Aelian V. H. 14 Ξέρξης ταυτὰ εἰργάετο καινὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ πλοῦν ἀνέβη. Anth. L. 461 Riese *Hic quem cernis Athos inmissis peruius undis Flexibus obliquis circumeundus erat. Accepit magno deductum Nerea fluctu Perque latus misit maxima uela suum. Sub tanto subitae sonuerunt pondere classes, Caeruleus cana sub niue pontus erat. Idem commisit longo duo litora ponte Xerxes et fecit per mare (the Hellespont) miles iter. Quale fuit regnum mundo noua ponere iura! Hoc terrae fiat, hac mare dixit eae.* The idea is an expansion of Herodotus' remark that the construction of the canal was a piece of display, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἶνεκα vii. 24.

**46. barbara**, i. e. non-Hellenic. nauit, the canal was broad enough to admit two triremes rowed abreast, Herod. vii. 24. Cicero de Fin. ii. 34. 112 *Si Athone perfosso maria ambulauisset terramque nauigasset maria pedibus peragrantem, classibus montes* seems to be translating the passage of the Rhetoric cited on 45.

**47. Quid facient crines, cum ferro talia cedant?** Ovid A. A. iii. 633 *Quid faciat* (so Ehwald 1888) *custos, cum sint tot in urbe theatra?* and Vergil E. iii. 16 *Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures?* seem to prefer the subjunctive in the first clause. In A. A. iii. 655 *Quid sapiens faciet, stultus quom munere gaudet?* is the generally accepted reading: but the best MS, Paris 7311, gives *quoque* for *quom*.

48. *Iuppiter, ut pereat*, as in Hor. S. ii. 1. 43 *O pater et rex Iuppiter ut pereat positum rubigine telum*. *Chalybum*, or as Catullus probably wrote *Chalybon*, was restored by Poliziano from the Schol. on Apoll. R. ii. 373. MSS give mostly *celitum*, *O* alone *celerum*. The Greek original is here preserved Χαλύβων ὡς ἀπόλοιτο γένος Γεύθεν ἀντέλλοντα, κακὸν φυτόν, οἷ μιν ἔφηναν, from which it is clear that Cat. has translated very loosely. The Chalybes were a nation of Pontus on the southern shore of the Euxine, between the Mossynoeci, to whom they were subject, and the Tibareni, and living by working iron, ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σιδηρείας Xen. Anab. v. 5. 1-3. There was another iron-working people of the same name in the Spanish Gallaecia, as is observed by Delrio on Sen. H. O. 152. Delrio quotes Justin xlv. 3 *Praecipua his quidem ferri materia, sed aqua ipsa ferro uiolentior; quippe temperamento eius ferrum acrius redditur, ne ullum apud eos telum probatur quod non aut Birbili fluuiio aut Chalybe tingatur. Vnde etiam Chalybes fluuii huius finitimi appellati ferroque ceteris praestare dicuntur*. But it is hardly likely that these were known to Callimachus: at any rate Apollonius Rhodius ii. 1007-1010 Ἄλλὰ σιδηροφόρον συσφελὴν χθόνα γατομέοντες ὄνον ἀμείβονται βιοτήσιον οὐ δέ ποτὶ σφιν Ἥδ' ἀντέλλει καμάτων ἄτερ, ἀλλὰ κελαινῇ Λιγνῇ καὶ καπνῷ κάματος βαρὺν ὀτλεύουσιν, when describing his Chalybes places them close to the Tibareni like Xenophon, and speaks of no other homonymous tribe, as he has done in other cases.

49. *sub terra*, as miners. *uenas*, veins or lodes of ore, so *μικρὰ φλέψ ἀργυρίδος* Xen. Vect. i. 5, so *uenas inquirere* to discover beds of stone in the Digest (Roby).

50. *Institit* with *principio* as in Ter. Hec. iii. 3. 21 *Hanc habere orationem mecum principio institit*. Drakenborch on Liu. xxx. 12 shows that this meaning of 'beginning' is common in Livy. *ferri*. Iron was used as far back as the construction of the pyramids, Herod. ii. 125. *stringere* = *in stricturas cogere*. In this connexion *stringere* expresses, as Prof. Edwin Palmer has explained to me, the *pulling* or drawing out of the bar of iron from the furnace, *strictura* the bar itself thus drawn from the furnace, not yet worked up for any particular purpose, but only chopped into convenient lengths for use as material. Sydow *de recens. Catulli Carm.* p. 48 explains somewhat differently: '*ferrum stringere* inde uidetur cudendi notionem nactum esse, quod ferrum dum cuditur in incude positum mallei ictibus comprimitur et densatur.'

51-78. 'I had not been long parted from my sister-tresses when the winged famulus of Arsinoe flew in, carried me off to the sky, and laid me in the bosom of Venus. The goddess immediately changed me into a star, assigning me a position near the Virgin and the Lion. Yet though thus exalted to the society of the gods, I take the stars to witness that I am less rejoiced at my elevation than grieved to part from Berenice, and my life of essences and unguents as a lock of her hair.'

51. *Abiunctae* is taken as a genitive with *mea fata*, 'the fate of me now severed from them,' by Alex. Guarinus, Anna Lefevre and others, 'nam minora a maioribus segregantur, non autem maiora a minoribus' (Guar.). But if a lock has been cut away the remaining locks may as properly be said to be severed from it, as it from them, and the consecution of the words is more in favor of its agreeing with *comae*. *paulo ante* with *Abiunctae*. The expression is compared by Valck. with

Aeschines de Fals. Legat. 52 ἀδελφοὶ οἰδίαζυγέστες ἐμοῦ ζῆν οὐκ ἂν προέλουτο, and *sorores* with Poen. i. 3. 8, 9 *Hanc per dexteram Perque hanc sororem laeuam.*

**52. Lugebant.** Verg. G. iii. 518 sqq. *Maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuuenctum.* *cum se*, 'when the brother of the Aethiop Memnon, the winged horse of Locrian Arsinoe, came before me as the air vibrated to his fluttering wings, and bearing me aloft flew away with me through the darkening sky and laid me in the pure bosom of Venus. It was Zephyritus herself who had sent her own servant on that errand, she the dweller from Greece on the shores of Canopus.' **Aethiopia.** Pind. Isthm. v. 40 Στράταρχον Αἰθίοπων ἄφοβον Μέμνονα. Paus. x. 31. 7 Παρὰ δὲ τῷ Μέμνονι καὶ παῖς Αἰθίοψ πεποιήται γυμνός, ὅτι ὁ Μέμνων βασιλεὺς ἦν τοῦ Αἰθίοπων γένους. Hence he is *black* in works of art, *nocticolor* Laevius ap. Gell. N. A. xix. 7. 6, *niger* Ovid Am. i. 8. 4, and this is probably the idea which Callimachus suggests here.

**53. Unigena.** LXIV. 300. On the usual interpretation of *unigena*, 'born from the same parent,' 'brother,' the reference is either to Zephyrus, son of Eos and Astraeus, as Memnon was son of Eos and Tithonus; or, to Emathion, here identified with an ostrich, the famulus of Arsinoe Zephyritus. Apollod. iii. 12. 4 Τιθωνὸν μὲν οὖν ἥως ἀρπάσασα δι' ἔρωτα εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν κομίζει· κακεῖ συνελθοῦσα γεννᾷ παῖδας Ἡμαθίωνα καὶ Μέμνονα. Emathion is connected with *Arabia* (Apollod. ii. 5. 11), and seems etymologically to be derived from *ἄμαθος*, 'he of the sands,' a name which would well describe an ostrich. Memnon was himself mythically associated with a bird, the Memnon or Memnonis, and there would thus be less impropriety in making him the brother either of an ostrich, or of a hero identified with one. Or this bird which was fabled to spring from the funeral-pyre of Memnon (Ov. M. xiii. 600-619, Am. i. 13, 3, 4 *sic Memnonis umbras Annua solenni caede parentet ausis*), and which is described as a very black species of hawk (Aelian H. A. v. 1, Oppian Ornithiac. c. 8 in the prose paraphrase p. 109 of the Didot edition οἱ δὲ ὄρνεις οἱ Μέμνονος γένος μὲν τῶν μελαντάτων Αἰθίοπων εἰσι τὴν δὲ Αἰθιοπίαν καταλιπόντες, ὡς πρὸς γονὴν αὐτοῖς δι' ὑπερβολὴν θέρης ἀχρεῖαν . . . πρὸς τὸν βορρᾶν καὶ τὴν Θράκην ὀρμῶσι . . . καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πτερύγων ἤχον ἀσπίδων ἂν τις ἀπεικάσει κτύπον), may be in this sense the *only child* (*unigena*, see on LXIV. 300) of the *Aethiop* Memnon. There would be a propriety in describing such a bird as the attendant of Arsinoe Aphrodite, because the hawk is a frequent emblem of Athor, the Egyptian Venus (Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians c. xiv. p. 206). See Excursus. *nutantibus*, 'flapping.' Apuleius vi. 15 *libratis pinnarum nutantium molibus* of the eagle that carried off Psyche.

**54. Arsinoes**, the sister wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whom he married after banishing his first wife, Arsinoe daughter of Lysimachus. She was deified as Aphrodite Arsinoe, and a temple was built to her on the Zephyrian promontory by Callicrates, as recorded in an epigram of Poseidippus ap. Athen. 318 Τοῦτο καὶ ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ τῆς Φιλαδέλφου Κύπριδος Δάσκεσθ' ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης. Ἦν ἀνακοιρανέουσιν ἐπὶ Ζεφυρηγίδος ἀκτῆς Πρώτος ὁ ναύαρχος θήκατο Καλλικράτης. Ἡ δὲ καὶ εὐπλοῖην δώσει καὶ χεῖματι μίσση Τὸ πλάτυ λισσομένοις ἐκλιπαρεῖ πελαγος. The situation of this temple between the Pharos of Alexandria and Canopus is described in another epigram published in 1879 by Weil<sup>1</sup> from a papyrus in the possession of

<sup>1</sup> Un papyrus inédit de la bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot. Paris, 1879

M. Firmin-Didot, pp. 30, 31 Μέσσον ἐγὼ Φαρίης ἀκτῆς στόματός τε Κανώων  
 'Εν περιφαινόμενῳ κύματι χώρον ἔχω Τῆσδε πολυρρήνου Λιβύης ἀνεμόδεα χρῆν  
 Τὴν ἀνατενωμένην εἰς ἰταλὸν Ζέφυρον. 'Ενθα με Καλλικράτης ἰδρύσατο καὶ βασι-  
 λίσσης 'Ιερὸν 'Αρσινόης Κύπριδος ὠνόμασεν. 'Αλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ζεφυρίτιν ἀκουσάμεν  
 'Αφροδίτην 'Ελλήνων ἀγναὶ βαίνετε θυγατέρες, Οἳ θ' ἄλδς ἐργάται ἄνδρες' ὁ γὰρ  
 ναύαρχος ἔθηκεν Τοῦθ' ἱερὸν πάντος κύματος εὐλίμενον. Strab. 800 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
 διώρυγα τὴν ἐπὶ Σχεδιάν ἄγουσαν ὁ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κάνωβον πλοῦς ἐστὶ παράλληλος τῇ  
 παραλίᾳ τῇ ἀπὸ Φάρου μέχρι τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στόματος' στεγὴ γὰρ τις ταυνία μεταξὺ  
 διήκει τοῦ τε πελάγους καὶ τῆς διώρυγος, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ἢ τε μικρὰ Ταπόσειρις μετὰ τὴν  
 Νικόπολιν καὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον ἄκρα ναῖσκον ἔχουσα 'Αρσινόης 'Αφροδίτης. From  
 this temple she is called φιλοζέφυρος 'Αρσινόη in an epigram of Hedylus,  
 a contemporary of Callimachus, Athen. 497: and as worshipped in it,  
 Ζεφυρίτις by Callimachus himself in a well-known epigram where a nau-  
 tilus-shell is dedicated to her by a young girl, Athen. 318 Κόγχος ἐγώ,  
 Ζεφυρίτι, παλαιτέρων. Cf. Steph. Byz. Ζεφύριον' ἐστὶ καὶ ἄκρα τῆς Αἰγύπτου  
 ἀφ' ἧς ἡ 'Αφροδίτη καὶ 'Αρσινόη Ζεφυρίτις, ὡς Καλλίμαχος. From Hesych.  
 'Ἰππία' ἡ Φιλαδέλφου 'Αρσινόη it would seem that she was fond of horses;  
 she was also devoted to unguents and perfumery, Athen. 689. **Locri-**  
**dos**, Bentley's conjecture for *elocridicos* of MSS, like *phasidicos* of MSS  
 for *phasidos* LXIV. 3 (compare χοῖριλος for χοῖριλος, ὀρχιλος for ὀρχιλος  
 Meineke Anal. Alex. p. 40), was explained by Bentley of the Pentapolis  
 or Cyrenaica, where there was in very early times a Locrian settlement,  
 Aen. xi. 265 *Libycone habitantis lile Locros*? and where the Ptolemies  
 gave their names to three cities, Ptolemais, the earlier Barca, Berenice,  
 before Hesperides, Arsinoe, before Teucheira. But it is doubtful whether  
*Locris* can = *Cyrenensis*; certain that the Cyrenaic Zephyrion was not  
 the Zephyrion where Arsinoe had a temple. Others explain **Locridos** as  
 meaning (1) that Arsinoe was in some special way connected with the  
 Greek or Italian Locri. This view was suggested by me on Ibis 351,  
 2 *Quaeque sui uenerem iuncxit cum fratre mariti Locris in ancillae dissi-*  
*mulata nece*, a story which seems to find its explanation in the escape of  
 Arsinoe from Ephesus by a cruel stratagem which cost the death of the  
 woman who personated her, Polyæn. viii. 57. If Arsinoe was thus  
 Locrian, it was more probably with the Greek Locri than the Italian  
 (Epizephyrii) that she was connected, cf. 58 *Graia Canopieis incola*  
*litoribus*. Or, (2) fanciful attempts have been made to connect **Lo-**  
**cridos** as a title of Arsinoe with Zephyrus, and so with Zephyritis, her  
 name as a goddess. These I have sketched in an Excursus. Possibly  
 some other word lurks in the MS corruptions *clocidicos*, *duridos*,  
*claridos*. I have suggested *Bocridos*, on which see Excursus. **ales**  
**equos**, not the Phoenix (Alex. Guarinus) nor Pegasus (Scaliger after a  
 suggestion of Muretus, and so Sherburne Translation of Manilius p. 28),  
 who, though the horse, is not the son, of Aurora (Lycophron 17); but  
 either (1) Zephyrus, who is described by Eurip. Phoen. 211 as *πνοαῖς*  
*ἰππεύσαντος ἐν οὐρανῷ*, cf. Val. Flacc. i. 610 quoted by Vulp. *fundunt se*  
*carcere laeti Thraces equi, Zephyrusque et nocti concolor alas Nimborum*  
*cum prole Notus*. Zephyrus would then be the famulus of Arsinoe as he  
 is of Cupido in Apul. v. 13; or (2) an ostrich, as first suggested by the  
 Italian poet Vincenzo Monti from Paus. ix. 31. 1 Καὶ 'Αρσινόης ἐστὶν ἐν  
 'Ελικῶνι εἰκὼν ἣν Πτολεμαῖος ἔγμεν ἀδελφὸς ὢν τὴν δὲ 'Αρσινόην στρουθὸς  
 φέρει χαλκῇ τῶν ἀπτήρων' πτέρα μὲν γε καὶ αὐταὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς ἄλλαις φύ-

ουσι, ὑπὸ δὲ βάρους καὶ μεγέθους οὐχ οἷα τέ ἐστιν ἀνέχειν σφᾶς ἐς τὸν αἶρα τὰ πτέρη. Arsinoe, who, like her husband, Ptolemy Philadelphus, would be interested in rare or fine animals (see Athen. 200 where eight pairs of ostriches figure in the grand procession of Philadelphus) and was fond of horses, had perhaps tamed an ostrich to carry her: the same reason which caused this to be represented in a work of art would associate the ostrich with the deified Arsinoe as *famulus* or subordinate, as a doe is *famula* of Diana Sil. It. xiii. 124, and a pig *famulus* to the same goddess Ov. Met. viii. 272; or (3) if *unigena* = 'only child,' the Memnon<sup>1</sup> or Memnonis, a black hawk described on 53 may be meant. A hawk was said to have carried the book of Egyptian ritual to the priests at Thebes, Diod. i. 87. 8; and see W. J. Loftie (Archaeological Institute for 1882 p. 400 sqq.) quoted in the Excursus. (4) A. Kalkmann in his article 'Aphrodite auf dem Schwann' (Iahrb. deutsch. Archaeol. Instit. i. p. 236 sqq.) thought the winged messenger was a swan, which might be called *Memnonis Aethiopsis Unigena* as rising from the Aethiopian Ocean-bed where Eos and Tithonus, the parents of Memnon, rest. The star rises from the Ocean, and the swan rises with it at the close of day. When Eos returns at morning from the Ocean-bed of Tithonus, the star sinks again into the sea. Each view is open to objection. (1) If Zephyrus is the winged horse, there is little force in *Aethiopsis*; Callimachus might perhaps call Zephyrus brother of Memnon but he would hardly add an unmeaning epithet; and Zephyrus though often represented winged (Lucr. v. 738) is not often a winged horse; and if he is, how would he take the lock, and how would he deposit it in Venus' bosom? (2) Ostriches do not fly (Aelian H. A. ii. 27); Callimachus would be guilty of a grotesque violation of fact in making one soar through the sky: in fact the very passage of Pausanias which speaks of Arsinoe on an ostrich says that an ostrich's wings cannot lift it into the air. (3) The Memnonides are specially connected with Parion, Cyzicus, and the barrow of Memnon at Troy, Aelian H. A. v. 1, Paus. x. 31; and they are generally, if not invariably, spoken of in the plural. (4) Though the swan is occasionally represented bearing between its wings a female figure, and might thus be called a winged horse, such representations are exceptional and rare. And allowing that this bird might be said to have its home in Ocean, its connexion with the *Aethiopian* Ocean, or even the assignment of Eos' and Tithonus' resting-place to Aethiopia, seems arbitrary. Of the three theories the most plausible is perhaps the second; it is accepted by Orelli, Brüggemann, Haupt, Bährens, Vahlen. Its grotesqueness would not be felt much in Egypt, perhaps would actually recommend it; and even in Rome at a later period a peacock carries the Empress Faustina to heaven, as represented on a coin in Donaldson's *Architectura Numismatica* p. 183. As to its flying, Flavius Vopiscus in his life of Firmus c. 6 says *Sedentem ingentibus struthionibus uectum esse et quasi uolitasse*. There is besides a peculiar force in *Memnonis Aethiopsis*, if an ostrich is meant: for the Aethiopian ostriches were celebrated (Plin. x. 1. 1). Lastly *ales equos* would excellently describe an ostrich. But the reading is doubtful, for MSS give *alis equos* perhaps = *alisequos* (Stat.),

<sup>1</sup> The masc. form is found in Q. Smyrnaeus ii. 646 *ὅτι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι βορῶν ἀνιέρσις φύλα Μίμνονας*.

'a page on wings,' cf. *pedisequos*, which, like *alisequos* here, has its antepenultima short not only in Plautus but in the stricter prosody of Phaedrus iv. 4. 36.

55. *aetherias umbras*, implying that it was night. Aen. v. 838 *Cum leuis aetheriis delapsus somnus ab astris Aera dimouit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras*.

56. *Veneris*, for Arsinoe was identified with Venus, as 'Αφροδίτη 'Αρσινόη; so Ariadne was Aphrodite Ariadne, Plut. Thes. 20, cf. 'Ηρακλῆς Θεμίστων Athen. 289, 'Αφροδίτη Λαμία (Lobeck Paralipomena p. 368).

57. *eo legarat*, 'had despatched on that service.' Vatin. vi. 15 *aliquo impulsisset quod esset obliterandum*. *famulum*, if Zephyrus is meant, cf. Apul. v. 6 *illi tuo famulo praecipe Zephyro simili uectura sorores huc mihi sistat* (Valck.): if, as I think, some bird, cf. Aelian H. A. i. 47 of the raven *θεράπων* 'Απόλλωνος, Porphyrius de Abstinencia iii. 5 'Ὅρνιθες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσι κήρυκες ἄλλοι ἄλλων θεῶν' Διὸς μὲν ἀετός, 'Απόλλωνος δὲ ἱέραξ καὶ κόραξ, 'Ηρας δὲ πελαργός, 'Αθηνᾶς δὲ αὐτὴ κρέξ τε καὶ γλαυῆξ, καὶ Διμήτρος γέρανος καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλοι.

58. Lachmann's conjecture *Graia* (Bährens *Graia*) for *Gratia* of MSS seems certain: there is an antithesis between Greece and the Egyptian Canopus (*Canopieis*). The same opposition of birth-place and place of living is found in Aen. x. 719 *Venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acron, Graius homo*. The temple of Arsinoe Zephyritis was only a few miles from Canopus (see on 54). According to Apion, the level land about Canopus and Zephyrion was called Elysium ἀπὸ τῆς Νεῖλου Διός (Schol. Od. iv. 563, quoted by Hecker Comment. de Anth. Graec. p. 73). *litoribus*, a local abl. See on LXIV. 300.

59-64. 'Then, that it might not be for Bacchus alone that an aureat crown from Ariadne's brows had been fixed in the floor of the sky, but that I too might shine there, a dedicated trophy stript from a head of yellow hair, the goddess set me, as I passed, dripping from Ocean, to the temples of the gods, to be a new star among the stars of old.'

59. *iuueni Ismario*, Bacchus. Prop. iii. 17. 7, Ov. F. iii. 513-516 *Sintque tuae tecum faciam monumenta coronae, Vulcanus Veneri quam dedit, illa tibi. Dicta facit, gemmasque nouem transformat in ignes. Aurea per stellas nunc micat illa nouem*. Millingen pl. 26 gives a vase-picture in which Ariadne holds a crown or wreath of gold, studded on each side with pearls or precious stones. This crown was made by Vulcan. For the various legends about it, see Hygin. P. A. i. 5. *limine caeli*, 'the threshold of heaven,' i.e. the lower part of the sky in which the stars are supposed to be fixed, and beyond which the gods dwell. Verg. E. v. 56 *Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi Sub pedibusque uidet nubes et sidera Daphnis*, where Serv. *quasi nouus deus*. [MSS give *Hi* (*Hii*) *dii uen ibi uario ne solum in numine caeli*, whence endless conjectures. Perhaps Conington's *Aduena ibi* is as plausible as any<sup>1</sup>.]

60. *Ex Ariadneis temporibus*, taken from Ariadne's brows and transferred to the sky.

61. *corona*. Apoll. R. iii. 1000 *Οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ 'Αθάνατοι φίλαντο, μέσση*

<sup>1</sup> Vahlen has recently conj. *Inuida enim*: but the double epithet *Inuida—aurora* is hardly in Catullus' manner. On the other hand *Inde Venus* which was my first conj. and which has recently been made independently by Postgate, does not account for *ibi*.

δὲ οἱ αἰθέρι τέκμαρ Ἀστερόεις στέφανος, τὸν τε κλείουσ' Ἀριάδης, Πάννυχος οὐρανίοις ἐνελίσσεται εἰδώλοισιν. Arat. Phaen. 71.

62. *Deuotae*, 'ex uoto redditae,' Näke Dir. p. 47. *flauī*, like Ariadne's, LXIV. 63. The parallel between Ariadne and Berenice is a natural one, and was perhaps a favorite conceit among the courtiers of Alexandria. *exuuias*, here of the hair stripped from the head, Sen. Phaedr. 1181 *capilis exuuias cape Laceraeque frontis accipe abscissam comam*. The Greek seems to be preserved here, *δοτε φόβης ξανθοῖσιν ἐκόμα* (Callim. fr. 483 Blomf.). The *βόστρυχος* was introduced in the 3rd person as Catullus' *mihi* in 82 represents *δοτέρι τῇ Βερενίκης* of Callimachus.

63. *Vuidulum* for *Vindulum* or *Viridulum* of MSS would be like Horace's *uuida uestimenta* (C. i. 5. 14) of garments dripping from the sea, Plautus' *uuidum rete* Rud. iv. 3. 5. But an epigram ascribed to Ausonius (p. 254 Schenkl) describing the dripping hair of Venus as painted by Apelles rising from the sea has *Vmidulis spumas stringit utraque comis*, and *umiduli* is probably right in Ovid A. A. iii. 629: cf. Lucr. vi. 509 where Lachm. accepts Wakefield's conj. *umentia* for *uiuenti* of MSS. a *fluctu* is difficult, as the famulus of Arsinoe soars up to the sky straight after leaving the temple. The poet perhaps puts this out of sight and imagining the lock as a star describes it as rising from Ocean. Or the idea may be cosmographical: the level of the sea is higher than that of the earth, and must be passed before the sky is reached. The Alexandrian poets, as Meineke shows Anal. Alex. p. 156, habitually called the horizon the Ocean, see the Schol. on Aratus Phaen. 56 Ὠκεανὸν τὸν ὀρίζοντα ὃ Ἀρατος λέγει ποιητικῶς. See the Excursus.

65. *Virginis . . . Leonis*. The stars which form the Coma Berenices are above the tail of the Lion, and adjoin the right arm of the Virgin. 'Between the Lion and Bootes, a cluster of stars lying very near together is perceived: this is Berenice's Hair,' Guillemin, The Heavens, p. 326.

66. *Callisto*, daughter of the Arcadian Lycaon, having had intercourse with Jupiter whilst in attendance on Diana, was metamorphosed into a bear: the bear was killed and placed among the stars as Helice or Ursa maior (Apollod. iii. 8. 2, Ov. F. ii. 155 sqq., Met. ii. 409 sqq.). *iuxtā*, as *contra* in Ennius ap. Varr. L. L. vii. 12. But *iuncta Lycaoniae* is an obvious and plausible emendation. *Lycaoniam*. Callim. H. Iov. 41 Blomf. Λυκαονίης ἄρκτοιο where Schol. τῆς πρῆν λεγομένης Καλλιστοῦς, Λυκάονος δὲ θυγατρὸς. MSS give *licaonia*, which might represent an obscured *licaonie*.

67. *Vertor in occasum*, 'I wheel to my setting,' like Theocr. xxiv. 11 Ἄρκος δὲ στρέφεται μεσονύκτιον εἰς δύσιν ἄρκτος. *tardum dux ante Booten*, 'leading the way in front of slow Bootes.' German. Aratea 139 *Tardus in occasum sequitur sua plaustra Bootes*.

68. *uix sero*. The epithet tardily-setting applied to Bootes alludes to the fact that his disappearance, 'inasmuch as the constellation is in a perpendicular position, occupies some time, whereas his rising is rapid, being effected in a horizontal position.' Sir G. C. Lewis, Astronomy of the Ancients, p. 59. Homer speaks of Bootes as *ὄψε δύοντα Βοώτην* Od. v. 272.

69. Scaliger compares Arat. Phaen. 359 θεῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ φορεῖται Λαίδη-

ανον Ἡριδανοῖο πολυκλαύστου ποταμοῖο. Plutarch Q. R. 76 μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν αἰ ψυχὰς τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ πόδας ἔξουσιν. Verg. E. v. 56.

70. **Tethyi.** German. Arat. 589 *Cum primum Cancrum Tethys emittit in auras.*

71. **Pace tua**, 'under correction from thee,' as Ov. Pont. iii. 1. 9 *Pace tua dixisse uelim*, Am. iii. 2. 60 *Pace loquor Veneris, tu dea maior eris.* **Ramnusia.** See on LXIV. 395. The lock speaks under correction of Nemesis, because she punishes excessive praise, especially of things mortal as compared with immortal or divine. If Callimachus knew the legend which made the Telchines, in some accounts the first workers of iron, the sons of Nemesis (Bacchylides fr. 69 in Bergk's Poet. Lyr. Graeci), there might be a particular meaning in this mock-heroic invocation of the goddess: the poet would then say 'without any offence to the goddess who punishes proud words, and is the ultimate cause of my being severed from the head of my sovereign, I declare I would rather be there again than raised to the dignity of a star.'

72. **tegām**, 'will veil.' **timore**, causal 'for fear.'

73. **Nec si = οὐδ' εἰ.** This passage seems to prove that *nec = ne quidem* is not confined to writers of the Augustan and post-Augustan age. But see Madvig de Fin. pp. 802-814. **discerpent**, not *discerpant*, is the reading of MSS, 'if they are to rend me,' not 'if they were to rend me;' the future expresses an anticipation which is almost a realization. Bentley wished to change *dictis* to *dextris*, an almost grotesque personification of the stars: if *dictis* is used for *digitis* in Lucilius (Non. 25), *dictum* for *digitum* in Varro (Non. 117), our MS reading might possibly convey a *double-entendre* in Catullus; but such trifling is rather forced: see Luc. Müller on Lucil. xvii. 1. Forc. quotes no instance of *discerpere* used in this sense of defaming; but *carpere* is often thus used, *carpere sermonibus* Liu. vii. 12, *uocibus* Caesar B. G. iii. 17, cf. Cic. Balb. xxvi. 57 *In conuiuistiis rodunt, in circulis uellicant, non illo inimico sed hoc maledico dente carpunt*: similarly *fama distrahi* Tac. Ann. iii. 10.

74. i. e. *Non tegam timore uera quin euoluam condita ueri pectoris*, a construction like Prop. i. 8. 21 *Nam me non ullae poterunt corrumpere ledae* *Quin ego, uita, tuo limine uera querar*, 'that it should prevent me from unwrapping the secrets of a sincere heart.' **Condita** is here a substantive, as under the Empire, when it was used = 'magazines,' 'store-houses.' **euoluam**, Cic. de Orat. ii. 86. 350 *euolutum illis integumentis dissimulationis tuae nudatumque.*

75, 76. **me afore . . . Afore me**, a remarkable inversion.

75. **Non . . . tam laetor . . . quam discrucior**, 'my joy is not so keen as my anguish is deep.'

76. **discrucior** is followed by an infinitive similarly in Att. xiv. 6. 1 *discrucior Sextilii fundum a uerberone Curtilio possideri* (Riese).

77, 78. 'With whom I, as I was a stranger to all unguents while Berenice was in the former time of her virginity, so I have since drained in her company many thousands of oils.' The two periods are contrasted by **quondam**, associated by **una**<sup>1</sup>. The lock had always been with her

<sup>1</sup> Vahlen also considers the clause *dum uirgo quondam fuit, omnibus expertis Vnguentis* to be opposed to *una milia multa tibi*, as a period when Berenice was a stranger to unguents to one in which she enjoyed them in profusion: but he explains *una (potione)* as referring to the one single occasion when Berenice had indulged her



mistress, alike in the artless simplicity of her girlhood, and in the luxurious profusion of her married life: and this is why it is so hard to leave her (*discrucior*). The construction is like Sen. Epist. 99. 16 *clarius cum audiuntur gemunt, et taciti quietique dum secretum est, cum aliquos uidere, in fletus novos excitantur*, in which *taciti quietique, dum secretum est* is opposed as a period to *cum aliquos uidere, in fletus novos excitantur*, just as *expers o. unguentis, dum uirgo quondam fuit* is opposed to *una milia multa bibi*. The words *omnibus expers Vnguentis* convey by allusion the farther idea of artlessness and innocence: *δολερὰ μὲν τὰ εἴματα, δολερὰ δὲ τὰ χρίματα* was proverbial Clem. Alex. i. p. 294 Sylburg, Herod. iii. 22, Plut. Q. R. 26, Symp. iii. 1, de Herod. Malign. 28, Athen. 680, a *locus classicus* on the subject: which K. O. Müller considers to be a peculiarly Dorian feeling (Dorians iv. 2. 5). For the use of unguents in marriages cf. Lysist. 943, Plut. 529 *Ὅτε μύροις μύρισαι στακτοῖς, ὅπταν νύμφην ἀγάγηθον*, Xen. Symp. ii. 3 *Αἱ μέντοι γυναῖκες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢν νύμφαι τύχωσιν οὖσαι, μύρον μὲν τι καὶ προσδέουσι* ἄν. See A. Müller on Acharn. 1054. Other views are (1) to refer *omnibus expers Vnguentis* to the time at which the lock is speaking, 'in whose company I, that now am robbed of all unguents, (*Huebner Inscriptt. Hisp. 172. 15 (C. I. L. ii. p. 22) Di immortales expertem patria incolumitate fortunisque omnibus faxint*), drank in many thousand unguents while she was yet a maid.' This is the view of W. Johnson in Bristed's Catullus (New York, 1849), and of Näke, who rightly calls it 'dure scriptum,' Dir. p. 307. (2) That of Munro, who reading *ex pars* for *expers* translates 'with which head, while my queen was in the time of her virginity, I, a part of that head, absorbed in its company many thousands from among every kind of unguent<sup>1</sup>.' (3) That of Lachmann, who changed *Vnguentis* to *unguenti si*; *omnibus expers* would then mean 'strange to all lovers,' (Muretus, Orelli); for *unguenti milia multa* cf. LXI. 203. The clause *Qui cum ego si una milia multa bibi* would then become the protasis to which *Nunc uos* is the apodosis. (4) To change *expers* into *expersa* (Heinsius and Conington). Catullus admits hypermeter in hexameters LXIV. 298 *natisque*, CXV. 5 *paludesque*, Lucretius has v. 849 *concurrere debere*, Callimachus *ἡμῶν δ' οὐκ οἶδ'* Epigr. 42. 1 Blomf. Another possibility would be (5) to transpose *expers* and *una*, changing *expers* to *expersa*. Then *Qui cum ego, dum uirgo quondam fuit, omnibus una Expersa unguentis milia multa bibi*, 'with whom in the old times while she was still a girl (i. e. a princess, and not yet a queen) sprinkled beyond all others with every kind of unguent, I absorbed many thousand essences.' This view agrees well with *discrucior*; for the anguish of the lock would naturally become more intense as the retrospect of its happiness went back to a longer period, while the strong

taste to the full, i. e. when her husband Euergetes had returned from the Syrian expedition in safety to Egypt. See Herm. xv. p. 269. 'Haec est sententia: "a dominae uertice me afore semper discrucior: quicum ego, quae, dum quondam uirgo fuit illa, omnibus expers eram unguentis, una (potione) milia multa bibi: quare, quoniam illa me illo die uno unxit largiter, nunc uos, ne semota a meae uertice caream unguentis, optato quo iunxit lumine taeda non prius unanimis coniugibus corpora tradite, quam mihi iucunda munera libet onyx."'

<sup>1</sup> This view Munro subsequently abandoned: but its ingenuity makes it worth mentioning.

antithesis *omnibus una* would quite agree with the passion for unguents ascribed to Berenice.

79-88. 'I now call upon you, newly-wedded brides, to show your consideration for me by withholding from your lords their nuptial rights till you have first offered unguents to me; I speak to the good alone, for if any adulteress makes such an offering, let it perish: I seek not rewards from the vile: though my hope is that you may live in love and harmony with your husbands.'

80. *post*, 'hereafter'; *Non* must be taken in close connexion with this. Whatever you may have done before, remember that you must not hereafter gratify your husbands, without paying an acknowledgment to me. *unanimis*, IX. 4. Bährens writes *unanimeis*. MSS give mostly *uno animus*.

81. *nudantes*, 'baring the nipples of your breasts by throwing back your robe.' Lucilius ap. Varr. de L. L. vi. 69 *Quae cum ad me cubitum uenit, sponte ipsa suaplest Adducta ut tunicam et cetera reiceret*.

82. *mihi*. The original seems here to be partially preserved *πρὶν ἀστίμῃ τῇ Βερενίκῃς*. If so, Catullus has much abridged the Greek version. *munera*. Callim. fr. 106. 1-3 Blomf. *Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν δοῦσα καρήατι τῆμος ἔδωκα, καὶ θὰ σὺν εὐδόμοις ἀκραλίπῃ (ἄκρα λίπη O. Schneider) στεφάνοις, ἄστρος πάντ' ἐγένοντο παραχρῆμ'.* *onyx*, the stone, not the gem: it was found chiefly in Arabia. Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 60 *Hunc aliqui lapidem alabastrilen uocant quem cauant et ad uasa unguentaria, quoniam optime seruari incorrupta dicatur*. Possibly Catullus may use *onyx* to translate *ἀλάβαστρος*, a word used by Callimachus L. P. 13, 15.

83. *Vester onyx, quae*, 'your vase alone, ye who.' The repetition of *Vester* as well as the sudden address in the second person are quite Callimachean. So L. P. 40, 41 *Κρείον δ' εἰς ὅρος φέισατο, Κρείον ὅρος*. *iura*, the rights of a wife; cf. LXI. 144-6. Prof. Nettleship thinks *iura petitis* is here the opposite to *iura datis*, 'to be governed,' or 'submit to government' as opposed to governing: the general sense would thus be 'you who would like to become wives.' He compares Liu. xxiii. 5. 13 *uidere atque habere dominos et ex Africa et a Carthagine iura petere*, xxiii. 10. 2 *breui caput Italiae omni Capuam fore iuraque inde cum ceteris populis Romanum etiam petiturum*, xxx. 32. 2 *Roma an Carthago iura gentibus daret*. Verr. ii. 1. 137 *noua iura, noua decreta, noua iudicia petebantur*. Ov. Fast. i. 516 *Iuraque ab hac terra cetera terra petet*? A passage of Seneca de Benef. vi. 32 speaking of Julia the adulterous daughter of Augustus seems to confirm the more usual interpretation *cum ex adultera in quaestuariam uersa ius omnis licentiae sub ignoto adultero peteret*. But the reading is uncertain: *petitis* the Datanus and *a, colitis G* and *O, quaeritis* most other MSS. Bährens retains *colitis* as = 'magni aestimatis et religiose obseruatis' like *leges colere* Cic. Parad. v. 34. A better explanation is given by Sydow p. 9 'ad consuetam exercitationem iuris coniugalis spectet necesse est,' which would apply to *matronae*, not to virgins just married: whence Sydow accepts *petitis*. It seems possible that *quaeritis* is a corruption of *geritis*, 'exercise' your privileges.

85. 'Ah, may the light dust drink in her vile gifts that they may be in vain,' i. e. may her offerings of oil or unguents be absorbed by the ground and not reach the deity for whom they are meant. This seems to be the idea: it is perhaps modelled on the proverbial *ἵδωρ καὶ γαῖα*

γένοιθε II. vii. 99, which Hesychius explains as διαλυθείητε καὶ ἀποθάνοιτε, and for which Apollonius substitutes κόνις καὶ γαῖα ἐγίνοντο iv. 1406. Propertius ii. 16. 46 prays that a rival lover's gifts of robes and gems may be carried off by storms and so be changed to earth and water: cf. Tib. i. 9. 11, 12 *At deus illa In cinerem et liquidas munera uerlat aquas.*

87. *magis*, LXVIII. 30, LXXIII. 4. Q. Catulus ap. Gell. xix. 9. 3, 4 *Ne illunc fugitium Mitteret ad se intro, sed magis eiceret.* *concordia*, the distinguishing mark of Hellenic marriage Aelian V. H. xii. 1. p. 120, ed. Hercher ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀμφοῖν ἡ φιλία προήλθεν ὥς ἐγγὺς ἰσοτιμίας εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἀπέδειν Ἑλληνικοῦ γάμου ὁμοιοῖας τε καὶ σωφροσύνης. It was on their ὁμόνοια that Ptol. Philadelphus and Arsinoe specially prided themselves. The comic poet Alexis made one of his characters (fr. 244 Kock) drink to the health of Ptolemy, his sister, and ὁμόνοια.

88-94. 'Do you, Berenice, when you make offerings in the evening to Venus, remember to extend your bounty to me, your faithful servant, who would still rather be a lock on your head than hold a place among the stars.'

89. *tuens sidera*, looking on the stars at evening: this explains *festis luminibus*, no doubt the lamps lighted in honour of the goddess. Herodotus ii. 62 speaks of such a λυχνοκαΐα at Sais. The younger Dousa and Anna Lefevre thought *luminibus* was here = *diebus*, like φάεα in Callim. Dian. 182 τὰ δὲ φάεα μῆκύνονται, Cer. Cal. 82 δ' ἐννέα φάεα κείται. Catullus has already used *lumina* (66) of lights in heaven or *luminaries*, of the light of a torch 79, of the eyes 30. This would make a fourth sense; which seems improbable.

91. *Sanguinis*, from the victims offered on the occasion. Herodotus ii. 62 speaks of sacrifice accompanying the λυχνοκαΐα. Horace mentions victims offered to Venus C. i. 19. 16. But there is much probability in Bentley's conjecture *Vnguinis*. *iusseris* for *uestris* of MSS seems to me more probable than Scaliger's *siueris*<sup>1</sup> (Cato R. R. iv has *ne siueris*) or Lachmann's *siris*. For non *iusseris*, 'thou shalt not command' = 'see thou command not,' cf. Ov. A. A. i. 389 *Aut non temptaris aut perferce*, and see Dräger i. p. 287. *Non feceris* for *ne feceris* is condemned by Quintilian i. 5. 50. *tuum*, 'thy servant,' Men. v. 7. 39, masc. as in *Vuidulum* 63. The rhythm is like 63 *ad templa deum me*.

92. *affice muneribus*, an expression of prose. Cic. ad Fam. ii. 3. 2, Nep. Ag. 3.

93, 94. 'Would that the stars might fall together in a crash! let me only become a lock on the head of my queen, and Orion, if he pleased, should gleam next to Aquarius;' i.e. to be once more a lock on the head of Berenice, I would gladly see all the stars thrown into confusion. Or, I would gladly see all the stars between Orion and Aquarius fall down, that I might escape amongst them (Munro).

93. *corruerent* I adopted for Lachmann's *corruerint*, (1) as nearer the MS reading *cur iterent*, (2) as better agreeing with *fulgeret*<sup>2</sup>, taken as imperfect in 94. But I now think it improbable that after *fulgēremus* in 61 Catullus should have admitted *fulgeret* in 94, and incline to return to the interpretation of Palmerius and C. Barth, who retaining the MS reading

<sup>1</sup> Schälze ingeniously explains *uestris* as a corruption of *siueris* = *siueris*.

<sup>2</sup> If *corruerint* is retained and *fulgeret* treated as imperfect, an exactly similar combination of tenses is Prop. iv. 5. 11, 12 *Quippe et Collinas ad fessam mouerit herbas, Stantia currenti diluerentur aqua.*

*effice* in 92, *cur ilerent* in 93, explain 'rather by copious largess give cause (*effice cur*) to the stars for repeating 'would I might become a queen's lock of hair! then, for aught I care, Orion should flash his sword next to the water-bearer.' This at least does no violence to the sequence of tenses, as *fulgeret* = *fulguret*, pres. subj. of *fulgurare*. [Novák's *Sidera permittant ilerum c. r. fiam* is clever, but not near enough to the letters of the MS reading.]

94. Orion and Aquarius instead of being, the former, a southern sign near the Bull and the Dog, the latter a zodiacal sign between Capricornus and the Fish, may for aught I care be close to each other. **Hydrochoi**, dat. Ὑδροχοί for which Aratus 389 has Ὑδροχοῖ. Germanicus Arat. 382 uses *Hydrochæos* as nomin. **Oarion**, as in Corinna fragm. 2, 2 Bergk, Pind. fr. 50, Callim. H. Dian. 265 Blomf.

#### EXCURSUS ON LXVI.

##### *Passages speaking of the Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος.*

ERATOSTHENES Catasterism. xii Ὅρῶνται ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν (*Leonem*) ἐν τριγῶνῃ κατὰ τὴν κέρκον ἀμαυροὶ ἐπτά, οἱ καλοῦνται πλόκαμοι Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος. Also in the Vienna Scholia on Aratus p. 411 in vol. i of Buhle's edition. Hipparchus in the Catalogue of Fixed Stars inserted in Ptolemy's Syntaxis vii. 5 several times alludes to the Πλόκαμος: thus under οἱ περὶ τὸν Λέοντα ἀμόρφωτοι he says τῆς μεταξὺ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ τῆς ἄρκτου πεφελκειοῦς συστροφῆς καλουμένης πλόκαμος τὸ βορειώτατον. Again τῶν νοτίων τοῦ πλοκάμου ἐξοχῶν ἡ προηγουμένη. Again ἀστέρες εἰς δὲ δευτέρου μεγέθους ᾧ, πέμπτου δ, καὶ ὁ πλόκαμος. Again under οἱ περὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας ἀμόρφωτοι he adds at the end καὶ ὁ πλόκαμος ἔξω τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. The concluding words of the catalogue are καὶ ὁ πλόκαμος. Hyginus P. A. ii. 24 *Sunt aliae septem stellae ad caudam Leonis in triangulo collocatae, quas crines Berenices esse Conon Samius Mathematicus et Callimachus dicit; cum Ptolemaeus Berenicem Ptolemaei et Arsinoes filiam sororem suam duxisset uxorem, et paucis post diebus Asiam oppugnatum profectus esset, uovisse Berenicem, si uictor Ptolemaeus redisset, se detonsuram crinem; quo uoto damnatum (damnatam Scheffer) crinem in Veneris Arsinoes Zephyritidis posuisse templo, cumque postero die non comparuisse; quod factum cum rex aegre ferret, Conon mathematicus, ut ante diximus, cupiens inire gratiam regis dixit crinem inter sidera uideri collocatum; et quasdam uacuas a figura septem stellis ostendit, quas esse fingeret crinem. Hanc Berenicem nonnulli cum Callimacho dixerunt equos alere et ad Olympia<sup>1</sup> mittere consuetam fuisse. Alii*

<sup>1</sup> Valckenaer considers this a mistake, and thinks that Hyginus has here confused Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, with a Berenice or Pherenice, the daughter of Diagoras of Rhodes, who, as daughter, mother, and sister of men who had conquered at Olympia, obtained a special permission to witness the games. Ael. V. H. x. 1. But if Arsinoe, the wife of Philadelphus, was called *ἰππία*, as Hesychius says, a term which would imply fondness for horses and probably skill in managing them, may not Berenice have had the same taste and shown it by sending horses to Olympia? It appears to me very doubtful whether Hyginus alluded in *equos alere* to *alis equos* of Catullus' poem (54) as Haupt thought (Opusc. i. p. 61). It is not merely that such confusion assumes an extraordinary ignorance of metre and quantity; there could be no possible sense for *alis* as a verb in the passage of Catullus. On the other hand as a mere *allusion* to the Latin poem, it seems purposeless, for the writer's acquaintance with Catullus' version

*dicunt hoc amplius, Ptolemaeum Berenices patrem multitudine hostium perterritum fuga salutem petisse; filiam autem saepe consuetam insiliisse in equum et reliquam exercitus copiam constituisse et complures hostium interfecisse, reliquos in fugam coniecisse, pro quo etiam Callimachus eam magnanimam dixit. Eratosthenes autem dicit et uirginibus Lesbii dorem quam cuique relictam a parente nemo solueret, iussisse reddi; et inter eas constituisse petitionem.* Strabo 3 τὸν Βερενίκης πλόκαμον καὶ τὸν Κάνωβον ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῶν κατωνομασμένων. Plin. H. N. ii. 178 *Nec Canorum (uidet) Italia et quem uocant Berenices crinem.* Tatianus contra Graecos p. 149 ed. Paris. 1615 Iustini Martyris τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Βερενίκης πλόκαμος, ποῦ δὲ οἱ ἀστέρες αὐτῆς πρὶν τὴν προειρημένην ἀποθανεῖν; Scholiasta in Arati Phaen. 146 Bekker 'Ἀπλόου' τοῦτέστιν ἀκατονόμαστοί εἰσι καὶ οὐ συμπληροῦνται εἰς τύπον ἐξ αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ἡλακάνην αὐτὴν λέγονσι. Κόνων δὲ ὁ μαθηματικός, Πτολεμαῖος χαριζόμενος, Βερενίκης πλόκαμον ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατηστέρισε· τοῦτο καὶ Καλλιμάχος πονησὶν 'Ἡδὲ Κόνων ἔβλεψεν ἐν ἡέρι τὸν Βερενίκης βόστρυχον ὄντ' ἄρα κείνη πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖσιν. Proclus de Sphaera xv Βόρεια δὲ ἐστὶν, ὅσα τοῦ τῶν ζῳδίων κύκλου πρὸς ἄρκτους κεῖται . . . δελτωτός, καὶ ὁ ὕστερον κατηστερισμένος ὑπὸ Καλλιμάχου Βερενίκης πλόκαμος, Achilles Tatiui Isagoge in Arati Phaenon. p. 134 of Petavius' Uranologium 'Ὁ μὲν ἀστήρ καὶ ἀστρον' οὐκέτι δὲ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν· ὁ μὲντοι Καλλιμάχος (codd. ὅταν μέντοι ὁ Καλλιμάχος)

Πρὶν ἀστέρι τῷ Βερενίκης

ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοκάμου φησὶν ὅς ἐξ ἑπτὰ καταφανῶν σύγκειται. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν πλόκαμον οὐκ οἶδεν Ἄρατος· παρήρησε δὲ Κόνων ὁ μαθηματικός. Hesych. Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος· τοῦτον κατηστερίσθαι φησὶ Κόνων. Nonnus Συναγωγὴ ἱστοριῶν in editione Etonensi 1610 S. Gregorii Nazianzeni in Iulianum Inuectiuarum duarum p. 159 Ἀριάδνη θυγάτηρ ὑπῆρχε Μίνωος τοῦ Κρητῶν βασιλέως. αὕτη ἡράσθη Θησέως τοῦ Ἀθηναίων βασιλέως, ἐλθόντος ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τοῦ Μινωταύρου. ἐκ τοῦ οὖν Θησέως ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ Διόνυσος καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ καὶ συνεμίγη αὐτῇ· καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτῆς, στέφανον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ δι' ἀστέρων ὑπεζωγράφησεν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ πλοκάμου τῆς Βερονίκης ἐστὶν αὕτη. Βερονίκη γυνὴ τις ἦν τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐεργέτου καλουμένου. τοῦ οὖν ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ὄντος ἐν πολέμοις, ἠύξατο, ὅτι εἰ ὑποστρέψει ἄφρατος, τῶν πλοκάμων τῶν αὐτῆς ἀπόκαρμα ἀναθήσει ἀνάθημα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ Βερονίκη τὸν πλόκαμον ἀποκείρασα τὸν αὐτῆς ὑποστρέψαντος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου. Κόνων δὲ τις ἦν ἀστρονόμος ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῆς χρόνων, ὁ (l. ὅς) πρὸς κολακείαν αὐτῆς φησιν, ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πλόκαμον τοῦτον ἐν ἀστροῖς ἀνέθηκαν. καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ τις βοτρυοειδὴς θέσις ἀστέρων ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὃ καλοῦσι πλόκαμον Βερονίκης. (Also in Villosion's Anecdota i. p. 90.) Scholiasta Germanici Arat. p. 72 ed. Breysig. *Videntur aliae iuxta caudam eius stellae obscurae septem quae uocantur crines Berenices* Εὐεργέτιδος. *Dicuntur et earum uirginum quae Lesbo perierunt*: cf. ibid. 132.

#### EXCURSUS ON LXVI. 43 *maximum in oris.*

THE following is extracted from Riley's *Athos, or the Mountain of the Monks*:

'The promontory, or, rather, the peninsula, of Athos (for not far from

is intimated unequivocally by *magnanimam*. I think it more probable that the words *nonnulli cum Callimacho dixerunt equos alere et ad Olympia mittere consuetam fuisse* do not refer either to our *Coma* or the Greek original, but to some other of the multifarious works of Callimachus. Cf. Schneider's *Callimach.* ii. pp. 150, 151.

its base, at the spot where Xerxes cut his canal, it measures but a mile and a half across) is long and narrow, having an average breadth of about four miles, while its length is forty. A ridge of hills runs down the centre of the peninsula, beginning from the narrowest part near its base, and reaching some height where the monastic establishments commence, at a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from its extremity. From this point the ridge rises gradually from 1,000 to between 3,000 and 4,000 feet, when it suddenly shoots up into a mountain nearly 7,000 feet high, and falls into the sea. There is but little level land on Athos; the sides of the central ridge slope as a rule down to the very shore, while round the end of the peninsula, especially on the western side, the mountain drops by rapid descent or breaks away in steep and rocky cliffs. Every part of the promontory is covered with vegetation, the east side being more conspicuous for luxuriance of growth; and its position in the waters keeps the forests of Mount Athos fresh and green when all the neighbouring country on the mainland is burnt up by the summer and autumnal heats. The mountain is one vast mass of white or whitish-grey marble, clothed with trees to within a thousand feet of its summit, and then rising in a bare and conical peak.'

EXCURSUS ON LXVI. 52, 3 *Memnonis Vnigena*.

'IN a great many towns, scattered over the face of the whole country, there were sacred hawks. I exhibit a wooden figure of a hawk, with a brail or confining band of gold fringe round his wings. . . . When he became a god, no doubt he was confined in an ark or shrine. Numberless examples of these shrines, some of them carved in granite and of immense size, are still in existence.' W. J. Loftie on the worship of Chonsu, *Archaeological Journal* xxxix. p. 400.

EXCURSUS ON LXVI. 54 *Locridos*.

DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES in the beginning of his versified Geography v. 27 writes:

Πάντη δ' ἀκαμάτου φέρεται ῥόος Ὀκεανοῖο  
Εἰς μὲν ἑὼν, πολλῇσι δ' ἐπωνυμίῃσιν ἀρῆώς.  
Ἦτοι ὁ μὲν Λοκροῖο παρ' ἐσχατὴν ζεφύροιο  
Ἄτλας ἐσπέριος κυκλήσκειται.

On this Eustathius thus comments p. 90 Bernhardt:

Ὅτι ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τῷ Διονυσίῳ ζεφύρος καλεῖται Λοκρός, καὶ αὖθις Λοκροὶ ἐπιζεφύριοι, ἀντίδοσις γίνεται κλήσεων, τοῦ μὲν ἐθνικοῦ ὀνόματος διαβαίνοντος πρὸς τὸν ζεφύρον ἄνεμον, τοῦ δὲ ζεφύρου αὐτῶν ἐπιτιθεμένου τῷ τῶν Λοκρῶν ἔθνει. Λοκρός μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοὺς Λοκροὺς καλεῖται ὁ ζεφύρος, ὃ ἔστι Λοκρικὸς καθάπερ καὶ Ἰσμαρικὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ὁ βορρᾶς, ἀπὸ Ἰσμάρου πόλεως Θρακικῆς, ἔνθα μάλιστα βορρᾶς καταρρήγνυται. Λοκροὶ δ' αὖθις Ἐπιζεφύριοι λέγονται, ὡς πρὸς ἀνέμῳ ζεφύρῳ κείμενοι, ὃς πνέει δι' αὐτῶν.

Bernhardt observes on this, p. 532, 'Zephyri potestatem ab ultimis Italiae finibus, id est ab Epizephyriis Locris, unde tulit (*sc.* zephyrus) Locri cognomen, selectiore formula designari, quam uetusta doctrina uentorum peperit. Eodem referendus Catull. 66. 54 obtulit *Arsinoes Locridos ales equos*, nimirum Zephyritidos secus a Bentleio perceptus

... Ceterum interpretis uicibus Strabo fungatur vi. p. 259 μετὰ δὲ τὸ 'Ἡράκλειον ἄκρα τῆς Λοκρίδος ἢ καλεῖται ζεφύριον ἔχουσα τοῖς ἐσπερίοις ἀνέμοις λιμένα, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τοῦνομα : adde Theophrastum de uentis 44 ἡ μὲν Λοκρὶς καὶ ἡ ταύτη συνεχρῆς εὐθηνεῖ τῷ ζεφύρῳ, διὰ τὸ ἐκ θαλάττης προσιπτεῖν.'

Add Serv. on Aen. iii. 399 *A quibus originem trahunt qui appellantur Epizephyrii, quod Zephyrium promontorium uocatur a Graecis, in quo sunt conditi Locri qui in Graecia* (i. e. Magna Graecia) *sunt.*

It seems then that Eustathius, who here follows the scholia, believed that *Λοκρὸς* and *ζέφυρος* might connote each other; and that Bernhardy extended this explanation to *Arsinoes Locridos ales equos* in Catullus, *Locridos* thus standing for *Zephyritidos*. This view has the support of Hecker Commentat. de Anthol. Graec. 1843 p. 73, and it seems just possible with *Zephyritis* following in 57 that the 'winged steed (or, page on wings *alisequos*) of Locrian Arsinoe' should mean 'Zephyrus that flies on the errand of Arsinoe, lady of Zephyrion.' So the epigram in Didot's papyrus describes the site of the temple of Zephyritis as *Λιβύης ἀνεμόδεα χελλήν τήν ἀνατεινομένην εἰς ἰταλὸν ζέφυρον*. But this is all: nor is it at all clear that Eustathius is right in his explanation of *Λοκροῖο*. It seems more probable that Dionysius meant to describe the sea at the extreme south of Italy, and designates it as 'the extremity of the Locrian Zephyr,' meaning 'the extreme point occupied by the Locrian Epizephyrii.' It in no way follows from this combined use of *Λοκρὸς* and *ζέφυρος*, in which each is mutually explanatory, that either of the two words can separately be used to connote the other.

But in fact Bentley's emendation is quite uncertain. Even if we confined our view, with Bährens and his followers, to the reading of *GO elocridicos*, Bentley's conj. does not account for the *e*; and if, with Lachmann, Haupt, Fröhner, Schwabe, and Sydow we ascribe some weight to the Datanus, and therefore to its congener *a*, we find a quite different variant *daridos*, or as *a* gives it *claridos*. Assuming that *cl* and *d* might be interchangeable with *b*, as in the case of *rudii* which the Datanus gives for *imbui* LXIV. 11, and the other instances collected by Pleitner *Studien zu Catullus* p. 4, *tardis* for *trabis* IV. 3, *adiit* for *abiit* LXIII. 74, *ibidem* (Datanus) for *indidem* LXI. 214, *adusum* (Dat.) for *abusum* LXXVI. 4, we might suggest *bocridos* as the original from which *elocridicos* *clocidicos* on the one hand, *daridos* *claridos* on the other were derived. Arsinoe, the mother of Ptolemy I, is described in the genealogy of the Ptolemies given by Theophilus ad Autolycum ii. 7 as from Satyrus and quoted at length by Meineke Anal. Alexandr. p. 346, as descended through Meleager from *Bocrus*, τοῦ δὲ 'Ἀλκίταν, τοῦ δὲ 'Ἀμύνταν, τοῦ δὲ Βόκρον, τοῦ δὲ Μελέαγρον, τοῦ δὲ 'Ἀρσινόην, τῆς δὲ καὶ Δάγρου Πτολεμαῖον τὸν καὶ Σωτήρα, τοῦ δὲ καὶ Βερενίκης Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον, τοῦ δὲ καὶ 'Ἀρσινόης Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Εὐεργέτην. If Bocrus is here the father of Meleager, and Meleager the father of Arsinoe, as Arsinoe is certainly the mother of Ptolemy I, and so on through the rest of the pedigree, this Arsinoe might perhaps be described *papponymically* as *Bocris*; and the same designation might conceivably be extended to Arsinoe, the child of Ptolemy I, and the great-great-grand-daughter of the original Bocrus. She might be so styled by way of distinction from the other Arsinoe, daughter of Lysimachus, and mother of Ptolemy Philadelphus' children. It is to be observed that this pedigree starting from Dionysus traces the line of descent through Heracles and Hyllus to the Argive *Τεμενίς*, so

to Caranus, founder of the Macedonian monarchy and the Macedonian kings Aeropus, Alcetas, Amyntas. Bocrus being thus in lineal connexion with the royal house of Macedon, Arsinoe might be called *Bocris* to indicate this connexion. But the pedigree leaves out so many steps as to make the exact degree of relationship uncertain, unless farther evidence is forthcoming. The coincidence however of this rare name (it is not even mentioned by Pape) with the enigmatic *elocridicos* or *daridos* of the MSS of Catullus, is sufficiently curious to deserve inquiry: at least I think it cannot be denied that all the proposed explanations of *Locridas* are unsatisfactory.

EXCURSUS ON LXVI. 63 *a fluctu*.

How could the tuft of hair be described as *dripping from the wave*?

The answer to this question depends on the interpretation we give to  
55. 56

*Isque per aetherias me tollens abuolat umbras  
Et Veneris casto collocat in gremio.*

From 57 *Ipsa suum Zephyritis eo famulum legarat* it might seem that the winged messenger is sent from some distance to remove the lock. We might imagine him coming from the temple of Arsinoe at Zephyrion, a few miles east of Alexandria on the way to Canopus, to the palace at Alexandria, where Berenice cut off her hair, then lifting the lock through the sky and returning to lay it in the bosom of Arsinoe Aphrodite at Zephyrion. The farther passage from Zephyrion to the sky is not described but only alluded to in the words

*Vuidulum a fluctu cedentem ad templa deum me  
Sidus in antiquis diua nouum posuit.*

We are left to imagine it passing through Ocean up to the sky (*cedentem ad templa deum*); there, still dripping from its passage through the water, it is received by Venus, converted into a star, and assigned a place among the constellations. If this is the order of events, we can see why the poet added *Vuidulum a fluctu*. The lock has reached Zephyrion, the promontory of the west wind, and is in the immediate neighbourhood of the Elysian plain at Canopus (Schol. Od. iv. 565), where Memnon, the kinsman of the *famulus* who bears it, reposes in happiness (Qu. Smyrn. ii. 650-652 δ' δ' εἰν Ἀἶδαο δόμοισιν ἥεν πον ἐν μακάρεσσι κατ' Ἠλύσιον πέδον αἷης Καρχαλάφ, καὶ θυμὸν λαίμεται ἄμβροτος ἥως Δερκομένη); it is in the condition of a blest soul, as described in the Odyssey iv. 563 sqq.

Ἀλλά σ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης  
Ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν.

τῇ περ ῥήϊστη βιοτῇ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν  
Οὐ μφετός, οὐτ' ἀρ χειμῶν πολὺς οὔτε ποτ' ἄμβρος  
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύρου λιγὺ πνέοντασ αἶγας  
Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίσχιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.

Cf. Joseph. Bell. Iud. ii. 8. 11 quoted by Voss.

But it has still to attain to a farther point: it is to become an immortal, and receive the form of a star. As a soul beatified and purified in the water of Ocean it rises from the level of the waves to the sky, where the gods dwell; there the heavenly Venus consummating the destiny which her earthly representative Arsinoe Zephyritis has begun receives the



already beatified lock and assigns it a place among the stars. Or, as seems also not impossible, the lock may be conceived as receiving immortality and its star-existence in the moment of emerging from the waves.

This is not the most natural interpretation of 55, 56. With most edd. I explain these verses to mean that the *famulus* of Arsinoe, probably a bird, whether ostrich, hawk, or swan, soars with the hair, after lifting it from the place where it had been deposited by Berenice, whether at Alexandria or, as Hyginus states, at Zephyrion, upwards into the darkening sky, and lays it in the lap of Venus in heaven. But then the difficulty of *Vuidulum a fluctu* becomes very great. Are we to suppose that before thus mounting to the sky the *famulus* carries the hair to the Ocean, dips it in the waves, and then conveys it thus purified to the abodes of the gods? If Callimachus meant this, he would surely have stated it at once, not left it to be *inferred* by an obscure allusion afterwards. Or, is the hair described as 'dripping from the wave,' because Alexandria and Zephyrion are on the shore and the moist exhalations from the sea at night would act as dew and make it wet? Such an explanation is far short of the proper meaning of the words. Or is there some cosmographical conception which dominates the scientific poet in defiance of seeming possibilities? e. g. that night rises from Ocean, Aen. ii. 250? or that the sea is above and higher than the earth, and that in passing from earth to the sky the level of the sea is intermediate? Serv. on Aen. i. 381. Or finally, has the poet, perhaps designedly, confused the two ideas (1) of the lock rising to heaven, (2) of the star emerging from the sea-level?

## LXVII.

THE obscurities which surround this poem are so considerable that it seems hopeless to do more than sketch in outline the story which it contains, leaving the subordinate points undecided.

A house, probably in Verona (34) had belonged for some time to an old man named Balbus, who seems to have been unmarried, as may be inferred from 6 *Postquam es porrecto facta marito sene*. During his life it was free from scandal, which is expressed in the words 'the door of the house was the kindly servant of its master,' 3, 4. On his death it came into the possession of a newly-married couple, and soon grew scandalous. The chief of these scandals was that the wife had committed incest with her husband's father, whence the door is sarcastically described in 1 as *iocunda viro, iocunda parenti*. She had in fact not been a virgin at the time when she entered the house as a bride; but had previously committed incest with her husband's father at Brixia. Brixia was also the scene of several other adulteries, with a Postumius, a Cornelius, and a tall man whose name is suppressed, but who had been attacked in the law-courts on a question of supposed pregnancy.

The chief difficulty of the poem is to determine the relation of the persons mentioned in 3, 9. (1) Is Balbus simply the first tenant of the house afterwards occupied by the scandalous pair? or is he otherwise connected with them? (2) Is Caecilius the impotent husband of 20, or a second husband, or merely third in the series of tenants into whose hands the house had successively passed?

(1) Nothing connects Balbus *necessarily* with any part of the scandal. So long as he occupied the house, the door was faithful to its master: it is only after his death that it loses its former character and becomes disreputable (*mutata feraris In dominum ueterem deseruisse fidem*). To suppose with Doering that Caecilius is the *adoptive* son and heir of Balbus, is a gratuitous hypothesis, not supported by the description of the father and son in 23 *Sed pater illius gnati uiolasse cubile*, 26 *iners sterili semine natus erat*, or even more decidedly *Ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremium*. On the other hand to suppose with Schwabe (*Quaestt.* p. 347) that the Balbus of 3 is the Caecilius of 9—that this Caecilius Balbus, a native of Brixia, was admitted into the house of an old Veronese, who at his death left it with the rest of his property to him, is improbable (a) as dissevering *Balbo* 3 from *senex* 4; (b) as weakening the natural force of *cui tradita nunc sum* 9, words which suggest that Caecilius was the new, as opposed to Balbus, the former, owner.

(2) The form of the expression *ita Caecilio placeam, cui tradita nunc sum* 9 can scarcely apply to the cajoled husband described in 20. The door has just been taxed with treachery to its master (8), it replies, 'My *new* master will find no cause to distrust me; I will explain how it is that I seem culpable. The guilty wife was guilty before she came here, as all Brixia knows: and the reason of her guilt was her husband's impotence. This and her other crimes I know, not because I am told all the secrets of Brixia, but because I used to overhear the woman's own confessions.' Catullus had contrasted the condition of the house under its first owner Balbus and under its later tenants the guilty wife and her husband (1-8): it would be weak, after this, to represent the door as wishing to please the very master to whom it had already done the deepest disservice. Hence Caecilius cannot be the impotent husband described in 20. But it is still a question whether he is merely the third owner of the house, or besides this the second husband of the woman. The words *uir prior* in 20 might seem to imply a former husband; this husband may have died or divorced his wife; Caecilius had married her and in doing so become the new master of the house. If this is so, Catullus, we must suppose, holds his dialogue with the door just after the new marriage: he has heard of the scandals connected with its last master, and inquires the reason; the door, in explaining, intimates that a new state of things has now set in and expresses a hope that all may be decorous for the future.

Three stages, on this view, are traceable—

1. *Before* the woman occupied the house, during the life of the elder Balbus.

2. Her first entrance into the house, as a supposed bride.

3. When she was married to her new husband Caecilius.

The story will then be as follows: An old man named Balbus possessed a house at Verona, which while he lived was in good repute. On his death his son the younger Balbus with his wife took possession of the house and it became scandalous owing to the stories circulated of the lady's irregularities. These rumours, as Catullus reports them, included a charge of incest (v. 1). After a time the younger Balbus died, and the lady took a *new* (cf. 20 *uir prior*) husband named Caecilius. At some time closely following this second marriage, Catullus hears of the rumours

connected with the house and comes to inquire about them. The house-door explains. 'The irregularities you speak of did not *really* begin with the occupation of the house by Balbus the younger. He had married *before* his father's death (*uirgo quod fertur tradita nobis*), and as he was himself incapable of marital duties, his father had taken his place in the wife's bed and committed incest with his daughter-in-law. This was at Brixia, where she had besides other paramours. Scandal naturally followed her to Verona, when she came to live in the house which her husband's father had tenanted.'

Munro's view is different. I give it in his own words (*Criticisms and Elucidations* p. 160).

'This is a dialogue carried on in Verona between the poet and the door of a house in that city. This house had been in good repute while it was owned by a worthy widower, Caecilius Balbus the elder, now dead. It was now in the possession of his son and heir, Caecilius Balbus the younger. He was a worthy man like his father; but the house had forfeited its good name; for this Caecilius had married after his father's death. The wife had lived in Brixia with a former husband: but when she entered Caecilius' house in Verona, she was believed to be a maid. It was not so: the former husband, it is true, had not consummated the marriage; but that husband's father had debauched his own daughter-in-law, either through foul lust or from a wish to get an heir for his son. Brixia saw and can tell of this; yes, and of many other deeds of shame. The door learnt all this by often overhearing her recounting to her maids these enormities.'

On this view *O dulci iocunda uiro, iocunda parenti* in 1 is not ironical. Otherwise it seems the simplest explanation yet offered. As such it is accepted by B. Schmidt, p. xlvii. Yet, as Riese says weightily, 'there is in reality not the slightest indication of any connexion between Balbus and Caecilius in the poem.' It must remain therefore uncertain.

The personal part sustained by the house-door need not surprise us. As I have observed on the *Attis*, the threshold and the door were peculiarly associated in the ancient world with ideas of love and therefore of scandal. Serenades sung by Greek lovers at the house-door of their mistress had a special name *παρακλαινσιθυρον*, a humorous specimen of which is to be found in the *Ecclesiiazusae* of Aristophanes 950-975. But Catullus would remember many similar scenes in the literature of his own country; compare e. g. the words of Plautus *Curc.* i. 15 sqq. Fleckeisen

Phaedr. *Huic proximum illud ostiumst oculissimum.*

Salve: ualistine usque oculissimum ostium?

Palin. *Caruitne febris te heri uel nudiustertius,*

*Et heri cenaustine?*

Phaedr. *Deridesne me?*

Palin. *Quid tu ergo, insane, rogitas ualeatne ostium?*

Phaedr. *Bellissimum hercle uidi et taciturnissimum:*

*Numquam ullum uerbum multat: quom aperitur, tacet,*

*Quomque illa noctu clanculum ad me exit, tacet.*

And a similar personification of a door *Asin.* ii. 3. 10

*Illa haec morata ianuast: ex templo ianitorem*

*Clamat procul si quem uidet ire ad se calcitronem.*

Propertius i. 16. 17-48 makes the door of Cynthia recall in a soliloquy

the serenade which he had addressed to her before it; Ovid in one of the most famous of his *Amores* (i. 6) represents himself stationed all night at the door of Corinna's house, and vainly entreating the porter to admit him.

B. Schmidt Prolegom. p. xlviii suggests that Catullus had solicited the lady of the house and had been rejected by her; and that he wrote this poem in revenge. If *Quinte* in 12 were certain, this view would become more than probable. See Pleitner's explanation cited there. In any case such a proceeding would quite accord with the irascible temperament of the poet.

1. *iocunda*, ironical, 'you that are welcome to the husband's father as well as to the husband himself,' in allusion to 23-26. *iocunda* as in LXII. 26 of connubial delights. *dulci*, 'darling,' or 'well-beloved,' as husbands ought to be: similarly ironical LXXVIII. 3, C. 4. On Munro's view there is no irony: 'door, well-pleasing to the husband and master of the house, well-pleasing, too, to his father before him' (M.). This appears to me scarcely significant enough to be what Cat. meant. The sarcastic intention of the v. is sufficiently determined by 3-6, of which 20-28 are an explanation.

2. *anotet*. Amphit. Prol. 6 *Bonogue atque amplo auclare perpetuo lucro*; also in Lucretius. The whole line is imitated by Ovid F. i. 612 *Et quodcunque sua Iuppiter auget ope*.

3. *dicunt* like *ferunt* 5, *feraris* 7, *dicere* 11, *fertur* 19, *dicitur* 10 and 24, *dicit* 31, *narrat* 35, at once introduces the characteristic feature of the poem, its retailing gossip and scandalous stories (Riese). *seruissae benigne*, 'yielded ungrudging service,' Plin. Epist. vii. 24. 8 *Domus C. Cassi seruiet domino non minori*.

4. 'In times gone by whilst the old man was himself the tenant of his home.' *ipse*, in opposition to the subsequent tenants. *senex*, Balbus.

5. 'And who afterwards, they say, lent yourself to the service of an ill-affected vow,' whether of its new mistress, not to submit to the dictation of an impotent husband, or some paramour, bent on a criminal purpose, 'adulterorum uotis indulgendis' (Pleitner). It was a common practice with lovers to make vows at the door of their mistress's house; see Theocr. xxiii. 35-46, Prop. i. 16, Mart. x. 13. 7, 8: sometimes garlands or other tokens were left in the porch, as in Am. i. 6. 67, where Ovid maintains a dialogue, kept up all through the night, with a *ianitor*, whom he cannot induce to unbar the gate which keeps him from Corinna. A more complying *ianitor* we may perhaps suppose gave admittance to the paramours of the lady introduced here by Catullus. Munro reads *maligne*, which is found in O and one or two xvth cent. MSS, translating 'but then on the other hand it is told of you that you have carried out but scurvily his wish and prayer.' It is tempting to read with Fröhlich *nato seruissae maligne*, which would bring the father and son of 29, 30 into distinct antagonism (*rursus*) at the outset, and greatly diminish the obscurity of the poem.

6. 'When the old man was laid out and you became the door of a bride.' *porrecto*, as a corpse, Mart. ix. 85. 4 *Sed mea porrexil sportula, Paule, pedes*. Pers. iii. 103 *Tandemque beatulus alto Compositus lecto, crassisque lulatus amomis Ad portam rigidos calces extendit*. *marita*.

Liu. xxvii. 31 *Vagabatur cum uno aut altero comite per maritas domos dies noctesque.*

7. *mutata.* Prop. ii. 14. 31 *Quod si forte aliqua nobis mutabere culpa.*

8. *ueterem* with *fidem.* 'Your old loyalty to your lord.' Munro.

9. *ita,* as I wish to please my new master. *Caecilio.* Not, I think, the unfortunate husband of 20-22, but the *third* occupant of the house; the door after losing its character under its former tenant expresses here its anxiety to please its new and more reputable master.

10. Heroid. iii. 8 *Culpa tua est, quamvis haec quoque culpa tua est.*

11. *peccatum,* perhaps substantive as in Heaut. i. 1. 106 *Ila res est, fateor; peccatum a me maximumst.* For *peccatum quicquam* cf. Men. iii. 1. 2 *Numquam quicquam facinus feci peius.* *quisquam quicquam,* Plautine.

12. *Verum est os populi 'ianua,' Quinte, 'facit.'* 'But it's what the people say, Quintus, The door is the culprit.' This is my correction of the corrupt MS reading *Verum istius (isti) populi ianua qui te facit.* Persius<sup>1</sup> i. 42 *usēs os populi meruisse* of a poet being talked of by the people: cf. the common *in ore uulgi uersari* Verr. ii. 1. § 121, *in ore omnium esse* Verr. ii. 2. § 56, *in orest omni populo* Ter. Ad. i. 2. 13, *poscebatur ore uulgi* Tac. Agric. 41. *Quinte,* the conjecture of Scaliger, accepted by Lachmann and Haupt, assumes that Catullus' *praenomen* was Quintus. The *praenomen* might well be used by the door to a fellow townsman (Sen. Apocol. 6 *Marci municipem uides* where see Bücheler), especially to one whom it wished to conciliate or cajole: Hor. S. ii. 5. 32, 6. 37 *Orabant (scribae) hodie meminisses, Quinte, reuerti,* where the *scribae* use the *praenomen* as old acquaintances of Horace (A. Palmer), or, as Pleitner suggests *Studien* p. 50, the door may have heard the adulteress address a paramour, perhaps Catullus himself, by this name, and repeats it with a suggestive allusion. In any case the *personal character* which the name of the second interlocutor thus introduced gives to the poem is not to be overlooked as an argument in favour of *Quinte.* If *Quinte* is thought hazardous in face of Schwabe's and Munro's arguments for Gaius as Catullus' *praenomen*, for *Quinte, facit* substitute *tute facis:* 'door, it is yourself that's the culprit.' Lucr. iv. 915 *Tutimet in culpa cum sis.* See Excursus. *ianua facit,* with the *double-entendre* conveyed by *facere* Iuven. vii. 240, Petron. 87 *si quid uis, fac iterum,* Mart. ix. 16. 2.

13. *Qui . . . omnes.* The collective noun *populi* is distributed by *omnes,* cf. the instances quoted by Roby Latin Grammar ii. 1434.

15. *uno dicere uerbo,* 'just to say so and have done,' a slightly different sense from the not uncommon one 'without more ado,' *uno uerbo omnia sana faciet* Cato R. R. 157. 7, And. i. 1. 18 *Quin tu uno uerbo dic quid est quod me uelis?*

16. *Viz.* by detailing the facts at length.

17. *Quis aut scit aut curat?* Phil. xiii. 16. 33. *laborat,* 'is anxious,' so Horace S. ii. 8. 19 *nosse laboro,* Epist. i. 3. 2 *scire laboro* (Vulp.).

18. *Nos . . . nobis.* 'I, Catullus, who, if any man in Verona, may claim to know its secrets.'

19. *nobis,* the house with its master and establishment: nearly as in LXII. 60.

<sup>1</sup> In the next verse of this satire Persius imitates an expression of Catullus, *scombros metuentia carmina,* see XCV. 8.

**20. Non illam uir prior attigerit.** Either (1) 'To be sure, her first husband is not likely to have touched her' (Munro); or perhaps concessively, 'Granted, her first husband did not touch her; the negative *non* instead of *ne* being determined by the opposition *non uir* (*sed pater*), as in Plin. H. N. xxix. 21 *Non sint artis ista sed hominum*. This assumes a second marriage. Or (2) 'Her husband can scarcely have been the first to handle her.' On this latter view *prior* is in reference to the other person to whom she lost her virginity. *attigerit*. Terentian. Hec. i. 2. 61 *Nocte illa prima uirginem non attigit* (Bährens).

**21. Languidior.** Anth. P. xi. 29. 3, 4 Ἀὐτὴ γὰρ λαχάνου σισαρωτέρη, ἢ πρὶν ἀκαμπῆς Ζῶσα, νεκρὰ μηρῶν πᾶσα δέδουκεν ἔσω. *tenera*, 'not full grown,' as perhaps in Hor. S. i. 3. 116. *sicula* seems = *pugiunculus*. It was probably distinct from *secula* the Campanian word for *salx* Varro L. L. v. 137. Dr. J. A. H. Murray Dict. of English Language s. v. *Bed* cites from Turner's Herbal 1551 a passage which states that the white beet was distinguished from the black by the name *sicula*. *beta*. Suetonius mentions *belissare* = *languere* as one of the words used commonly by Augustus (Oct. 87). *Ponit assidue et pro stulto baceolum, et pro pullo puleiacium et pro cerrito uacerrosum et uapide se habere pro male et betissare pro languere quod uulgo lachanizare dicitur*. The *beta* has a white stalk. Colum. x. 254, 326.

**22. tunicam, XXXII. 11, Ovid, Am. i. 7. 48** *Aut tunicam summa deducere turpiter ora Ad mediam*, uses the word of Corinna's under-robe.

**23. illius with pater not with gnati.** The second *i* is elsewhere short in Cat. (Bährens).

**24. miseram**, 'degraded,' the consequence of the incestuous act. *conscelerasse*, LXIV. 404: Cicero has *consceleratus* as an adjective.

**25. caeco**, 'headstrong,' Pis. xxiv. 57 *Quae te, praedo amentissime, nisi praedae ac rapinarum cupiditas tam caeca rapiebat?*

**26. iners**, 'listless,' 'cold,' Hor. Epod. xii. 17 *quaerenti taurum, monstrauit inertem*. *iners sterili semine*, like *Falsum mendaci uentre* 48.

**27. unde unde** [so Bergk], 'from somewhere or other,' 'no matter whence.' Hor. S. i. 3. 88, cf. Apul. M. v. 30 *Nec uindictae solacium unde unde spernendum est*. Apollin. Sidon. iv. 2. 1 *non unde unde quarumpiam personarum aut uoluntates aut necessitates anquirerem*, where two of Lütjohann's MSS give the single *unde* as in Catullus. *neruosius*. Gebhard Antiqu. Lect. i. 19 compares Hor. Epod. xii. 19 *indomito constantior inguine neruus*.

**29. Egregium**, ironical as in Aen. iv. 93.

**30. minxerit.** This disproves Döderlein's theory quoted by O. Iahn on Pers. i. 114 that *meiere* alone, not *mingere*, is used 'ubi obscene quis uel cum risu loquitur.' The commentators compare Hor. S. ii. 7. 52 *meiat eodem*, Pers. vi. 73 *Patriciae immeiat uulucae*, and the similar use of οὐπέιν. Curtius connects μοῖχος with *mingere*. *gnati gremium*. The older commentators including Stat. explain *gnati gremium* as = *gremium uxoris nati*, and so Hertzberg on Prop. iv. 3. 52. This agrees with the above-quoted use of *immeiere* with a dat. of the receiving womb, *meiere* with an adverb of similar meaning; it is also, I think, the first suggestion of the words. The father takes the place of his son in his marriage-bed and *mingit in gremium* of his son's wife. Cf. the proverbial *nec mulieri nec gremio credendum*; and *gremium* is more often used of women by Cat.

than of men in spite of LXVIII. 132, 146. The grammatical difficulty of making *gremium gnati* = the bosom of the son's wife is explicable, not on the view that *gnati* is a genitive of the possessor, to whom the *gremium* by rights belonged, but as a brachylogical incorrectness of language, which the general meaning of the sentence and the word *minxerit* would make intelligible. This view seems to me now preferable to my former interpr. that the father who makes a cuckold of his own son is said to make water into his son's lap, partly with the idea of the bride reclining in *gremio mariti*, Iuven. ii. 120, partly with the contemptuous suggestion of *καρούπις* (Eccles. 832).

32. *Brixia* now *Brescia*, a town west of the Lago di Garda in the territory of the Cenomani, a Gaulish tribe, who are mentioned as its founders by Livy v. 35 *Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum, Elitovio duce, vestigia priorum secula eodem saltu, fauente Belloueso, cum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt (locos tenuere Libui) considunt*. In XXXII. 30 he speaks of *uicos Cenomanorum Brixiamque quod caput gentis erat*, whence it must have been the capital of the district. The *Chinea specula* is not known from any other ancient authority. The name is probably Celtic. The geographer Ptolemy ii. 16. 7 mentions a town called Chinna or Cinna in Illyricum, not far from Narona. As there were Gaulish settlers in Illyricum during the fourth century B.C., it seems likely that the name is in both places Celtic. *Cenn* or *Cinn*, as seen in *Cenn-Cruaich*, *Cenncait*, *Cinnchait*, *Cennfaelad*, is Celtic for *head*, Rhys *Lectures on Celtic Heathendom* pp. 201-210, 318: we may imagine a high projecting headland or eminence overlooking the town of Brixia. See Excursus. *supposita specula* was explained by Sillig as *posita sub specula*, abl. for dat. as *subdere* in Apuleius Met. v. 20. MSS have *suppositum*. *specula*, possibly the *arx* or Acropolis of the town (Alex. Guarinus), need not imply more than a high summit capable of being used as a place of observation, like the *specula aerii montis* Verg. E. viii. 60, α σκοπή περιφανομένη ἐνὶ χάρῃ Hom. H. Ven. 100.

33. *percurrit*. The Mella, now *Mella*, does not traverse Brixia, but flows a mile west of it. Hence Avancius in the Trincavelli edition (1534-1540) and after him Cluverius, conjectured *praecurrit*: others retaining *percurrit* suppose Catullus to allude to a small stream called *Garza* which flows through the city: to which Cluverius objects that Philargyrius on Verg. G. iv. 278 *Mella amnis in Gallia Cisalpina uicinus Brixiae oritur ex monte Brenno* describes it as near, not in, the town. He adds that in his time the Mella was drawn off into so many small channels that the main bed was nearly dry near Brixia. It seems possible that in ancient times an arm may have passed through the city which has since been filled up; or that the city formerly extended farther to the west, just as Verona itself is now traversed by the Adige, which once only surrounded it (Cluver. p. 115). See Excursus. *molli*, 'rippling.'

34. *mater*, the mother-town or metropolis of Verona. Catullus seems therefore to agree with those who like Ptolemy (iii. 1. 27), Justin (xx. 5), and apparently Livy (v. 35), made Verona a Gaulish settlement. On the other hand Pliny (H. N. iii. 130) says *Raelorum et Euganeorum Verona*; Strabo 206 says the Raeti reached to that part of Italy which is above Verona and Comum (though 213 he includes Verona among the Gaulish settlements near the Po); so too the *Raetica uina* are ascribed to the

*Veronensis ager* Plin. xiv. 16 and 67. Cluverius thought Verona was founded by the Raeti and afterwards received a Gaulish colony from Brixia, as was the case at Mantua; Niebuhr (Lectures on Ethnography ii. p. 245 English Transl.) suggested that Brixia may have been the seat of a conventus, a relation similar to that which the metropolis in Asia Minor bore to the towns under it; or that Catullus alludes to an earlier time, when Brixia may have been one of the twelve cities forming the Etruscan community north of the Apennines, to which Felsina, Mantua, Adria and Melpum belonged. In this capacity it may have stood to Verona in the position of metropolis, as Mantua did to the twelve subordinate communities Aen. x. 203. C. Müller on Ptol. iii. 1. 27 considers both Brixia and Verona to have been originally Raetic. *Veronae* is not dative as Vulp. after Alex. Guarinus thought, but genitive, 'Brixia, the well-loved mother-city of my own Verona.' *meae*, because the door belongs to a house at Verona. The Brit. Mus. MS *a* has *sic* for *meae*; possibly Catullus wrote *Brixia Veronae mater amata uicem*, 'Brixia that mother-city which I love as I love Verona,' a verse which we may suppose the poet to have inserted as a way of expressing the close connexion between the two towns; unless indeed *mater* refers to the family coming originally from Brixia, in the same manner as Vergil calls Aricia (Aen. vii. 762) and Populonia (x. 172) the mothers of the warriors who come from them. For *uicem* used in this sense cf. Sallust ap. Non. 497 *Ceteri uicem pecudum obtruncabantur*; Key Lat. Gram. § 917. At any rate there seems to be no cause for doubting the genuineness of the line: Vulp. quotes from the Heroides of Ovid a similar juxtaposition of words *Proderit exemplo mater amata suo* (viii. 40). So *infamantur amantum* Prop. iii. 16. 27.

36. *malum*, 'vile:' like a *mala adultera* LXI. 97.

37. *Dixerit hic aliquis*. The door interrupts itself, 'some one will ask here.' So Ov. Pont. ii. 2. 29 *Dixerit hoc aliquis tutum non esse: falemur*. Pis. xxxviii. 68 *Dicit aliquis: unde tibi haec nota sunt?* Roby has a discussion on *dicat aliquis, dixerit aliquis*, Preface to Syntax pp. ci-cvii, where a very large number of instances are collected. *quid?* tu MSS, which with Bährens I retain. Verr. iv. 7. 13 *dicet aliquis: quid? tu ista permagno aestimas?*

38. *domini limine* suggests by contrast *alienum limen* Prop. iii. 3. 47.

39. *auscultare*, a word of every-day language and comedy (Riese). It is odd that the very words used by the door to express its inability to catch up the talk of the town might as easily convey the exactly opposite idea. Plautus Merc. ii. 4. 9 *Omnia ego istaec auscultavi ab ostio*, Truc. i. 2. 1 Schöll *Ad fores auscultate atque adseruate hasce aedis* speaks of the house-door as a favorite place for overhearing conversations. The fact seems to be that Catullus speaks not of conversations held in or near the house, but of the popular rumour of the streets. The door is a fixture, it cannot go about and pick up scandal. *suffixa*, used in a more ordinary combination XCIX. 4, here 'fastened up to,' as in Luc. ix. 328 *Providus antennae suffixit linlea summae*.

40. *operire aut aperire domum*: so the Romans said both *aperire* and *operire caput* Non. 236, 507. Plaut. Capt. iii. 3. 9 *operta quae fuerent aperta sunt* (Vulp.).



42. *ancillis*. Tib. i. 2. 94, Ovid Am. i. 11. 2. MSS *cum conciliis* (*concillis* O). The emendation *cum ancillis*, one of the happiest ever made in the text of Catullus, is due to a Venetian unknown, who communicated it to Robortello for his *Variorum locorum Annotationes* published in 1544, as Mr. Bywater has indicated to me<sup>1</sup>. For *a* = *co* compare *moenico* = *moenia* LXIV. 212, *indecor* = *uidear* XLVIII. 4, *alcos* = *colcos* (Golgos) XXXVI. 14.

43. *Nomine*, a sign of complete fearlessness.

44. *Speret*, Lachmann, with most MSS. But as *O* gives *Sperent*, *G sperent*, it is probable that some corruption had set in before the archetype was written. Most edd. give *Speraret*: 'Grammar and metre alike call for this reading.' Munro. *linguam*, to speak; *auriculam*, to hear. Propertius i. 16. 27, 28 *O utinam traiecta tua mea uocula rima Percussas dominae uertat in auriculas* shows that a door might literally become vocal; but it is probable that this mode of conversing with her lovers had not been practised by the lady of whom Catullus is speaking. Plautus, in the passage of the Curculio quoted in the introduction, gives eyes as well as the power of speech to a door (*oculissimum ostium*); in the passage from the Asinaria he speaks of a door crying aloud (*clamat*).

45. *dicere nolo*. Iuven. viii. 275.

46. 'Lest he lift his reddening eye-brows in anger.' Quint. xi. 3. 79 *Ira contractis (superciliis), tristitia deductis, hilaritas remissis ostenditur*. More often *supercilium tollere, subducere*, etc., refer to the grave airs of offended virtue, as in Cic. Pis. ix. 20, Priap. 49. 4, Varro ap. Non. 399. Cf. the Greek *ὀφρὺς ἀνασπᾶν*, Acharn. 1069 *τὰς ὀφρὺς ἀνασπᾶκώς*, "Ὡς περ τι δεινὸν ἀγγελλᾶν, Fals. Leg. 442, Alexis ap. Mein. Com. Fragm. iii. p. 391, Kock ii. p. 303, *αἶψα* Menander ap. Mein. iv. 82, Kock iii. pp. 15, 131, iv. 205, Diphilus ap. Mein. iv. 415, Kock ii. p. 569, *ἐκταίρει* Baton ap. Mein. iv. 502, Kock iii. p. 328, in which the prevailing idea is of philosophic or magisterial pride. In Eq. 631 *καθλαψε νῆπυ καὶ τὰ μέτωπ' ἀνίστασεν* anger is meant as here, cf. the Schol. on Vesp. 655 *τὰς ὀφρὺς αἶψα ἰδὸς τοῖς ἀγγιζομένοις*. The physiognomist edited by Rose (Anecd. Graeca p. 16) mentions eyebrows reaching upwards towards the forehead as a sign of a passionate disposition. *rubra* refers either to the colour of the eyebrows, cf. Alexis ap. Mein. iii. 423, Kock ii. p. 329, *τὰς ὀφρὺς πυρρὰς ἔχει τις* (so, seemingly, Munro), or to the reddening of the brow common in anger.

47. Vulp. and Forcellini take *Longus homo* to be = *stultus* like Theocritus' *ἀνὴρ τρισκαιδεκάπηχυν* xv. 17, and the latter compares *longurio*. But Nonius 131, the only authority for the word, merely says *longurio* = *longus*, and nothing in the passage quoted by him from Varro's Triphallus implies any such notion of stupidity. Conr. de Allio seems to be more right in explaining *Longus homo* of the tall stature and long limbs of this wrongly-accused suitor: so LXXXVI. 1. *magnas . . . puerperium*, 'who was once assailed by a lengthy process at law for the supposed pregnancy of an enlarged womb.' He had been accused of *stuprum* with a woman who from the external signs of pregnancy was believed to have had a child by him. Such seems to me the natural meaning of the words: the commentators generally explain them of a legal process

<sup>1</sup> The edition of Statius, to whom the emendation is generally attributed, did not appear till 1566.

brought against him for recovery of property which he had obtained under false pretences, as *heres* of some one with whom he was not really connected by ties of blood. On this view the *puerperium* is that of his supposed mother. *lites*, not merely the costs, but the whole legal process with all its details: similarly Horace S. i. 7. 5 says *Persius . . . habebat . . . lites cum Rege molestas*. Cic. uses *inferre litem* Cluent. xli. 116.

48. The line recalls Horace's taunt addressed to Canidia Epod. xvii. 50 *Tuusque uenter Pactumeius, et tuo Cruore rubros obstetrix pannos laui Vtuncque fortis exsulis puerpera*.

## EXCURSUS ON LXVII. 12.

MSS give

*Verum istius (isti) populi ianua qui te facit.*

IN ed. 1 I suggested that *facit* might possibly be used in its technical sense of *sacrificing*. Cic. de Domo sua xxix. 77 *Quaquam ubi tu te popularem nisi cum pro populo fecisti, potes dicere?* where all MSS omit *pro*. Iuven. ix. 117 *Pro populo faciens quantum Saufeia bibebat*, offering for the people as a Vestal virgin. Legg. ii. 9. 21 *Nocturna mulierum sacrificia ne sunt praeter olla, quae pro populo rite fient*, where A the best MS has *pro* above the line, H (the Leyden MS) omits it entirely. Att. i. 12. 3 *cum pro populo* (*populi* cod. Tornaesianus) *fieret*. Verg. Ecl. iii. 77 *Cum faciam uitula pro frugibus*.

If the indications of MSS in de Dom. xxix. 77, Legg. ii. 9. 21 may be trusted, the Romans said not only *facere pro populo*, but *facere populo*. Catullus then might describe the door as sacrificing to the service of the people, *isti populo ianua facit*. Or, in another sense, compare the words of Aeschines Fals. Leg. 153 *φήμη μὲν γάρ ἐστιν, ὅταν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτόματον ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς προφάσεως λέγῃ τινὰ ὡς γεγενημένην πρᾶξιν συκοφαντία δ' ἐστίν, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς ἀνὴρ αἰτίαν ἐμβάδων ἔν τε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσας πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν διαβάλλῃ τινά. Καὶ τῇ μὲν φήμῃ δημοσίᾳ ὅνομεν ὡς θεῷ, τῶν δὲ συκοφαντῶν ὡς κακούργων δημοσίᾳ προβολὰς ποιούμεθα*. 'Popular rumour, by which I mean the spontaneous voice of the mass of citizens, is a Power so influential that we offer public sacrifice to it as to a god.' From this point of view, the door might be said to make sacrifice to the people, as bearing the blame of any public scandal affecting the house to which it belongs.

It is impossible to say what *qui te* may have been. *Quinte* at least gives that personal and real character which Catullus almost always stamps upon his poems: for without it we should have nothing to indicate who the second interlocutor was (Schulze). *Quiippe* (Munro, Schulze, Postgate), *rite* (Novak) cannot be said to have much probability. As for *populi*, which the above theory regards as an error for *populo*, an exactly similar error is to be found in the MSS of Pseud. iv. 7. 28 *populo* the Ambrosianus rightly, *populi* B and the other MSS.

It is of course obvious that this meaning is compatible with the ordinary one, and is only a secondary suggestion of the words. 'No one can mention any offence on my part: but your mob has its culprit and its peace-offering—the house-door; and if some uncanny deed comes anywhere to light, it is I to whom they one and all cry aloud, "Door, the blame is with you."'

Amongst the numerous emendations proposed may be mentioned Heyse's

*Verum istud populi uana querela facit,*

which B. Schmidt hardly improves by substituting *loquella* for *querella*.

EXCURSUS ON LXVII. 33, 34.

MSS give

*Brixia Chinae suppositum specula*

*Flauus quam molli percurrit flumine Melo.*

GAGLIARDI<sup>1</sup> in his learned discussion on this passage, *Giornale di Letterati d' Italia* vol. xxx. pp. 39-51 (Venice 1718), shows that in his time a hill called *Cigneo* overlooked Brescia, which from its position on the most elevated part of the city and the view of the surrounding country obtainable from it might well be called *specula*. On the top of this hill was a tower called *Mirabella*, which Ottavio Bagatto or Octavius Pantagathus, a Brescian philologist of the sixteenth century, had, when consulted on the passage of Catullus by Statius (Estatu), identified with the *Chinae specula*. Bagatto however does not seem to have heard of the name *Cigneo*. Gagliardi quotes also the *Chronica de Rebus Brixianorum* of Helias Capreolus (Capriolo), a writer of the fifteenth century, who died at an advanced age in 1519. Of this work there is a copy in the Bodleian printed about 1500 or perhaps a little later. It contains several references to the *Chinae*, all of which I give here<sup>2</sup>:

p. xlv.<sup>a</sup> bottom, under the year 1332: *Brixiae arcem in chinae collis apice ab eo (Lucino) in meliorem fortiam (sic) redactam conueniunt.*

p. l.<sup>b</sup>: *profundam satis latamque inter utrumque murum fossam per transversum ualidissimis repagulis contra utramque arcem pilarum s. et Chinaeae collis munire.*

p. l.<sup>b</sup>: *Vt uix sex cum equitibus Brixiam mox aduolauerit. Quem ciues uidentes miseratione moti magna pecunia donauere. q̄ postea opportuna suppellectile se communiuit: Atque coniectis demum multis in arcem super chinnaeae bombardarum lapidibus Segundonum in ea adhuc pro Catharina praefectum per nuntios admonet.* This was in 1404.

p. lii.<sup>a</sup> 1421: *Qua tempestate Frater Bernardinus Senensis ex ordine minorum qui postea sanctus est habitus Brixiam applicuit et in loco sancti Francisci habitauit: aedem Diui Apollini extra urbem instaurari: et multa peccata sed praecipue usuras a ciuibz ling suis concionibus atque exhortationibus impetrauit: Anno autem ab his gestis secundo Carcietae arx una cum urbeculae moenibus pontibus et propugnaculis ab ipsa arce usque ad extremos urbis muros: et item ab ipsa arce usque iuxta aedem diui Lucae et ab inde usque sub arce magna in collis chinnaeae apice iussu Philippi extracta est.*

In the two last of these extracts the name is spelt with double *n*, *Chinn(a)ea*, in the two first with one, *Chin(a)ea*, as in the MSS of Catullus. The first of them, if Capriolo followed some contemporaneous

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Schulze.

<sup>2</sup> This edition contains twelve books. The Bodleian has another edition without date but reprinted in the 18th century, from Graevius and Burmann's *Thesaurus Antiquitatis Italicarum* vol. ix (1723). This edition contains two extra books, purporting to come from MSS in the Ottoboni Library, or at Brescia.

chronicler or chroniclers (*conueniunt*), might seem to carry back the name to 1332. Had it existed through the middle ages, or was it revived after the discovery of Catullus' poems early in the fourteenth century? I cannot find any allusion to *Cigneo* in Capriolo's *Chronica*.

The same writer makes particular mention of the *Melo*, which he distinguishes from the *Mella*, as a stream running *within* the walls of Brixia, whereas the *Mella* was outside the walls.

fol. iii.<sup>a</sup>: *Fontium item purissimorum et in urbe et uniuerso fere agro passim scaturientium tanta est copia ut nemini habitantium optimae Fontis aquae aestiuo etiam tempore ulla uideatur inopia. Adde non modo ad necessitatem uerum etiam ad uoluptatem singulis fere ciuibz fontes cedere non ambigimus. Mellam denique Cartiam (alias Melonem) et alios torrensis agrum hunc nostrum feliciter percurrere conspiciamus. Qui tametsi aliquando infesti uideantur plurimum tamen commodi suis praesertim irrigationibus praestant. Atq. et de ipso Mella Virgilius loquens ait Tonsis in uallibus illum Pastores et curua legunt prope flumina Mellae. Sed de Melone Catullus Brixia Chinnaea supposita in specula: Flauus quam molli percurrit flumine Melo. Melo enim ibi contra Parthenium quandam Catulli commentatorem legi debet: non Mella: Nam Mella nusquam percurrit Brixiam sed Melo: et hic quidem fere semper Flauus non auct. ille.*

fol. lxxx.<sup>a</sup> A. 1492: *Caeterum tempestate illa quum superbissimas admodum aedes ad forum magnum supra Garciae alueum ciuitas nostra construere decreuisset. v. Martii cccclxxxii. Paulus Zane episcopus noster magna cleri et populi caterua comitatus magistratibusque urbis assistentibus primum in fundamento lapidem posuit.*

fol. lxxi.<sup>a</sup>: *Sequenti uero Maio Mella fluuius noster montanis imbris ita excreuit ut submersis omnibus finitimis praediis in foueas usque urbis maximo impetu deflueret: uiasque ac domos intra urbem et ipsius Mellae alueum ita inundaret ut absque cymbula a loco ad locum nemo transire posset.*

A map is prefixed to this early edition of Capriolo. In it the Gartia or Melo is figured as a small stream running through Brixia from N.W. to S., and after some time joining the Mella. The Mella itself is drawn as a large stream flowing outside the town, to the West.

Jo. Chrysostom Zanchi in his treatise *De Origine Oroborum siue Cemonorum*, Venice 1531 p. 47<sup>b</sup>, seems to be the first who mentions *Cycnea* as a v. l. in the passage of Catullus. *Itaque primum Catullianos illos uersus attendite; quibus apertissime admodum Cydneam originem innuit dicens.*

*Atqui non solum hoc se dicit cognitum habere*

*Brixia Cycnea supposita in specula.*

*Quo dicto declarare nobis uoluit poeta lepidissimus principem illius arcis summo in collis cacumine positae fundatorem ac conditorem fuisse Cydnum illum Liguris filium quem Graeci Cycnum uocant: ut postea docebimus; quippe quae ad C. usque Caesaris tempora, quibus Catullum floruisse plane compertum est; proprio nomine ab auctore Cycnea specula cognominaretur: ut habent non nulla haud contemnendae uetustatis exemplaria, non autem Cichonia, aut Chinnea, quod in libris minus accurate scriptis reperiri solet.*

ib. p. 61: *Harum igitur tertiam quam posteriores Brixiam appellarunt; antiquissimis temporibus a Cydno Liguris filio fuisse conditam, superiori in*

*consensu ex Catulliano carmine satis aperte demonstrauius: non tamen totam a Cydno conditam asseruimus: sed eam duntaxat ciuitatis partem, quae in collis molliter ascendenti capite posita est. quum eam ipsam Catullus a conditore Cycneam speculam cognominarit: et prisci etiam auctores tradant (ut antea de Como iam diximus) fuisse hoc in more positum, institutoque maiorum, ut ueteres illi coloniarum duces editis in locis urbes maxime conderent: atque eas quidem adeo paruas atque humiles, ut acropoles potius, uel oppida uiderentur; quam ciuitates; quas nunc cernimus amplissimas, ac locupletissimas. quemadmodum latissime paret ex iis quae de Roma, Neapoli; Florentia, Mediolanoque, tam Graeci quam Latini auctores litterarum monumentis prodidere. quo circa non incommode fortasse dixerim reliquam eisdem ciuitatis portionem, quae ad radices collis illius plano in loco sita est; pulcherrimisque moenibus circunsepta, quamque ille poeta Cycnea in specula suppositam dixit; subcisiuis deinde temporibus, diuersis a regibus, exterisque nationibus sensim auctam fuisse; atque amplificatam.*

Zanchi then knew the v. l. *Cycnea*, and had found it in some MSS of Catullus. Like many other scholars of that time he overrates the antiquity of these: the large examination which I have made of the MSS of Catullus enables me to state that *cycnea* is not found in any of primary importance: and if Zanchi read it in any codex it must have been late and interpolated. But it is noticeable that he nowhere says anything of the name *Cigneo* as existing in his own time at Brescia. It was equally unknown, as we have seen, to Bagatto<sup>1</sup>, some thirty or forty years later (1566).

In the seventeenth century however it was the recognized name of a hill in the neighbourhood of Brescia. This is clear from the note of Voss, and is distinctly stated by Ottavio Rossi in his *Memorie Bresciane* 1693.

p. 2. 'Pausanias (i. 30. 3) and many other Greek and Latin writers make the ancient Cignus to have been king of these parts. We preserve the name of this king in the name of our hill Cigneo, which is the hill of the castle, thus farther described by Catullus:

*Brixia Cycnea supposita in specula.'*

p. 14. 'Many have believed that the city (Brescia) did not occupy a larger space than that it now possesses. Others hold that it was smaller, and scarcely extending beyond the roots of the Cigno.'

p. 220. 'Brescia, placed at the roots of the hill Cigno on the South and West, has not more than three miles in circuit. On the top of the hill is a very strong fortress, commonly called the Falcon of Lombardy. The city has five gates, and is divided into four parts; through its centre runs the streamlet Garza, called by the ancients Melo, which in spite of not being navigable is none the less of great service to many kinds of workmen; and as this water serves the city as a drain, the plains in the vicinity which receive it attain the highest possible fertility.'

The sum of these passages is that (1) the name *Cigno* was known in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as that of a hill or height at Brescia; (2) that the earliest allusion to it is in Zanchi's work *De Origine Orobiurum* 1531; (3) that it does not occur in the fifteenth century Chronicle of Capriolo, who always speaks of the *Chinneæ*.

<sup>1</sup> Yet Bagatto was a Brescian himself, and the instructor of Onuphrio Panvinio, one of the greatest of Italian archaeologists.

It seems a plausible inference that the *conjecture* of Zanchi on the v. of Catullus was the real origin of the name *Cigno*. It would then be a case in which a learned but mistaken explanation supplanted the real name.

On the other point it is interesting to find that Capriolo in the fifteenth century is supported by Rossi in the seventeenth and Gagliardi in the eighteenth. All these agree in distinguishing the Melo, which Gagliardi knew in his own day as *Melone*, from the Mella, a mile outside the walls. As regards the assertion of Capriolo that the Melo was yellow, and that the Mella was not, it is confirmed by a personal inspection which I made in 1878 of the Mella in September. The colour of the water, then much shrunk and reduced to a thin stream, was blue. But this would not prove that when swollen with rains it might not become turbid, and assume a yellow hue.

## LXVIII.

I HAVE shown in my first volume that this poem falls into two quite separable parts 1-40, 41-160, each written at a different time. For (1) in 31-40 Catullus tells his friend he cannot send him any gift of verse, whereas in 41-160 he sends him an elaborate encomion of more than 120 lines; (2) Mallius is *caelebs* in 1-8; he has a wife or a mistress in 155; (3) 1-40 are written in an ordinary style, 41-148 are elaborately constructed and evidently framed on a Greek model; (4) in 1-40 the name of Catullus' friend is twice given (11, 30) as Malius or Mallius, in 41-160 it is three times written Allius (41, 50, 150), once doubtfully, Allius *marg.* manlius in the Oxford MS (*O*), Manlius or Malius in the rest; (5) the same five verses on the death of Catullus' brother recur first in 20-24, again in 94-98; an indication on the one hand that the two parts were not written simultaneously, on the other that they *are* parts of the same poem. For, as A. Palmer well points out, it is not in the manner of Catullus to plagiarize from himself; and nothing could be a stronger proof of poverty of invention than the recurrence in two completely distinct poems of five identical verses.

It will be seen from this that I do not accept the theory of Ramler (1793), revived by Fröhlich, Bergk and Schwabe, and recently enforced by Schulze, Munro and Bährens, that LXVIII. 1-40 form *a whole completely distinct* from LXVIII. 41-160. With Lachmann, Haupt, L. Müller, Kiessling, Magnus, Schöll, Harnecker, and two of the latest editors of the poems Riese and B. Schmidt, I still maintain the substantial unity of the whole; a unity perfectly compatible with its separableness into two, or perhaps (as suggested in my 1878 edition of the poems, and maintained on independent grounds by Magnus (*Jahrbücher* for 1875, p. 849) and B. Schmidt), three parts, the last twelve verses forming a kind of Epilogus as 1-40 form a kind of Proem (Schmidt pp. cxxvi, cxxvii). The interconnexion indeed of the supposed distinct poems is palpable. For, to say nothing of the repetition of the five verses on the death of his brother, the obvious purpose of which is to bring 41-148 into relation with 1-40,

the elaborate composition beginning with 41 and ending with 148, not only forms a sequel which in subject and allusion is a natural outcome of 1-40, but a sequel which cannot possibly be dis severed from the verses which precede it in the MSS. Nowhere in the extant poems of Catullus can any ending be shown so abrupt as *Vltro ego deferrem copia si qua foret* becomes on the separatist view; nowhere a beginning so startling as *Non possum reticere, deae, qua me Allius in re Iuuerit*. This point, on which I lay much stress, is completely ignored by Bährens and Munro. To them the difficulty which attaches to the name of Catullus' friend who is called Manlius or Malius in 1-40, Allius<sup>1</sup> in 41-160 outweighs all other considerations.

Lachmann solved this difficulty by writing *Manius* in 1-40 as a praenomen. This is against all MSS, and though accepted by Haupt and B. Schmidt is now generally abandoned. A. Palmer believes that the name Allius<sup>1</sup> in the central division of the poem was assumed to serve as a disguise. But if, as B. Schmidt suggests, Catullus in 41-160 uses only the *nomen* of his friend, cf. 150, 151 *Pro multis, Alli, redditur officiis, Ne uestrum scabra tangat rubigine nomen*, it seems incredible that he should take so much trouble to preserve to eternal memory a *disguised* name. Allius must have been the real *nomen*. What then are we to say of the other name *Mallius*? Possibly without being actually a *praenomen* it served for one. Mommsen shows how names originally gentilician became *praenomina* and again passed into their former condition as gentilician. Numerius and Statius were names of this kind: from *nomina* they early became *praenomina*, then again *nomina*. Postumus, one of the original *praenomina* mentioned by Varro, had in Varro's time ceased to be so used: in Horace it appears as a *cognomen*. The words of the treatise *de praenominibus* should teach us caution in speaking of so hazardous a subject as Roman names. *Animaduerto enim in consulum fastis perplexum usum praenominum et cognominum, fuisse dictum Postumum Cominium Auruncum et Postumum Aebutium Eluam et Vopiscum Iulium et Opitrem Virginium Tricostum et Paulum Fabium Maximum. Quin etiam quaedam cognomina in nomen uersa sunt, ut Caepio: namque hoc in Bruto nominis locum obtinuit.* Cicero tells an illustrative story of a Numerius Quintius escaping imminent death by the ambiguity of his name, *cum quaererent alii Numerium, alii Quintium, gemini nominis errore seruatus est*. Numerius, originally a gentilician name, had long been a recognized *praenomen*: but, it would seem, was still a gentilician name also; hence a doubt would arise which was meant. This doubt would be increased by the other name Quintus. It would be caught up by the mob and changed to Quintus: indeed, if Asconius and the Bobbian scholiast are right, the man's real name was not, as Cicero states, Quintus at all, but Quintus Numerius Rufus (Ascon. in Pison. § 35, Schol. Bob. in Sest. § 72, p. 303 Orelli). Something similar may have been the case with Mallius (not *Manlius*, as Munro tacitly assumes) Allius. He happened to combine two names, exactly similar in sound: the names would of course be perpetually confused:

<sup>1</sup> It is not certain that the name *Mallius* did not occur in this division; for though the Oxford MS (O) gives *Allius* marg. *Manlius* in 66, all the other MSS agree in *Malius* or *Manlius*. And the allusion to the *Malian* hot springs in 56, only two lines before the occurrence of *Malius* in 66, might be designed.

the confusion was just the thing to serve the purposes of an intrigue; it was used so; and the perplexity of which the lovers availed themselves to screen their amour remains to puzzle the poet's readers to the present day<sup>1</sup>.

What then are the conditions under which 1-40 were written? Mallius the host and friend of Catullus 12, cf. 66-71, whom he had assisted in prosecuting his amour with Lesbia by providing a house at Rome where the lovers might meet, 70, had, whilst suffering from the grief caused by the loss of his own wife or mistress, written to Catullus for consolation, asking him to send him a poem speaking of love 10, perhaps also for a loan of books 33-40. Mallius had taken the opportunity of remonstrating with the poet on his stay at Verona, either as debarring him from the amorous pursuits natural to his temperament and position in society, or as preventing him from interfering in the scandalous career upon which Lesbia had now entered. (See note on 27-30.) Catullus, in the forty beginning lines which form his direct reply to the letter of Mallius, professes his inability to comply with his friend's demand, (1) because his brother's untimely death makes any thought of love or love-poetry impossible; (2) because not being at Rome he has only a part of his library with him.

This section of the poem then was written at Verona<sup>2</sup>, shortly after the death of the poet's brother. The second part 41-160 must have been composed considerably later; for in the interval Mallius had ceased to be *caelebs*, and Catullus had sufficiently recovered his ordinary tone to elaborate 'a combined gift of the Muses and Venus' in the most approved style of recondite Alexandrianism, in which his own passion for a woman more guilty than himself is illustrated by a parallel from Greek mythology, the unhappy love of Laodamia for Protesilaus. Into this theme, which might remind Allius of his own loss, is interwoven Catullus' inconsolable grief for his lost brother, but only in a subordinate way, as if to show that the feeling which had, in the first instance, obliged the poet to write back a refusal to his friend, was still at work now that grief had sobered down and Catullus could resume at least the more mechanical part of his office as a poet. For intricate and consequently interesting as this *Epistolium* is, it cannot for a moment rank with the higher efforts of our poet's Muse.

It is a noticeable fact in connexion with the *Encomion Alli* that we can point with more certainty than usual to one of the Greek models on which it was framed. Catullus must have been reading while composing

<sup>1</sup> This is of course only one of various possibilities. The family of Allius may have been plebeian, and Mallius may have been the *praenomen* as in the instances collected by Marquardt *Römisch. Alterthüm.* i. p. 12. ed. 2, Novius Vibius, Salvius Cominius, Statius Rains, Trebius Caius, Vibius Veditus; only one of these, Statius, is included in the list of *praenomina* given by the *auctor de praenominibus* annexed to Valerius Maximus. The tendency to combine names of similar sound seems to have been particularly Sabine, Titus Tatius, Volesus Valesius, &c. The writer of *praenominibus* seems to mention Alius as one of the Sabine *praenomina*, but the text is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. B. Donne thought LXVIII was written at Sirmio. This seems possible, if not for 1-40, perhaps for the remainder: at least it is unlikely that with a retreat so congenial to sorrow and seclusion in the immediate vicinity of Verona, Catullus should not have availed himself of it.



it the 'Ελένης' Εγκώμιον of Isocrates. Compare the allusion to Castor and Pollux in 65 with 'Ελ. 'Εγκ. 218. Helen became an immortal and received the power of a god, by which she raised her brothers to gods and οὕτως αὐτοῖς τὰς τιμὰς ἐναργίως ἔδωκεν, ὥσθ' ὁρωμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κινδυνεύοντων σώζειν οἷτινες ἂν αὐτοὺς εὐσεβῶς ἐπικαλίσσωνται. In 89 Troy is called *communis sepulcrum Asiae Europaesque*. Isocrates twice emphasizes the position of Troy as the battle-ground of Asia and Europe; 216 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οὐχ ὑπὲρ 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Μενελάου φιλονεικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Ασίας οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Εὐρώπης; 229 εὐρήσομεν γὰρ τοὺς 'Ελλήνας δι' αὐτὴν ὁμοιοῦσαντας καὶ κοινὴν στρατείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιησαμένους, καὶ τότε πρῶτον τὴν Εὐρώπην τῆς 'Ασίας τρώπαιον στήσασαν. Again in 140 Jupiter is described as *amorous*. Compare with this 'Ελ. 'Εγκ. 217 Ζεὺς ὁ κρατῶν πάντων ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐνδείκνυται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ κάλλος ταπεινὸς γιγνώμενος ἀξιοὶ πλησιάζειν, and Alcmena, Danae, Nemesis, Leda are cited as examples.

It would seem that the poem was composed at an early though not the earliest period of the amour with Lesbia. She had ceased to be faithful to Catullus; but her errors were still confined to a few, 135 *Rara uerecundae furta feremus herae*. She is still dearer to the poet than his own self, and while she lives he finds a pleasure in living 159, 160. Hence Jungclaussen, who assigns the earliest love-poems to the years 692-694 v.c., 62-60 b.c., considers that LXVIII falls in 694 | 60, to which year he also assigns the death of Catullus' brother. Schwabe concurs on this latter point with Jungclaussen but, believing that the last part of the poem was written first, assigns vv. 41-160 to the year 60, vv. 1-40 to 59. Couat, *Étude* p. 250, leaves a larger margin, and places it between 65-57 b.c.

I have used for this poem the special commentaries of Santen (1788) and A. Weise (1869).

1-14. 'Your letter written under the grief of losing her you love and in circumstances which made the consolations of poetry impossible, was acceptable as proving that you consider me a real friend, by asking me to make up for your losses by writing to you of love, and sending you a poem of my own. Yet I cannot comply with your request, for my own happiness is shipwrecked.'

1. *Quod . . . mittis*, formal commencement of a letter as Fam. vi. 7. 1 *Quod tibi non tam celeriter liber est redditus, ignosce timori nostro et miserere temporis*. Nipperdei has collected from Cicero's Letters eight pages of instances of this *Quod* (Opusc. 135-143).

2. *Conscriptum lacrimis*, not 'tear-scrawled,' but as in Caesar B. G. v. 48 *Epistulam Graecis conscriptam litteris*, 'written in tears' instead of ink (Vulp.). Flor. ii. 2. 14 *licet nihil scripserit sanguine*, in allusion to Othryades' writing in blood on a shield. Sen. Consol. ad Marc. i *libros quos sanguine suo scripserit*. hoo, Catullus has Mallius' letter before him. *epistolium*, ἐπιστόλιον Plut. Cato 24. Usener shows (Epicurea p. 146) that the word is often used of Epicurus' letters.

8. *Naufragum*, mainly in reference to love, a sense which is often found in the Greek Anthology v. 161. 4, 235. 5; with a more general idea Philodemus περὶ κακιῶν col. 18 *ναυαγῶν ἐν ἀπασι*, Theophrastus (quoted by Ussing on Philodemus u. s.) ap. Diog. L. v. 55 ἐν τοῖς ἰδιώσι μάλα ναυαγηκότα. *electum*, 'thrown on shore,' Aen. iv. 373.

4. *Subleuem*, lift from the ground where you lie ship-wrecked. The word is common in the sense of relieving, e.g. in a letter of Metellus Celer's to Cicero Fam. v. 1. 1, and Cicero's reply v. 2. 9. *a mortis limine restituum*. Culex 224 *Restitui superis leti iam limine ab ipso*.

5. *sancta*, as in XXXVI. 3, Tib. iv. 13. 23 *Sed Veneris sanctae considam uinctus ad aras* is applied here to Venus as the goddess of faithful love.

6. *Desertum in lecto caelibe*, 'on the widower's couch where you lie forsaken.' *caelibe* probably means that he had lost his wife. *Caelibes* are defined by Quintilian i. 6. 36 *Qui grauissimo onere (uxore) carent*, cf. Acron on Hor. C. iii. 8. 1 *ut uiduae sine uiris, ita caelibes sine uxoribus dicuntur*; Cic. Legg. iii. 3. 7 *Censores prolem describunt, caelibes esse prohibendo*; so Laodamia writing to her husband says *lecto caelibe* Heroid. xiii. 107. *perpetitur*, 'endures,' a stronger word than *patitur*.

7. *ueterum scriptorum*. Fronto p. 18 Naber *nec uideo qui ueterum scriptorum quisquam me beator fuerit*, means the ancient authors of Rome. Catullus doubtless means the Greek poets, as Horace speaks of *ueterum libri* S. ii. 6. 61. Poetry is often mentioned as a cure for love, e.g. Theocr. xi. 1-3, Philoxenus ap. Philodemum *περί Μουσικῆς* Vol. Hercul. i. 15 (quoted by Bergk on Philox. fr. 7) *πόήματα δ' εἰ προαιρείται* (the love-sick patient) *διδόντω, καὶ φιλόξενον, εἰ τοῦτ' ἤνιπτετο, μὴ τελείως ψεύδεσθαι*. Plut. Symp. Quaest. i. 5. 1 *Ὅπου καὶ τὸν Κύκλωπα Μούσαις εὐφώνοις ἰασθαὶ φησι τὸν ἔρωτα φιλόξενος*.

8. *cum* here and in 32 *Haec tibi non tribuo munera cum nequeo* = 'since,' 'because.' Roby Latin Grammar § 1725 states that this use, which is common enough in Terence and Plautus, is not found after Cicero. *mens peruigilat*. Lucr. iv. 758 *mens animi uigilat*. *anxia*, 'for distress.' A variation of the idea of the soul keeping awake through the night is the Euripidean γόοισιν ὀρθρευομένα Suppl. 977 rising up betimes in the morning to weep.

9. Fronto p. 60 Naber *Vtique illud ipsum quod tanta ad me scripsisti, cum cras uenturus essem, id uero mihi longe fuit gratissimum, in eo ego me beatissimum supra omnis homines arbitratus sum; nam quanti me faceres, quantamque amicitiae meae haberes fiduciam, in eo maxime atque dulcissime ostendisti*.

10. 'You ask me to supply you with the two things you are at present in want of, poetry and the consolations of love.' This Catullus might have combined (*et-et*) by sending him a poem of his own composition, treating of some subject connected with love, presumably some story of unhappy affection, such as that of Laodamia, and working up into it his own or his friend's love-history. *Munera et Musarum et Veneris* would thus be virtually a hendiadys. For *Munera Musarum* = poems, cf. Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 243 *libros et ad haec Musarum dona*. Both expressions are Greek. Alcman fr. 37 *Τοῦθ' ἄδειν Μωσῶν ἔδειξεν Δῶρον μάκαιρα παρθένων*, Archil. fr. 1 *Καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος*, Theogn. 250 *Ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων*, cf. 1055-57, Solon 13. 51 *Βεργκ Μουσέων παρὰ δῶρα διδασθεῖς*, Anth. P. vii. 14. 8 *δῶρ' Ἑλικωνιάδων*; and for *Veneris munera* cf. the *μείλιχα δῶρα* of Hom. H. 10. 2, the *δῶρα φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης* H. Cer. 102, Theognis' *Κυπρογενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου* 1304, 1332, χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης δῶρα 1293, and a passage cited by Riese and closely resembling this one of Catullus, Anacr. 94. 3, 4

θεύσεων τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης Συμμίσγων. In all these the 'gifts of Venus' are the sensuous delights of love. Hence it would seem that Mallius may have asked Catullus to find him a new mistress; and that Catullus in the words *Munera et Musarum et Veneris* designedly chooses an expression which would cover his friend's request and his own more delicate interpretation of it. Or again, as it is clear from 27-29 that Catullus quotes the actual words of Mallius' letter, it is possible that he may be doing so in *Munera Musarum et Veneris*, and that the words are combined by a second *et* into a decorous ambiguity.

12. *hospitis officium* would most naturally mean the duty of a host, on which view Mallius must have asked Catullus to admit him to his house for a time. There is nothing in the poem which supports this view; it seems probable that Catullus means only 'the duty of a friend whom you have entertained,' viz. by providing the house in which the poet met Lesbia, 67 sqq.

13. *Accipe*, 'listen,' a common use from the earliest writers onwards. Lucil. ap. Non. 240 *Hoc etiam accipe quod dico, nam pertinet ad rem.* Hor. S. i. 4. 38 *Agedum pauca accipe contra.* *merser fluotibus* repeats the metaphor of 3, 4. *merser*, 'am plunged,' Lucr. v. 1308: Horace more closely Epist. i. 1. 16 *mersor ciuilibus undis*, Epist. i. 2. 22 *aduersis rerum inmersabilis undis.*

14. *dona beata*, 'the gifts of happiness,' viz. the amatory verses which I might write under happier circumstances. Similarly Prop. ii. 20. 25 *muneribus beatis*, 'gifts of the wealthy,' *aura beata*, 'breeze of the happy,' iv. 7. 60, see Hertzberg Q. P. p. 144, and cf. LXVI. 14.

15-26. 'When I first quitted boyhood, I allowed my life to have its spring, and was no stranger to the goddess of love and her bitter-sweet delights; but since the death of my brother I have given up all such pursuits: for with him all my pleasure is buried, and all our house in desolation.'

15. *uestis pura*, the toga worn by men, made of white wool, without ornament or colour, (Rich s. v.) as opposed to the *toga praetexta* of boys. Plin. H. N. viii. 194 *toga pura tirones induuntur.* *Togam puram dare* is used technically of admitting a boy to the status of manhood, Phaedr. iii. 10. 10, Cic. Att. v. 20. 9, ix. 6. 1, vi. 1. 12 where the day on which the ceremony usually took place is mentioned, the *Liberalia*, March 17. Cicero, his son, and his brother Quintus' son did not take the *toga uirilis* till after the completion of their sixteenth year; Vergil and Octavianus were 15, M. Antonius, son of the triumvir, 14 years old when they did so. (Marquardt Röm. Alterthüm. vii. part I. p. 129, ed.) Marquardt u. s. makes the completion of the seventeenth year the *terminus ad quem*; the time obviously varied with the different circumstances of the individual's bodily development, accident of birth-day, &c. After the assumption of the *toga pura* a youth became *uesticeps*, as before he was *inuestis*<sup>1</sup>. Both Propertius (iii. 15. 3, 4) and Statius (S. v. 2. 68 *Quem non corrumpit pubes effrena nouaeque Libertas properata togae?*) connect the assumption of the *toga pura* with the first introduction to the pursuits of love.

17. *Multa satis lusi*, 'I dallied with love at my will,' as below 156. Pomp. Inscriptt. 1781 *mea uita, meae deliciae, ludamus parumper.* This

<sup>1</sup> Is not this the explanation of Propertius' line *Ut mihi praetextae pudor est uelatus amictu?* The shamefacedness of the boy (*praetextae pudor*) is veiled by the fuller *sega* of the grown man (*amictu*).

agrees better with *non est dea nescia nostri* than with Munro to explain the words of love-poems as in LXI. 225, Ov. Am. iii. 1. 27, 8 *Quod tenerae content, lusit tua Musa, puellae, Prinaque per numeros acta iuuenta suos.* *non est dea nescia nostri*, like Cir. 242 *Non est Amathusia nostri Tam rudis*, seems to be an inversion of the prose *non sum nescius Veneris*, justified by the reciprocity of the relation; he who knows Love is known by Love. So Hesiod speaking of a somnolent man says φιλεῖ δέ ἐ μάλθακός ὕπνος.

18. 'She who mingles with her sorrows a honey-gall.' Sappho had called Eros γλυκύπικρον ὄρπετον fr. 40 Bergk, cf. Theogn. 1353 Πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὺς ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηγῆς . . . ἔρως. Plautus similarly Pseud. i. 1. 61 *Dulce amarumque una nunc misces mihi* of a lover receiving a letter from his mistress, and ff. 4. 1 *Dulcia atque amara apud te sum elocutus omnia. Scis amorem, scis laborem, scis egestatem meam*, cf. the play of words in *mel, fel* Poen. i. 2. 182, Cist. i. 1. 70, Truc. i. 2. 76, Romaunt of the Rose p. 86 Bell *For ever of love the siknesse Is meinde with swete and bitterness.*

22. *sepulta domus*. This seems to imply that Catullus had looked to his brother to continue the family name, and that he had died childless. For the expression cf. Anth. P. vii. 139. 1 Ἑκτορι μὲν Τροίῃ συγκάθων, 3 Πέλλα δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συναπώλετο. It is not unfrequent in the Greek orators. Lys. Epitaph. 60 ὡς συγκαταθαπτομένης τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας τῇ τούτων ἀρετῇ. Lycurg. c. Leocr. 50 συνετάφη τοῖς τούτων σώμασιν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἑλευθερία.

23. Romeo and Juliet iv. 5 *My child is dead And with my child my joys are buried.*

26. *studia atque delicias*. Cael. xix. 46 *Studia delectationis ludus iocus conuiuium.*

27-40. 'If then you write to me, "Catullus, you cannot stay at Verona without disgrace, for in your absence your Lesbia is the paramour of all the fashionables of Rome:" I reply that it is my misfortune, not my disgrace, so you must pardon me, if plunged as I am in mourning, I cannot bring myself to think of love. As to your other request for books, I have only a few here, because my ordinary residence is Rome, and my library is there. Be sure then that it is from no churlish or illiberal feeling that I disappoint you of a poem or a loan of books: I would gladly send you both unasked, if either were in my power.'

27-29. *Quare*. (1) 'Therefore as regards your writing "It is disgraceful for Catullus to be at Verona, because here (i.e. at Rome, or perhaps Baiae) every one of any fashion has been warming the limbs that lie cold on a forsaken bed,"' i.e. has consoled Lesbia for Catullus' absence by becoming in turns her paramour. This is the ordinary view, and is confirmed by the correspondence between the two parts of the poem, perceptible throughout: both mention Mallius' friendship to Catullus, the death of Catullus' brother, and the passion of the poet for Lesbia. An objection has been raised on the ground that Mallius cannot have written from Rome, if he asks for a loan of books, which he might either buy at a book-shop or borrow from a friend or from Catullus' own library there. This is true, if we assume Mallius to have known all the details of the poet's life, or to have written with such knowledge in his thoughts; but we cannot be sure that he did write from Rome; he may have been at Baiae, as Prof. Jowett and Munro independently believed.

(2) Others refer *hic* in 28 to Verona where Catullus was at the time; 'it is disgraceful to Catullus to be at Verona, because in Verona every man of fashion is condemned to freeze on a solitary bed,' i.e. is unable to follow the pursuits of a man of pleasure. This has the advantage (a) of giving *tepefacere* its proper meaning of slightly, as opposed to thoroughly, warming, Prop. i. 13. 26 *non tepidas faces*; Hor. C. i. 4. 19 *quo calet iuuentus Nunc omnis, et mox uirgines tepebunt*; (b) of making *Frigida* and *deserto* not only mutually explain each other, but both refer to the subject of *tepefacit*, instead of a different subject to be supplied from the general meaning of the poem; cf. A. A. iii. 70 *Frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus*; but why should amours be forbidden at Verona? Were morals more rigid? (Bährens) or the attractions of the sex less considerable? (Riese). The former is refuted by the scandals of the Veronese house in LXVII, the latter by the Aufilenus and Aufilena of C.

27. Munro thought the two-and-a-half verses *Veronae turpe Catulle—cubili* were an extract from Mallius' letter, which itself was in elegiac verse. The vocative *Catulle* of MSS is in favor of this: also *turpe*, to which it is less harsh to supply *est* than to make *Esse* do double duty.

28. *Esse*, 'to be staying,' as often in Cicero, e.g. Att. viii. 11. B. 2 *Veni Capuam ad Nonas Februar. Cum fuisset triduum, recepi me Formias*. *hic* is not in itself determinative. It might be the place where Mallius or where Catullus was staying: the uncertainty is increased by the doubt attaching to *tepefacit* in 29. But on the whole it seems better to explain *hic* of the place where Mallius was at the time he wrote to Catullus. If, indeed, with Munro, the vocative *Catulle* is retained in 27 with *tepefecit* or *tepefactat*<sup>1</sup> in 29, *hic* cannot be Verona, and must be the place whence Mallius wrote, whether Rome or, as Munro thought, Baiae. *quisquis*, 'everybody,' nearly as in Fam. vi. 1. 1 *quocumque in loco quisquis est*, and as *quicumque* often. The neuter *quidquid*, used thus indefinitely, is common: *quidquid come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens*, Cic. in his *Limon* describing Terence (Suet. Vit. Terentii), and cf. *summu quidquid, unum quidquid, ubi quidquid*, in Lucretius. Lachmann, however, on Lucr. v. 264, says: 'sed unus quisquis nemo dixit, neque aut Cicero in epistularum vi. 1. 1 scribere potuit quocumque in loco quisquis est aut Catullus (in the present passage) quisquis pro quibus:' and he therefore writes here *quibus*. Munro prefers to retain *quisquis* and add *est* after *nota*. It seems hazardous to alter; such a distinction of masc. and neuter, though certainly not arbitrary, might give way to the convenience or mannerism of the writer; possibly we have here a provincialism, like the patavinisms of Livy. *de meliore nota*, such as Caelius and the other young men of fashion whom Clodia kept about her, as Cic. shows in the *pro Caelio*. Munro, who cites Fam. vii. 29. 1 *nos de meliore nota commenda*, Petron. 116 *urbanioris notae homines*.

29. *Frigida* is explained by *deserto*, as in Ov. Am. iii. 5. 42 *Frigidus in uacuo destituere toro*, A. A. iii. 70 *Frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus*. In all three cases the two adjectives refer to the same person, here Lesbia.

<sup>1</sup> *tepefacta* is the reading of *La*<sup>2</sup>, *tepefactat* is given as a second reading in a Venice codex, of which Schulze has given a collation in *Hermes* for 1888, pp. 567-591. He calls it M. It is numbered cartac. 107, class. xii. cod. lxxx.

Ben Jonson *The Silent Woman* iv. 2 *She that now excludes her lovers may live to be a forsaken beldame in a frozen bed.* Munro less probably explains *Frigida membra* of Lesbia's lovers 'whoever is a man of fashion (*quisquis de meliore notast*) has been warming his limbs on the bed you have abandoned.' *tepefacit* (so Lachm. for *tepefacit* of MSS) is *orat. obliq.* of the perfect; Mallius is represented as telling Catullus what *has been going on* with Lesbia before the time at which he (Mallius) writes. *tepefacit* but *tepefaciet* LXIV. 360. So *madescit* LXIV. 368. The word is not necessarily used of partial warmth, A. A. ii. 360 *Hospitii* (Paridis) *est tepido nocte recepta sinu*, Ibis 136 (138) *tepidus Ganges, frigidus Ister erit.*

30. *turpe, miserum*, an ordinary antithesis. Cic. de Har. Resp. xxiii. 49, quoted by Vulp. *Nam si Cn. Pompeio, viro uni omnium fortissimo quicunque nati sunt, miserum magis fuit quam turpe, quamdiu ille tribunus plebis fuit, lucem non aspicere, carere publico.* *magis*, 'rather,' LXVI. 87.

31. Imitated by Propertius i. 11. 19 *Ignosces igitur, si quid tibi triste libelli Attulerint nostri.*

33. *Nam*, passing to another part of Mallius' request. The line has been explained as merely adding another ground for not sending a poem: Cat. would then mean, 'I say nothing of another reason I have for withholding verses: my books are most of them at Rome, and only a small box has followed me here. I am thus without the proper Greek models of composition' (Riese, Bährens). But the pronounced word *utriusque* in 39, and even more strongly *Vltro ego deferrem* are clear in favor of the common view (accepted by Munro) that Cat. is here answering another request of Mallius, to send him books. *scriptorum*, masc. *copia*. Ov. Trist. iii. 14. 37 *Non hic librorum, per quos inuiter alarque, Copia.* Hor. Epist. i. 18. 110 *bona librorum Copia.*

34. So Cicero ad Fam. ix. 1. 2 *Scito enim me, posteaquam in urbem uenerim, redisse cum ueteribus amicis, id est, cum libris nostris, in gratiam.*

35. *sedes*. In the Digest L. 16. 203 *domus* is defined *ubi quisque sedes et tabulas haberet suarumque rerum constitutionem fecisset.*

36. *una ex multis*, 'one only,' 'only a single,' like *unus e multis* Hor. Ep. i. 6. 60. *capsula*, a small caps or circular box employed for the transport of books. Rich, who quotes Cic. Divin. in Caecil. xvi. 51, Hor. S. i. 4. 22, 10. 63. Such small cases would naturally be taken on a journey. Cf. Plut. Cato 20 *Παραλαβὼν βιβλία καὶ φιλοσόφους ἐβάδισεν εἰς Λευκαδίαν.*

37. *mente maligna*, as in Plaut. Bacch. iii. 2. 17 *Malignus, largus, niggardly.*

38. *non satis ingenuo*, 'churlish.'

39. *petenti*, 'at your request,' the reading of all the MSS, is less prosaic than *petiti*. *copia posta est*, 'I have set at your disposal.' I have followed Voss in keeping *posta*; somewhat similarly Horace Epist. i. 18. 111 *Sed satis est orare louem, quae ponit et aufert*, cf. *reponere* with a dative of the person = to restore; Petronius Sat. 115 has *ponere consilium* which Bücheler notices as unusual, but which looks genuine, and is probably an expression of common or low life. The form *postus* is found four times in Lucretius i. 1059, iii. 857, 871, vi. 965 (Neue Formenl. ii.

p. 435). Most edd. alter *posta*; Munro thinks Fröhlich's *praestost* (*pslost*) the best correction, and so Riese.

**40. Vltro deferrem.** Pseud. iv. 8. 5 *Obuiam ei ultro deferam*. Hor. Epist. i. 12. 22 *Si quid pelet, ultro Defer*. Fam. xiii. 29. 5 *Vltro te ad me detulisse putabo*. Fam. xiii. 55. 1 *ultro ei detulerim legationem, cum multis potentibus denegassem*, which closely resembles Catullus.

**41 sqq.** Here begins the second part of the poem, an Encomion on Allius. It commences with an address to the Muses, like Theocritus' Encomion on Ptolemy, Id. xvii. 1.

**41-50.** 'Muses, I must declare the service Allius rendered me. Time shall not bury his zeal in oblivion. I will tell the story to you, and ye will tell it to posterity, that the name of Allius may grow in fame after death and nothing dim the record of his memory.'

**41. Non possum reticere.** Imitated by Ausonius Epist. xxiv. 48 Schenkl *Nec possum reticere iugum quod libera numquam Fert pietas deae*, the Muses; Homer addresses them so Il. ii. 485 *ἤμεις γὰρ θεαὶ ἐσμεν ἀρπεστέ τε ἴστε τε πάντα*, and so in Pindar *Ἕμνοι θεῶν = ἱμνοὶ Μουσῶν*, Isth. vii. 131. Stat. Theb. i. 3 *Vnde iubetis Ire deae?*

**43. Nec . . . tegat,** 'nor can time conceal,' a potential, as in Truc. v. 15 Schöll *Numquam hoc unum hodie efficiatur opus quin opus semper siet* compared with Pers. ii. 3. 19 *nil iam mihi noui Offerri pole quin sim peritus* (Holtze ii. p. 177), Tac. H. i. 84 *Caput imperii ad poenam uocare non hercule illi quos cum maxime Vitellius in nos ciēt, Germani audeant*. MSS agree in *Nec*, which is certainly the natural sequence of *Non possum reticere*, as in an Epigr. of Antipater of Sidon Anth. P. vii. 713. 3, 4 *Τοιγαροὶ μνήμης οὐκ ἡμβροτεν, οὐδὲ μελαίνης Νυκτὸς ὑπὸ σκιερῇ κωλύεται* (f. κωλύεται) πτέρυγι. [Munro prefers *Nec*, the conj. of Bährens, appealing to 150, 151 *Hoc tibi pro multis, Alli, reddidit officiis, Ne uestrum scabra tangat rubigine nomen*, &c., where however *Ne* is given by nearly all MSS, and *Nec* would be impossible]. *obliuiscens* seems abl. absolute, 'as the ages forget it,' i. e. bring forgetfulness of it. A similar personification of *years* in Petron. 135 *Musa loquentibus annis Tradidit*, of *mental research* Cic. Acad. Prior. xxiv. 76 *tot ingeniis tantisque studiis quaerentibus*. See Reid there.

**44. caeca,** 'blank,' see on LXIV. 207.

**45.** Callimachus H. Dian. 186. Wilamowitz *Εἰπέ, θεή, σὺ μὲν ἄμυν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτίρῳσιν αἰείω* exactly inverts Catullus' idea. The Muses are here the recorders of the poet, who dictates to them the verses in which the noble deeds of Allius are to be transmitted to posterity. The form of the expression recalls a passage of Plato's Symposium 189 *ἐγὼ οὖν πειράσομαι ὑμῶν εἰσηγήσασθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι ἔσεσθε*.

**46. carta anus** as *fama anus* LXXVII. 10: the paper here, as rumour there grows old to tell the story. Aesch. fr. 323 Nauck has *γέρον γράμμα*, Theocr. vii. 17 *γέρον πέπλος*, Od. xxii. 184 *γέρον σάκος*, Soph. O. C. 1259 *γέρον πινος*. Ciris 40 *Nostra tuum senibus loqueretur pagina saeculis* imitates Catullus. Martial is fond of using *senex* in this way, *senes nulli, cyni, &c.*

**49-50.** 'And that no spider weaving her gossamer web aloft may spin over Allius' forgotten name.' Perhaps with the idea of a monument, which from neglect becomes covered with cobwebs, an 'unswept stone besmeared with sluttish time,' Shakespeare Sonnets lv. 4. Neglect is often thus expressed, e. g. Od. xvi. 34 *Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ πονεῖν ἐνὶ*

ἐννοσίγαιον καὶ ἀράχνην κείται ἔχουσα. Theocr. xvi. 96 ἀράχνη δ' εἰς δαλ' αἰνίχην λεπτὰ διαστήσαντο. Prop. iii. 6. 33 *Pulvis et in vacuo texetur aranea lino.* tenuem telam. Mart. viii. 13. 15. *sublimis, ἀρραβύργος ἀράχνης* Hes. E. 775.

50. *deserto*, left to itself to moulder. Prop. ii. 6. 35, 36 *Sed non inopem ulsavit aranea fanum Et mala desertos occupat herba deos. opus faciat = neut.* opus, of a spider, as of a silk-worm Mart. viii. 33. 10. ἔργον αἰνίχην was an expression of the poet Callias<sup>1</sup> according to Nuklas s. v. αἰνίχης. See Bergk Pind. fr. 281 (268).

81-82. 'The Muses know what pangs I suffered from the goddess of love. And when I was at the height of my fever, and tears of passion drenched my cheeks, ceaseless as the brook which now dashes from the mountain, now courses along the valley, now passes through the haunts of men, bringing relief to the drought-parched traveller; then it was that Malhus came to my relief, like a favorable breeze to storm-tossed mariners. It was he who made a road to my passion, by furnishing a house where I might meet Lesbia.'

81. *duplex* is explained by Meursius Cyprus i. 8, Voss, and Bentley (see Theoc. l. i. c. 7 of a statue of Venus at Amathus in which the goddess was represented as an hermaphrodite, and Voss considers the reason of the epithet here to be in reference to the twofold character of the poet's amours. *utrumque qui non Lesbiam tantum, sed et complures deperiret.* Hesych. 'Ἀφροδίτης' Θεόφραστος μὲν τὸν Ἑρμαφρόδιτον φησιν, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀμαθύναν γράφει Πάριος εἰς ἄνδρα τὴν θεὸν ἐσχηματίζουσαν ἐν Ἀμαθύνῃ. Macrobius Sat. iii. 8. 1 *Ian Nonnullorum quae scientissime uisum esse mihi commemorando corrupimus dignitatem, ut quidam legunt: Lacuinus deo deo dicente dea flammam inter et hostes Expedior* (Aen. ii. 632) *nam sic fortissime dixerit, ducente deo non dea. Nam et apud Lacuinum Lacuinus adfirmat legendum, Pollentemque deum Venerem, non deum. Quamquam uisum eius est Cypri barbatum corpore, sed ueste muliebri, cum deperiret ut uisum uirili, et putant eandem marem ac feminam esse. Lacuinus uero Ἀφροδίτην appellat. Lacuinus etiam sic ait: Venerem quippe flammam adorans. Sive femina siue mas est (Seu femina siue mas est Haupe) *tu uero uisus Noctiluca est. Philochorus quoque in Atthide eandem adfirmat esse Lacuinem, et ei sacrificium facere uiros cum ueste muliebri, mulieres cum uirili, quod eadem et mas aestimatur et femina: words which occur with little variation in Servius on Aen. ii. 632. Plutarch Thes. 20 states from Pausanias of Amathus that the *couvade* was practised there, seemingly in connexion with the worship of Ariadne Aphrodite, καταλεινόμενον τῶν τῶν νομιστῶν φέγγεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἀπερ ὠδίνουσαι γυναῖκες, and there can be little doubt that a cultus of Venus as half male, half female, was specially connected if not with Amathus, with Cyprus in general. A statue of such a bearded Venus, holding a patera in one hand and a dove in the other, was found by Gen. Cesnola. If Catullus knew this, it is probable that in the word *duplex* he meant to allude to it; but the point can scarcely be that which Voss suggests, as Catullus is speaking of Lesbia alone; possibly the reference is to the shifting and often contradictory phases of love, as finely expressed in a passage of Alexis (fr. 245 *ἄλλοτε ἔγωγε ὡςτε φίλος οὐτ' ἄρρη, πάλιν οὐτε θεός οὐτ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐτ'***

<sup>1</sup> Bergk suggests that this is an error for Callimachus.



ἀβέλερος ὅστ' αὖθις ἔμφρων, ἀλλὰ συννηνεγμένος Πανταχόθεν, ἐνὶ τύφῃ τε πῶλλ' εἶδη φέρων. 'H τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρός, ἡ δὲ δειλία γυναικός, ἡ δ' ἀνοια μανίας, ὁ δὲ λόγος Φρονούντος, ἡ σφοδρότης δὲ θηρός, ὁ δὲ πόνος Ἀδάμαντος, ἡ φιλοτιμία δὲ δαίμονος. Catullus himself, as Weise remarks, speaks of Venus, as compounded of sorrow and joy (LXIV. 95), bitter and sweet (LXVIII. 18). Most of the commentators, including Hertzberg, Munro and Bährens, explain **duplex** as 'wily,' as *διπλός* is used (Santen); on this view Catullus would allude to the suddenness and completeness of the passion into which his still inexperienced youth was surprised by the feminine artifices of Lesbia. Forc. quotes besides only Hor. C. i. 6. 7 *duplicis Ulixei* for this sense, and Bentley denies it altogether; yet, as Forc. says, Ovid seems to allude to it in Am. i. 12. 27 *Ergo ego uos rebus duplices pro nomine sensi*. **Amathunsia** need not have any special reference, see Ciris 242, Ov. Am. iii. 15. 15.

**52. in quo genere**, which I before explained as = *in qua re*, Att. iv. 2. 7 *Quo in genere nunc uehementer laboratur*, Fam. v. 12. 7 *Nec minus est Spartiales Agesilaus ille perhibendus qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere laborarunt*, I now prefer to regard as a Grecism, like ἐν ποίῳ εἶδει, ἐν ποίῳ ιδέα (Io. Is. Pontanus on Macrob. S. i. 7), not however as simply = *quo modo*, or even *quali ratione*, but as we should say 'how systematically.' The use of *in* seems to be like *tanto in fastu* LV. 14. With this *corruerit*, 'overthrew,' as in Lucr. v. 368, accords, I think, better than *torruerit*, the conj. of Turnebus and Lambinus.

**53. Trinacria rupes**, Aetna. Grat. Cyn. 430, Theocritus ii. 133 Ἐρως δ' ἄρα καὶ Λιπαράϊον Πολλάκις Ἀφαιστοῖο σέλας φλογερότερον αἶθει prefers Lipara in a similar comparison. Horace Epod. 17. 33, and Ovid Rem. Am. 491, follow Catullus.

**54. Lympba**, the hot mineral springs, which gave Thermopylae its name; they were sacred to Hercules, for whose relief Athene caused them to rise, according to Peisander (Heraclea fr. 7 in Kinkel's Epic. Graec. Fragmenta) τῇ δ' ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη Ποίει θερμὰ λουτρά παρὰ ῥήγμινι θαλάσσης, or Hephaestus, as stated by Ibycus (Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1050). Sophocles speaks of them Trach. 633-650. Herod. vii. 176 Τῶν Θερμοπυλίων τὸ μὲν πρὸ ἐσπέρας ὕδρος ἀβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν, ἀνατείνον ἐς τὴν Οἴτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέχεται καὶ τεναίγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσούῃ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά. Athenaeus 512 states that hot springs which bubbled up from the soil were considered sacred to Hercules. **Malia** may contain a sub-allusion to the name of Catullus' friend Mallius. Turnebus (Aduers. xxiv. 5) suggests that the hot springs at Thermopylae were called *aqua Mallia* from L. Mallius who made his way out of the pass with the elder Cato, Plut. Cat. Ma. 13.

**55. assiduo** and **neque Cessaret**, perhaps motived by the ceaseless flow of the hot springs, just as Sophocles speaks Trach. 919 of δακρύων θερμὰ νάματα. **pupula** is my conj. for *numula* or *nummula* of MSS, and is accepted by Bährens. The word occurs in LXIII. 56 and in a line of Calvus fr. 11 Lachm. *Cum grauis urgenti coniucere pupula somno*. Most edd. write *lumina*, and it must be confessed that *cessarent* rather than *Cessaret* is indicated by the MS reading *cessare ne* in 56.

**56. imbre**, of a shower of tears, Ov. Trist. i. 3. 18.

**57 sqq.** It is a question whether this simile refers to the t

Catullus, or to the relief which Allius gave him. A. Weise who discusses the question at length (*Kritische und Erklärende Bemerkungen* pp. 20-26) supports the latter view. His reasons are (1) *Qualis* in 57 seems naturally to correspond to *Tale* in 66. (2) If the simile refers to the tears of Catullus, the latter part of it is a digression without special meaning; (3) the tears of *sorrow* are compared with the *pleasurable* relief which a stream of water gives to the thirsty traveller; (4) there is a want of logical parallelism in the expression *imbre madent genae, qualis riuus prosiliit* as compared with *Qualis riuus prosiliit, tale fuit nobis Mallius auxilium*. Against this it may be said (1) 63 *Hic uelut* seems to introduce a *new* object of comparison, not to resume one spoken of before, though the length of the first simile makes such a resumption less harsh and improbable than it would otherwise be; (2) no part of the simile is irrelevant; the tears of sorrow in the end bring relief (*dulce leuamen*), not less certainly because they continue a long time; if the digression<sup>1</sup> loses sight of the idea with which the simile started, it leads up in doing so to another idea closely connected with it, at any rate not sufficiently at variance to rouse a feeling of illogical contradiction. (3) This is certainly the first impression which the passage conveys; the view that it refers to the help given by Allius proceeds from exaggerating the importance of 59-62, and almost necessitates the change of *Hic* in 63 to *Ac*, against the MSS. (4) If *Qualis* referred to what follows, some particle of transition would, I think, have preceded it: elsewhere verses beginning thus refer to what goes before, not to what follows; cf. 109 *Quale ferunt Grai*, LXV. 13 *Qualia sub densis*, LXIV. 89 *Quales Eurotae progignunt flumina myrtus*, LXI. 16, 17 *Namque Iunia Mallio, Qualis Idalium colens*. Tartara Animaduers. p. 37, ed. 2 observes that the passage of Catullus closely resembles Il. xvi. 2-4 Πάτροκλος δ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ παρίστατο, ποιμένη λαῶν, Δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων ὥς τε κρήνη μέλανδρος, ἥ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης δυσφερὸν χεῖε ἵδωρ. The 'hot tears' of Achilles are indeed much like the tears of glowing love which Cat. speaks of; but the simile recurs in exactly the same words in Il. ix. 14 Ἰστατο δακρυχέων ὥστε κρήνη μ. &c. Both passages, however, support the view that *Qualis* relates to what *precedes*. As Haupt remarks Quaest. p. 90, three distinct moments or phases may be traced in the comparison; in 57, 58 the brook is seen bursting forth on, or, perhaps, from the top of a mountain; in 59 pursuing its course along the precipitous slopes of a valley; in 60 running on level ground past a high road, where it may be drunk by the thirsty wayfarer.

57. *aerei*, LXIV. 240. *perlucens* might seem to refer to the distinctness with which the white glimmering colour of the rivulet strikes the eye, as it dashes down the crest of the mountain. So διαγλαύσσειν in Apoll. R. i. 1281, and *lucere* Aen. ix. 383 of the glimmer which a path makes as perceptible through brushwood (see Conington there). Cf. Ov. M. vi. 390 *salientia viscera possis Et perlucens numerare in pectore*

<sup>1</sup> Haupt, however, regarded the latter part of the simile as a mere poetical expansion, like LXV. 21-24. 'Ipsa comparatio cum in eo posita sit, ut dicat Catullus tantam lacrimarum sese profudisse copiam quanta ubertate riuus prosiliat, quod deinde riuus per uallem se deuoluens et per planitiem lento cursu fluens describitur, nihil quidem ad lacrimas pertinet neque quicquam ad declarandam similitudinem affert momenti, sed suauis digressionem et propositi quasi obliuione lectores fallit,' p. 90.

*fibras*. This gives more force to *aerei*, for the eye notices the line of colour *high* on the ridge, and to the present participle *perlucens*, for the two acts, the descent of the water and its effect to the eye, are thus *simultaneous*. Others explain *perlucens* in its ordinary sense when applied to water 'transparent,' as in Sen. Phaedr. 507, quoted by Bährens, *Vbi Lerna puro gelida perlucet uado*. The participle then = *qui perlucet*.

58. *muscoso*. Lucret. v. 951 *Vmida saxa uiridi stillantia musco* (Vulp.).

59. Varro Caue Canem ap. Non. 75 *Vbi riuus praecipitatur in nemore deorsum rapitur atque offensus aliquo a scopulo lapidoso albicatur*. This illustrates *de prona praecipit ualle*; the brook after leaving the mountain falls into a valley which descends unevenly into a plain: along these uneven, often rocky slopes the water tumbles headlong *praecipit est uolutus*. The words *prona ualle* are found in Cul. 123 (A. Weise).

60. 'Crosses along the path where the people throng.' *iter* with *Per medium*, cf. Il. xv. 681 *Σεύας ἐκ πεδίου μέγα πρὸς δασυ διώκει Λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδόν*, πολῆες τὲ ἐθήσαντο *Ἄνερές ἡδὲ γυναῖκες*. Nicand. Alex. 218 *Λαοφόροι κέλυνθοι*. This is simpler than with Huschke and A. Weise to join *transit iter*, 'makes its path across.' *Iter transire* occurs in Corn. Nep. Ages. 4 *Tanta usus est celeritate ut quod iter Xerxes anno uertente confecerat, hic transierit triginta diebus*, but with the different sense of passing over and so getting to the end, as Haupt, apparently, without the passage before him, had anticipated (Quaestt. p. 88). *densi* seems to point to the neighbourhood, if not to the actual streets of a town, cf. Hor. Epist. i. 6. 59 *Differtum transire forum populumque*. [*densi* MSS rightly. Tartara well observes that in this part of LXVIII each noun has its adj. *aerei montis, prona ualle, medium iter, dulce leuamen, &c.*]

61. Eldik quotes Anth. P. xvi. 228. 3 *Πίδακά τ' ἐκ παγᾶς ψυχρὸν πλεῖ δὴ γὰρ ὀδύταις Ἀμπαυμ' ἐν θερμῷ καύματι τοῦτο φίλον*. Oppian Cyneg. ii. 39, 40 *Ψυχρὸν δ' ἐξ ἄντροιο προχεύμενον ἀργυφον ὕδωρ ὅλον κεκμηῶσι ποτόν, γλυκερόν τε λοστρόν* (Doering). *lasso* is connected with *in sudore* by Stat. and had the line belonged to a latter period would probably have been meant so, as the rhythm points that way, and *lassus* might well mean 'wearying,' like *tussis anhela* G. iii. 497, *arida febris* G. iii. 458, *arida torres* Lucr. iii. 917, *fecundi calices* Hor. Epist. i. 5. 19. In Catullus it is safer to refer it to *uiatori*.

62. *grauis*, 'oppressive,' 'brooding,' Hor. C. ii. 5. 6 *Nunc fluiuis grauem Solantis aestum*. *hiuleat*. G. ii. 353.

63. Il. vii. 4-7 *Ὡς δὲ θεὸς ναῦτησιν ἐλδομένοισιν ἔδωκεν Οὐρον, ἐπεὶ κε κάμωσιν εὐξίστησ' ἐλάτησι Πόντον ἐλαύνοντες, καμάτῃ δ' ὑπὸ γυνί λελυται*: a passage imitated by Val. Flacc. vii. 25 *Gratae iam fessis descendunt flamina remis*. *Hic*, 'then,' as in LXIV. 269. *nigro turbine*, rather the black whirling waters (cf. LXIV. 149), than the hurricane itself, though this latter is called *turbo ater* Aen. x. 603. In this latter sense it is less appropriate, cf. Prop. iii. 5. 11 *uento iactamur*, ii. 12. 7 *alterna quoniam iactamur in unda*, Hor. Epist. i. 11. 15.

64. *aspirans aura secunda*, Sil. Ital. xv. 162 *lenis inde secunda Aspirans aura propellit carbasa uentus*. Minuc. Oct. 2 *aura aspirans leniter*. Euripides similarly, speaking of Pylades the faithful friend of

Orestes, had said πιστὸς ἐν κακοῖς ἀνὴρ Κρείσσαν γαλήνης ναυτιλοῖσιν εἰσορᾷ Or. 727.

65. **prece Pollucis**, like *uota deum* Aen. xi. 4 which Macrobius S. vi. 5 explains as *quae dis uota sunt*, and *Iunonis uotum* Prop. iv. 1. 101. **Pollucis, iam Castoris**. So Val. Flac. i. 570 *Fratresque petiuit Tyndareos, placida et mediis in frontibus haesit Protenus amborum, lumenque innoxia fudit Purpureum, miseris olim inplorabile nautis*, where the light on the foreheads of Castor and Pollux is alluded to. So also Hor. C. iii. 29. 59, 64. The double **iam . . . iam**, as in Aen. iv. 157, Hor. S. ii. 7. 20, corresponds to the alternation of the Dioscuri, which Lenormant thought was typified by the juxtaposition of their heads, as they are found, one of them sometimes reversed, on coins, e.g. of Istros. Seneca N. Q. i. 1. 13 says that in great storms stars were sometimes seen resting on the sail; and that then the seamen believed they were being rescued by Castor and Pollux. Pliny H. N. ii. 101 adds that if the star was single, it meant danger, if double, it was salutary, and had the power of dispersing the dangerous fire known as *Helen*. The same idea is expressed by Stat. Theb. vii. 792, 3, and in the beautiful passage S. iii. 2. 8 sqq. Vulp. had thus some colour for his idea of intercessory prayer; the brother-gods might intercede with their sister (Helen) and clear her off the sky. This would make **prece imploratā** (abl.) possible: 'after the intercession of Castor and Pollux has been implored alternately.' But the explanation is too recondite and artificial to be at all likely. **imploratā** nominative, as Bergk (Philol. xvi. 626), Munro and Riese agree, 'a gale, besought by prayer at one time to Castor, at another to Pollux.' Riese aptly cites Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 134, 5 *praesentia numina sentit, Caelestis implorat aquas*. I cannot bring myself to believe that Catullus would allow himself such Latin as *precem implorare*, as Nipperdei Opusc. p. 117 and Iordan Herm. xv. p. 533 contend, on the strength of Plaut. Rud. i. 5. 1 *Qui sunt qui a patrona preces mea expetessunt?* and the so-called Epistula Gracchorum matris in eo tempore non pudet te eorum deum preces expetere, quos uiuos atque praesentes relictos atque desertos habueris (p. 97 in Nipperdei's Corn. Nepos). No weight can be laid on the fragmentary PRECES POSCO of an imperfect Arval Inscription (Henzen p. ccxxix d) to which Iordan appeals. The reading is however doubtful: MSS give *implorate*, for which Lachm. conj. *imploratu*, perhaps rightly.

67. 'Allius it was who threw open a fenced field and made a broad way through it,' Munro, a natural metaphor; Catullus of course speaks of the permission which he thus obtained to indulge his passion for Lesbia. Compare the Greek use of λεωφόρος = a woman open to all comers. Theogn. 581 Ἐχθαίρω δὲ γυναῖκα περιδρομον ἄνδρα τε μάργον, Ὅς τὴν ἀλλοτρίην βούλετ' ἀρουραν ἀροῦν. Plaut. Curc. i. 1. 35, 36 *Nemo ire quengnam publica prohibet uia Dum ne per fundum saeptum faciat semitam*, and Asin. v. 2. 24.

68. **domum** and **dominam** are regularly connected as house and mistress of the house (see on LXI. 31); hence the meaning seems to be 'Allius allowed me to meet Lesbia in a house the mistress of which was favorable to our love.' So, I think again in 156. The interpretation which makes **dominam** Lesbia is against *Quo mea se molli candida diua pede*, in which Lesbia seems to appear for the first time. [This explanation is

accepted by Munro (Journ. of Philology viii. 333), who retracted his former belief that *dominam* of MSS was to be changed to *dominae*, and by Postgate, whose summary of the arguments in support of it I have cited in an Excursus.]

69. *Ad quam* = *apud quam*, as in Heaut. iii. 3. 43<sup>1</sup>, v. 2. 26, Pomp. Inscriptt. 1880 *At quem non ceno, barbarus ille mihi est*. Munro adds Asin. iv. 2. 16 *Cum suo sibi gnato unam ad amicam de die Polare*, and Cicero's *fuit ad me, in Cumano ad te*. See Dräger Hist. Synt. p. 534. Santen and A. Weise refer *quam* to *domum*, a construction like that in Hes. <sup>Ε. κ.</sup> <sup>Η.</sup> 405, *Ὅλον μὲν πρόιστα γυναῖκα τε βοῦν τ' ἀροτῆρα, Κτηρὴν οὐ γαμετὴν ἦτις καὶ βοῦσιν ἔποιτο*. For a relative referring to a remoter object cf. Tac. Ann. i. 74, Cic. Arch. x. 25. But, as Munro observes, *Ad quam* should then mean 'beside which:' and Catullus below in 68 writes *domus in qua lusimus*. [Schöll conj. *ut clam*.] *communes amores* cannot be a mistress shared by both (Petron. 105, Mart. xi. 81. 1), like the Neaera of the Pseudo-Demosthenic oration *κατὰ Νευίπας*, who was *shared* on alternate days by two men (Dem. 1360); for Lesbia at this early stage of her passion for Catullus would at least have taken care not to indulge a second passion for Allius in the very house provided by him for her meeting the poet. It remains to explain it either (1) of Catullus and Allius pursuing their loves in common, in the same house, a view, which, though thought unlikely by Bywater, was maintained by Munro in Journal of Philol. viii. 334, where he recants his earlier explanation and considers *exercere amores communes* as = *exercere amorem communiter*; or (2) of Catullus and Lesbia pursuing their love *together*, cf. the *communia gaudia, communis uoluptas* of Lucr. iv. 1195, 1208 (so at first Munro). *exercere amorem*, of prosecuting love, like *exercere inimicitiam odium*, and still nearer *e. libidinem* Sen. Epist. 99. 13. The associations of the word in this connexion are subobscene; *scortum exercere* is Plautine, Amph. i. 1. 132, and so *γυμνάζειν*, e.g. in Eupolis Kolakes fr. 158 Kock.

70. *diua*. Anth. P. v. 137. 3.

71. *trito* must, I think, like Homer's *ξεστὸς οὐδὸς* with which Riese compares it, mean that the floor of the threshold was made of some polished material, against which the colour of the *solea* would be more conspicuous: so *splendent uolso brachia trita pilo* Mart. ii. 29. 6. Munro and Bährens explain it as 'well-trod,' the latter adding 'epitheton graphice e re petitum.' Cf. Martial. x. 10. 2 *Mane saluator limina mille teras*. But everything proves that the house in which Lesbia first met Catullus was private and known to few; else how could they have escaped detection? Nor can it be 'well-trod' as a *general* epithet of thresholds; for Catullus would take care that such an *epitheton ornans* should not be incongruous with the other circumstances of his narrative. Or can Catullus mean that *Lesbia* was a constant visitor, and that in this sense she trod the threshold again and again? Then cf. Mart. x. 58. 11 *Sed non solus amat qui nocte dieque frequentat Limina*, which points to a dictum *Solus amat qui limen saepius terit*, true of course not only of friends, but lovers. *fulgentem*, of the white glistening feet, as Tibullus i. 8. 31 has

<sup>1</sup> *Ea quae est nunc ad uxorem tuam*. So most MSS. But the Bembine has *apud*, which is printed by Umpfenbach and Dziatzko.



*iuuenis cui leuia fulgent Ora*; others refer it to the bright colour of the sandal, cf. 134, LXI. 10 and 160, Lucr. iv. 1125.

72. *plantam* must not be disconnected from *Innixsa*, as Propertius shows ii. 29. 40 *Prosilit in laxa nixa pedem solea*, i. 3. 8 *Non certis nixa caput pedibus*. *Innixsa*. Stat. quotes Turpilius 31 Ribbeck *Sandalio innixa digitulis primoribus*; and so Ov. Am. iii. 1. 31 *pictis innixa cothurnis*. *arguta* was explained by Muretus and lately by Conington (on Geor. iii. 80), and A. Weise, as 'neat,' 'well-cut,' 'shapely.' Similarly H. F. Tozer: 'The picture must have been engraved on Catullus' mind, and one would expect that every detail would appeal to the eye.' But both Catullus elsewhere VI. 11, and Propertius confine *argutus* to the sense of *sound*: hence Stat. is more right in explaining it here as 'crepante,' 'creaking.' [So too Munro.] *constituit*, sc. *plantam solea*. De Harusp. Resp. xxi. 44 *muliebribus soleis*.

73-86. 'There Lesbia came to me, enamoured as Laodamia of old when she entered the house of her new-wed husband Protesilaus; that husband whom she was destined to lose prematurely for neglecting the proper sacrifices to the gods, as it was fated he should die at Troy.'

74. *Protesilaeam*, like *Menelaeo* Prop. ii. 15. 14.

75. *Inceptam frustra* (also in Verg. Aen. xii. 832) is a paraphrase of the Homeric *δόμος ἡμιτελής*, Il. ii. 698 sqq. *Τῶν αὖ Πρωτεσίλαος Ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε, ζωὸς ἔων τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κατὰ γαῖα μέλαινα*. Τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἀλοχος Φυλάκη ἐλέλειπτο Καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής· τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ, Νηὸς ἀποθρώσκοντα πύλῃ πρῶτιστον Ἀχαιῶν. This was explained by 'most' of the ancient commentators of an actual marriage-chamber which Protesilaus commenced for his nuptials with Laodamia, but was obliged to leave unfinished when called away by the Trojan war. Schol. Il. ii. 701 \**Ἡ ἀτελείωτος ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τοῖς γήμασι θάλαμον οἰκοδομεῖσθαι διὸ οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν ὅτι οἰκοδομῶν θάλαμον ἑαυτῷ ὁ Πρωτεσίλαος ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον*. So too Paley. Catullus seems to have understood the words in this literal sense; Prot. began a house which he did not live to finish (*Inceptam frustra*), the anger of the gods for his neglect of the proper preliminary sacrifices having determined his premature death. But a less literal interpretation of *δόμος ἡμιτελής* was current in antiquity and seems to have been the more accepted one. On this view the house was *incomplete* by losing its nobler half, its lord and master, Protesilaus. Strab. 296 *ἡγούμενον* ('Ομηρον) *ἡμιτελῆ τινα βίον τὸν χῆρον, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἡμιτελῆ τὸν Πρωτεσίλαον, διότι χῆρος*. Inscript. at Philadelphia, quoted by Schrader on Musaeus p. 341 (Kaibel 329) *Παρθένος ἥς ἀπέλευσε μίτρην, ἥς ὥριον ἄνθος ἔσχεν ἐν ἡμιτέλει παυσάμενον θαλάμῳ*. Anth. P. vii. 627. 1 *Ἡμιτελῆ θάλαμόν τε καὶ ἐγγύθι νυμφικά λέκτρα*. Plut. Quaest. Rom. 50 *Ὁ τοῦ γεγαμηκότος οἶκος τέλειος ὁ δὲ τοῦ γήμαντος οὐκ ἀτελής μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πεπηρωμένος*. And so Valerius Flaccus, speaking of the widowed wife of a hero slain in battle has vi. 688 *Contiunx miseranda Caico Linqvitur et primo domus imperfecta cubili*. But it is not likely that Catullus after saying that Laodamia came to the actual house of Protesilaus would alter the meaning to make *Inceptam frustra* metaphorical. The custom of building a new marriage chamber and *λέχος* for the bride is also alluded to perhaps in Od. xxiii. 189 sqq., certainly in Theocr. xxvii. 38 *Τεύχεις μοι θαλάμῳ, τεύχεις καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλὰς; Τεύχω σοι θαλάμῳ* (Turnebus). *sanguine sacro*, 'the blood of sacrifice.' So *Sacrum*

*iugulis demitte cruorem* G. iv. 542. Tac. Ann. ii. 14 *Vidit se operatum et sanguine sacro respersa praepecta*.

**76. Hostia**, the victim offered in the sacrifice which preceded marriage, *προτάλεια* Eur. I. A. 718, cf. ib. 433. (Alex. Guarinus, Santen.) There is nothing in Homer which connects the untimely death of Protesilaus with neglect of such a nuptial sacrifice; Catullus must be following some later legend, perhaps the *Protesilaus* of Euripides, in which the hero was described as obliged to leave his wife for Troy after only one day's cohabitation. Schol. Aristid. p. 671 ap. Nauck fragm. Trag. Graec. p. 443. Possibly however Catullus refers not to a special nuptial sacrifice, but to the common Homeric notion of sacrifice as necessary to the success of any undertaking, like the wall and trench which were built *θεῶν δέκῃ* and without offering *τελέσσας ἐκατόμβας* Il. xii. 6-8 (a passage quoted by Santen), and the voyage which is stopped for the same reason Od. iv. 352. **pacificasset**, Sil. Ital. xv. 421, had won the good-will (*pacem*) of the gods by sacrifice at their altars Aen. iv. 56, Sil. xv. 434. **heros**, *θεοῖς γὰρ δεσπότης καλεῖν χρεών* Eur. Hipp. 88. **caelestis heros** exactly = the *dominos deos* of Heroid. iv. 12.

**77. tam ualde**, 'so very much,' 'overmuch.' In Petron. 126 *Nolo tibi tam ualde placeas* which Santen thinks imitated from Catullus, the sense seems to be strictly 'so excessively,' and so in Fin. v. 11. 31: as here, Petron. 17 *sed de remedio non tam ualde laboro*. **Ramnusia uirgo**. See the Excursus on LXIV. 395.

**78. inuitis heris**, *δέκῃ θεῶν*. Aen. ii. 402 *inuitis diuis*.

**79. ieiuna** might be 'thirsting,' Prop. iii. 15. 18, but it is perhaps more probably the opposite of *pinguis*, Aen. iv. 62; starved for want of the blood on which it feeds. So Hense Poetische Personification i. 239. **pium**, 'of oblation.' There can be no reference, as Voss supposed, to the blood of Protesilaus as one of the *best* of the Greek heroes. **desideret**. So Horace C. iv. 11. 6-8 *ara castis Vincula uerbenis auel immolato Spargier agno*. **cruorem**. Servius on Aen. viii. 106 *Frustra quidam cruorem pecudum, sanguinem hominum uolunt*. Catullus has *sanguine sacro* in 75.

**82. una atque altera rursus**, 'one winter and after it a second.' Cluent. xiii. 38 *Cum unum iam et alterum diem desideraretur*.

**83. in**, in the course of: see on XXIII. 20. **saturasset**, her purpose was baffled. **auidum**. Lucr. iv. 1102-1108.

**84. abrupto**, the idea seems to be that of a thread broken off: so often with *medius*, *m. sermonem* Aen. iv. 388, *m. annos* Luc. vi. 610, Plin. Epist. v. 5. 4 *Mors incohatum aliquid abruptat*. [Munro thought **abrupto** an older form of *abrepto*; to the passages he has collected add Cic. pro Font. ii. 3 where the palimpsest gives *surrupietur*. I doubt whether Catullus would have admitted this form in any case where it could be mistaken for the participle of *abruptere*.]

**85. Quod**, sc. *coniugium*. **non longo tempore abisse**, 'had surely passed away soon,' 'was sure to pass away soon.' In oratio recta the sentence would be *Non longo tempore abiit coniugium, si miles ierit*. For this rhetorical use of the perfect to express a future action following with certainty upon the occurrence of a given contingency Dräger Historische Syntax p. 233 quotes Fam. xii. 6. 2 *Si conseruatus erit, uicinus*, Verr. iii. 62. 145, Liu. xxi. 43. 2, in each passage *uicini*

and for the Infinitive Liu. xxi. 8. 8 *Poeni cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum admitatur, credente*. For *abisse* = 'pass away' cf. Fam. ix. 20. 1 *Illā mea quae solebas antea laudare abierunt*. The only other interpretation which seems possible is Santen's 'for the fates knew that he had not gone away for long, if he went to Troy;' so soon would he be sent back dead. He compares Prop. iii. 12. 13 *Neue aliquid de te flendum referatur in urna. Sic redeunt illis qui cecidere locis*. For the abl. of duration of time see Dräger i. p. 493. This would make the passage very like a Tragic fragm. quoted by Santen from Tusc. Disp. iii. 13. 28 *Praeterea ad Troiam cum misi ob defendendam Graeciam, Scibam me in mortiferum bellum, non in epulas mittere*: but the suppression of the explanatory clause is intolerably harsh, as taken by themselves the words, if the subject is Protesilaus, suggest the exactly opposite meaning, viz. that he would soon come back alive, i.e. as a conqueror. Some inferior MSS give *abesse*, a word often confused with *abisse*, e.g. in the Copa 5 where see Ribbeck: the meaning would then be 'which severing of the marriage-tie was not very distant.' So A. Weise and B. Schmidt. Munro also adopts *abesse*, making *Quod* refer to *abreptum coniugium*, 'which loss of her husband the Fates well knew was not far away.' Bährens conj. *obisse*, L. Müller *scirant*, 'had determined,' which accords with the words (perhaps from Euripides' Protesilaus<sup>1</sup>) of Eustathius on Il. ii. 701 *χρησμοῦ δοθέντος πρῶτον ἐν Τροίᾳ πεσεῖν τὸν προσηδήσαντα τῆς νῆος* (see Kiessling *Analecta Catulliana*, p. 6), but would require a future or at least a present infinitive. *scibant*. Lucr. v. 934, cf. *audibant* LXXXIV. 8, *custodibant* LXIV. 319. Ov. Heroid. xiii. 93 *Sors quoque nescio quem fato designat iniquo Qui primus Danaum Troada tangat humum*. Auson. Epitaph. Heroum 13 Schenkl *Fatale adscriptum nomen mihi Protesilao . . . Quid queror? hoc letum iam tum mea fata caneant, Tale mihi nomen cum pater imposuit*. (A. Weise.)

87-104. 'Already the Greeks were arming for Troy, that city as fatal to Protesilaus as to all other heroic worth, and now to my lost brother, whom I cannot cease to mourn, and who lies buried under that accursed soil. But then all Greece was astir to attack it, and to avenge the rape of Helen.'

87. *Helenae*. Propertius perhaps was thinking of this passage when he wrote ii. 34. 87 *Haec quoque lasciui cantarunt scripta Catulli, Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena*. *raptu*, in consequence of the rape, i.e. to avenge it: so *munere isto* XIV. 2. *primores*, ἀριστοί of Homer: so perhaps *primorum* Aen. ix. 309.

88. *ad sese ciere*, either the offending city challenges Greece to war before her walls, cf. Sil. Ital. iv. 272 *Crixum clamore ciebat Ad pugnam*: or, more probably, Troy summons to her walls the chiefs of Greece, because she causes the summons of war against her to be issued to them in their own country, as in Heroides viii. 73 *Taenaris, Idaeo trans aequor ab hospite rapta, Argolicas pro se uertit in arma manus*. For *ciere* in this sense of calling to arms cf. Aen. x. 198.

89. *nefas*, 'O execrable,' parenthetical as in Aen. vii. 73, viii. 688, Stat. Theb. iii. 54. *commune sepulcrum* is applied to the earth by Lucr. v. 259, to a promiscuous burial-ground by Horace S. i. 8. 10. Cf.

<sup>1</sup> Kiessling perhaps more probably assigns these words and *προσηδήσαντα τῆς νῆος* to an *argumentum* of the play, possibly drawn up, like the former of the two *προδέσεις* of the Alceste, by Dicaearchus.



Auson. Epit. Her. 12. 3, 25. 3. **Asiae Europaeque.** Liu. xxxvi. 7 *Asiae Europaeque uiribus.* Choerilus ap. Aristot. Rhet. iii. 14 Ἠρόμαι λόγον ἄλλον ὅπως Ἀσίας ἀπὸ γαίης ἤλθεν εἰς Εὐρώπην πόλεμος μέγας similarly contrasts Asia and Europe, speaking of the Persian invasion of Greece by Xerxes. The position of Troy, on the ground where Europe and Asia meet, struck the ancients much more than those among the moderns who like Max Müller<sup>1</sup> resolve the Trojan war into a solar myth. Cf. the passages from Isocrates quoted in the Introduction. Philostratus Icones 765 Ὑψηλὴ μὲν αὕτη ἡ πόλις καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τοῦ Ἰλίου, πεδίον δὲ τοῦτὶ μέγα καὶ ἀποχρῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀντιτάξαι. Aen. vii. 223 *Quibus actus uterque Europae alque Asiae fatis concurreret orbis*, x. 90 *Consurgere in arma Europamque Asiamque*, Prop. ii. 3. 36.

**90. uirum et uirtutum,** 'heroes and heroical deeds.' Enn. Phoenix 338 Vahlen *Sed uirum uirtute uera uiuere animatum addeceat*, Verg. Aen. i. 565 *Quis Troiae nesciat urbem Virtutesque uirosque*, a passage which may have been suggested by Cat. (Danyz). **acerba cinis**, 'untimely grave.' Cicero, translating a fragm. of Euripides' Theseus 392 Nauck, gives *mortem acerbam* for θανάτους ἀώπους. C.I.L. i. 1202 *Eheu heu Taracei ut acerbo es deditus fato. Non acuo exsacto uilae es traditus morti, Sed cum te decuit florere aetate iuenta, Interieisti et liquisti in maeroribus matrem.* ib. 1422 *pueri uirtus indigne occidit. Quoius fatum acerbum populus indigne tulit.* Aen. vi. 429 *funere mersit acerbo.* Sen. ad Marciam de Consol. 9 *Tot acerba funera (ducuntur): nos togam nostrorum infantium, nos militiam et paternae hereditatis successionem agilamus animo.* De Ira iii. 25 *Aequiore animo filium in angulo fleuit, qui uidit acerba funera etiam ex regia duci.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 17 *A maioribus institutum subtrahere oculis acerba funera*, referring to Britannicus. Catullus alludes to the premature deaths of Achilles, Patroclus, Antilochus, Ajax, Protesilaus, as well as of Hector, Troilus, Paris, Memnon. **cinis.** According to Nonius 198, Caesar, Catullus and Calvus made the word feminine, cf. Calvus fr. 4. Lachm. *cum iam fulua cinis fuerit (fuero* Charis. p. 101 Keil), 5 *Forsitan hoc etiam gaudeat ipsa cinis.* Lucret. iv. 926 has *multa cinere*, and so *cineres suas* Orelli Inscript. 4393, *cinere adoperta* 4479, *usta cinis* 4839.

**91. Qualiter,** 'as,' is my conj. for *Quae uellet* of MSS. The lexicons give Ov. Am. i. 7. 58 *Qualiter abiecta de niue manat aqua* as the earliest instance of the word. It occurs also in Martial and Val. Flaccus. Heinsius conj. *Quaene etiam*, 'is it not, when it has killed my own brother?' (cf. Hor. S. i. 10. 21 *O scri studiorum, quine putetis* and A. Palmer's note) and this is accepted by Haupt. But would Cat. have used this *conversational* formula (most of the instances are from Plautus, see Holtze ii. p. 262, Ussing on Amphitr. 690) in an elaborately constructed poem based on Greek models? And if he used it, would he not have preserved the subjunctive, which seems universal in all the cases where *quine quaene*, &c., introduce a reason for a statement just made?

**92-96** nearly = 20-24. This repetition *Fratrem maerentis rapto de fratre dolentis Insolabiliter* is, I believe, unexampled in the other Roman poets, and can hardly be considered, artistically, very happy.

**98. Ei** of the Datanus is the better form, not *Hei* of GO. And this was observed long ago by Scioppius Susp. Lect. iii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Metrodorus of Lampsacus explained the Trojan war as an allegory. Wilamowitz, *Commentariol. Grammat.* iii. p. 11.



Keil *uertex a uertendo dicitur, uortex a uorando, et uult Plinius uerticem immanem uim impetus habere ut ingens a uertice pontus* (Aen. i. 114), *uorticem uero circumactionem undae esse, ut et rapidus uorat aequore uortex* (Aen. i. 117). From this it would seem that the ordinary distinction of *uortex fluminis, uertex capitis*, which is found in Flavius Caper de Orthographia p. 2243 Putsch was not recognized by Pliny, and probably did not exist in his time. The older form was *uortex*, the forms in *e* were introduced by Scipio Africanus, according to Quintil. i. 7. 25. (Brambach Neugestaltung der Lateinischen Orthographie p. 102.) The MSS of Catullus uniformly present the *e* form. See Ribbeck, Verg. iv. p. 436. **amoris**, both with *uertice* and **Aestus**.

**108. abruptum**, 'sheer,' here adj. In Sen. N. Q. iii. 16. 4 *abrupti in infinitum hiatus* which explains the idea, it is a participle. Catullus seems to be thinking rather of the precipitous character of the descent than of the chasm itself. **barathrum**. The subterranean channels, or *kata-vothras* as they are now called, which carry off the waters of rivers like the Erasinus and the Ladon, and when choked up make them overflow, were called *βέρεθρα*, in Arcadian *ζέρεθρα*, Strabo 389.

**109. Quale**, 'like the oozy soil which, as the Greeks tell, is drained near Cyllenean Pheneos by the straining out of the marsh-waters.' A description of the *katavothra*. The comparison is not exact, for the abyss of love is like the hollow into which the water subsides, not the soil which the overflow of the waters has converted into a marsh. But there is much plausibility in Schrader's emendation *Siccare*. Then **Quale** will refer to *barathrum*, 'like the abyss which drains the soil:' and this agrees better with *Quod* in 111. **Pheneum**. Pheneos, a town in the N.E. of Arcadia, with a territory extending about seven miles in length and breadth, and shut in by offshoots of Cyllene and the Aroanian mountains. (Dict. Geog.) The river Olbius or Aroanius traverses this plain, and when the *βέρεθρα*, which ought to carry off its waters, are stopped up, inundates the plain and becomes a lake. The reservoir ascribed to Hercules was intended to act as an artificial channel for this river. Paus. viii. 14 *Διὰ μέσου δὲ ὤρυξεν Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ Φεναίων πεδίου ῥεῦμα εἶναι τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὀλβίῳ, ὅντινα Ἀροάνιον Ἀρκάδων καλοῦσιν ἕτεροι καὶ οὐκ Ὀλβιον. μῆκος μὲν τοῦ ὀρύγματος στάδιοι πενήτηκοντὰ εἰς: βάθος δέ, ὅσον μὴ πεπτωκὰς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐς τριάκοντα καθήκει πόδας*. The author of the article in the Dict. Geog. considers this to be the work which Catullus speaks of; but Pausanias mentions besides two *βέρεθρα*, one beneath mount Oryxis, the other under mount Skiathis, as also constructed by Hercules: and as in Pausanias' time marks were shown on the sides of the mountains up to which the waters were believed to have ascended, and Catullus specially mentions the hewing out of the *mountain, caesis montis medullis*, it seems likely that the poet had these in his mind. **Cylleneum**. Catullus perhaps follows Callim. Del. 71 *Φεῦγεν δ' ὁ γέρον μετόπισθε Φεναίος*; in Paus. viii. 14, Stat. Theb. iv. 291 *Pheneos* is fem.

**110. emulsa**. Strabo 389 calls the *katavothra* or *βέρεθρα* *strainers*. *Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι περὶ Φεναίων μὲν τὸν Ἀνίαν καλούμενον ποταμὸν λιμνάζειν τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, καταδύεσθαι δ' εἰς τινὰς ἡθμούς οὓς καλεῖσθαι ζέρεθρα*. **pingue**, *παχύ*, a *thick* soil, here from the coagulation of the marsh-waters, more generally from the richness of the juices, as in Verg. G. i. 64, Tib. ii. 3. 6.

**111. Quod** (if *Siccari* is retained) is to be explained by the comp<sup>1</sup>

idea of the preceding distich 109-110, i.e. not merely *solum* but the soil drained dry by straining out the marsh-waters, in effect a *description* of the *barathrum*. But it is no doubt easier to read *Siccare* and then refer both *Quale* in 109 and *Quod* in 111 directly to *barathrum*. *caesis montis medullis*. Paus. viii. 14 'Υφ' ἐκατέρω δέ ἐστι τῷ ὄρει βάραθρον πρὸ ὕδαρ καταδεχόμενον ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου. Τὰ δὲ βάραθρα οἱ Φενεάται ταῦτά φασιν εἶναι χειροποίητα, ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλῆα τηνικαῦτα ἐν Φενεῇ παρὰ Λαονόμῃ τῇ Ἀμφιτρύωνος μητρὶ οἰκούντ᾽· γενέσθαι γὰρ Ἀμφιτρύωνα ἐκ Λαονόμης Ἀλκαίῃ τῆς Γουνέως, γυναικὸς Φενεάτιδος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Πέλοπος Λυσιδίκης. Εἰ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ παρὰ τοὺς Φενεάτας μετέφησε, πείθοιτο ἂν τις, διωχθέντα ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως αὐτὸν οὐκ αὐτίκα ἐς Θήβας, πρότερον δὲ ἐς Φενεὸν ἀφικέσθαι. Pausanias here follows a different version of the legend from Catullus as regards the father of Hercules; the common point in which they agree is the connexion of Pheneos with *Amphitryon*.

112. *Audit = dicitur*. Forc. quotes no instance of *audire* in this sense followed by an infinitive. *falsiparens*, a translation of Callimachus' *ψευδοπάτωρ* Cer. Cal. 98, where Triopas applies it to his unnatural father Poseidon. Here the word is in close connexion with *Amphitryoniades*, 'he who was falsely called Amphitryon's son,' being really the son of Jupiter. *Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης* is a recurring title of Hercules in the *Scutum Herculis* ascribed to Hesiod. The construction of the reservoir at Pheneos was one of the voluntary labours of Hercules, *ἐξ αὐταγρεσίης* Callim. fr. 120 Blomf. *Amphitryoniades*. In an epigram of the Anth. Pal. ix. 12 two words each of seven syllables terminate two consecutive pentameters *ἀντερανιζόμενος, ἀντιπαρασχόμενος*.

113. *Tempore quo*, during his visit to Arcadia. Stymphalus adjoins Pheneos on the east: and like it was celebrated for a mountain-inclosed lake which escaped by a katavothra and, when this outlet was obstructed, inundated the neighbouring country. *certa sagitta*. Hor. C. i. 12. 23, 24. *monstra*, the birds of lake Stymphalus, which Pausanias viii. 22 conjectures to have resembled the Arabian birds of the same name, of the size of cranes, and in form like the ibis, except that their beaks were stronger and not crooked. Peisander of Camirus (Paus. viii. 22. 4) and Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1054-1059, gave a different account. According to this, Hercules was unable to keep off the birds with his bow, and only scared them away by shaking a brass rattle from the top of a high rock. 'A design representing the Stymphalian bird, a long-legged crane, with a human head helmeted and armed with a buckler and two javelins, is a type of the denarii of the family *Valeria*.' King on Gems, p. 330.

114. *deterioris*, Eurystheus, μάλα γὰρ πολλὴ χεῖρον φωνὴ Δεδμήμην, ὃ δὲ μοι χαλεποὺς ἐπέτελλετ' ἀέθλους, the words of Hercules to Ulysses Od. xi. 621.

115. Od. xi. 602 Αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι Τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς, καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην. Hom. H. 15. 7 Νῦν δ' ἤδη κατὰ καλὸν ἔδος κειμένης Ὀλύμπου Ναίει τερπόμενος καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην. *ianua*, 'the gateway,' Cic. N. D. ii. 27. 67 *Transitiones peruiæ Iani, foresque in liminibus profanarum aedium ianuæ nominantur*, a remark otherwise in strange contrast with the application of the word here to the abode of the gods. *tereretur*, 'might be trodden,' as in *terere uiam limen porticum* cf. LXVI. 69. Another interpretation is suggested by Sen. H. F. 960 *Quid si negaret? non capî terra Herculem Tandemque superis reddit. En ultro*

*uocat Omnis deorum coetus et laxat fores Vna uelante. Recipis et reseras polum?* An *contumacis ianuam mundi traho?* viz. the wearing away of the door by the opening and shutting necessary to admission.

117. *altus amor*, βάθος ἔρως Theocr. iii. 41.

118. *Qui dominum domitum*. 'For it (*altus amor*) forced him that was the master (Protesilaus) to become the slave and bear the yoke,' viz. of his wife's overpowering passion. The comparison is strictly exact: as Hercules bowed his neck to the task of digging a deep reservoir for the marsh-waters, so did Protesilaus to gratify the deep love of Laodamia. So Ovid represents Hypsipyle as saying of Medea's passion for her husband Jason, Her. vi. 97 *Scilicet ut tauros, ita te iuga ferre coegit*, in allusion to the fire-breathing bulls which she taught him to subdue; Prop. ii. 3. 47-50 expands the idea; Wordsworth in his Laodamia expresses in detail such a passion, and contrasts it with the finer love of Protesilaus himself, *Be taught, O faithful Consort, to control Rebellious passion; for the Gods approve The depth, and not the tumult, of the soul; A fervent, not ungovernable, love*. It is also possible that *ferre iugum docuit* refers to Laodamia. Bährens collects many passages where women are said *ferre iugum*, as cohabiting, either illicitly, or by way of marriage, with a single partner. Lucil. xxx. 51, 52 L. Müller, Plaut. Curc. i. 1. 50, Hor. C. ii. 5. 1. So Munro, who would read with Heyse *Qui tamen indomitam* for *Qui tuum domitum* of most MSS, translating 'the deep love which taught you, though indomitable, to bear the yoke.' But here there seems to be little propriety in calling Laodamia *indomita*: it was no struggle to her to confine her love to the one man who was complete master of her affections: nor would such a love naturally be spoken of as the submission of an indomitable nature to the yoke. Whereas the less ardent love of Protesilaus, if once brought under the sway of his wife's imperious passion, might fitly be described as broken into it and submissive to the yoke of its dictation. I therefore retain *domitum* of MSS, but would suggest that *Qui tuum* is a corruption of *Qui actutum*, 'a love which on the instant taught Protesilaus to submit and bear the yoke.' Gloss. Bodl. Auct. I. ii. 24 *Actuum* (sic) *celerius cito sine mora submotum*. Amphitr. ii. 1. 80 B m. pr. gives *actuum* for *actutum*. So also i. 3. 32 where it occurs twice, and i. 3. 46. In these three vv. of the Amphitruo the word is applied to Jupiter returning in a moment to Alcmena: the word would thus be correct *amatorie*. For the elision *Qui actutum* cf. LXVII. 30 *Qui ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremium*.

119-140. 'Neither the love of a grandfather for his only daughter's son, nor that of a dove for her mate, could compare with the transports of Laodamia. Yet hardly inferior to Laodamia in strength of passion was Lesbia when she met me, breathing love and desire. And if she is not quite as faithful to me as I might wish, I take care to complain as little as I can, knowing that she has examples for her lightness in the Celestials themselves, and that I am only copying the forbearance of Juno to her roving husband Jupiter.'

119-124. From Pindar Ol. xi. 86 ἄλλ' ὅτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρὶ Ποσειδῶνι ἴκοντι νέετατος τὸ πάλιν ('the reverse of youth' Gildersleeve) ἤδη, μάλα δέ φοι θερμαίνει φιλότατι νόον. Ἐπεὶ πλοῦτος ὁ λαχὼν ποιμένα Ἐπακτὸν ἀλλότριον ὀφείσκοντι στυγεράτατος.

119. *confecto aetate parenti.* Aen. iv. 599.

120. *Vna*, therefore his only hope of posterity. Santen remarks that the passage has special force in reference to the *lex Voconia* of B.C. 169, which enacted that no one included in the census after the censors of that year should make any female his heir: (Verr. i. 42. 107, cf. Gaius ii. 274) a provision which extended even to only daughters (Augustin. de Ciuit. Dei iii. 21).

*caput* suggests the pleasure which an old man would feel in the thought of his perpetuation as a free Roman citizen. *seri*, ὀψιγόνου Hom. H. Cer. 164 sqq. Τηλύγετος δέ οἱ νῆδος ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπρήτη Ὀψιγόνοσ τρέφεται, πολνεύχετος ἀσπασίως τε (μῆχ tandem inuentus): ib. 219 Παιδα δέ μοι τρέφε τόνδε, τὸν ὀψιγόνον καὶ ἀελπτον Ὡπασαν ἀθάνατοι, πολυάρετος δέ μοι ἴσθιν (Santen), cf. Il. ix. 481, 482.

121. *diuitiis*, dative, 'to succeed to the wealth.' *inuentus*, here used of the child whose appearance has been long looked for in vain. The construction is like And. iii. 3. 39 *Tibi generum firmum et filiae inuenias uirum.*

122. 'Has entered his name on the tablets of the will.' *Testari* = to make a will, e.g. Liu. i. 34, and *tabulae testatae* (passive) seems to mean little more than 'the tablets of the will made,' though possibly there may be a farther notion of the will being drawn up with particular attention to all requisite formalities, as would be natural in the case of a long-expected heir. On this view *tabulas* would itself stand for the will as in A. A. ii. 332, Iuuen. iv. 19; *testatas* would mean 'testibus confirmatas,' as Santen explains. Cic. ad Heren. i. 13. 23 *Tabulas in carcerem afferunt, testamentum ipso praesente conscribunt, testes recte affuerunt. Nomen intulit* = has been entered by name, *nominalim scriptus est* de Orat. i. 38. 175.

123. 'Blasting the unnatural joy of the baffled heir next of kin, bids the vulture soar away from the gray head,' i.e. frees the grandfather from the expectant heir who counted on the absence of direct issue to inherit the property. Heren. i. 13. 23 quoting from the Twelve Tables *Si paterfamilias intestato moritur, familia pecuniaque eius adgnatum gentiliūque esto*: de Inuent. ii. 50. 148, Demosth. Neaer. 1364 τοῦ δὲ μὴ λαβεῖν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τὰ αὐτοῦ μὴδ' ἅπαις τετελευτηκέναι, 1365 βιασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου καὶ τῆς ἀπαιδίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν θεραπείας καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἵνα μὴ κληρονόμοι γέωνται τῶν αὐτοῦ, ἂν τι πάθῃ.

*Impia*, 'quia gentilis propinquum sine liberis heredibus decessurum sperabat,' Santen. Rather, perhaps, in opposition to the *pious* grief of a nearer relation for the loss of his aged kinsman. *derisi*, proleptic, LXIV. 129. Browning, The Ring and the Book ii. 580 *Partly to cheat the rightful heirs agape, Each uncle's cousin's brother's son of him, For that same principal of the usufruct It vexed him he must die and leave behind.*

124. *Suscitat.* The vulture is perched on the gray head already, in anticipation. Truc. ii. 3. 16 *Illum student iam; quasi uolturii triduo Prius praediutnant quo die essuri sient*, where Spengel quotes Plin. H. N. x. 19. *uolturium*, of an heir expectant. Mart. vi. 62 *Amisit pater unicum Salanus. Cessas mittere munera, Oppiane? Heu crudele nefas malaeque Parcae. Cuius uulturis hoc erit cadaver?* Sen. Epist. 95. 43 *Amico aliquis aegro adsidet. Probamus. At hoc hereditatis causa facit. Vultur est, cadaver expectat.* Suidas s. v. ἀπειροι γῦπες (Erasmus ἀπερ οἱ γῦπες) ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ κληρονομίαν ἢ διὰ κέρδος προσεδρεύοντων

τινὶ παρόσον οἱ γῆνες τοῖς θνησίμοις παρεδρεύουσιν. **capiti**, ablative like *lapidi fieri labi tripodi Cilici Heliconi de parti in luci* and even *rationi mucroni* in Lucretius. **cano capiti**. Pers. i. 83.

**125. niueo columbo**, XXIX. 8. According to Varro L. L. ix. 56, quoted by Vulp. *columba* was for a long time the only form, and the distinction *mas columbus, femina columba* of comparatively recent introduction; yet *columbus* is found in Rud. iii. 6. 49. The constancy of the male and female dove to each other is often mentioned, Prop. ii. 15. 27, Plin. H. N. x. 104 *Pudicitia illis (columbis) prima et neutri nota adulteria; coniugi fidem non uiolant, communemque seruant domum; nisi caelebs aut uidua nidum non relinquit*.

**126. Compar**, 'mate,' Hor. C. ii. 5. 2. It is found in Inscriptt. = wife, as in Orelli 2656, 7219. **multo improbius** is explained by Santen as = *improbissime*, cf. *paulo, nimio* with comparatives. But in all the other passages where it is used by Catullus XLV. 15, LXXII. 6, LXXXII. 3, LXXXIII. 5, in Horace throughout, in the passages of Plautus given in the Delphin index, and in Terence, the comparative, when combined with *multo*, retains its distinct comparational force, though the thing compared is sometimes left to be inferred, sometimes placed in the clause following, e.g. Men. v. 6. 13 *Magis multo patior facilius ego uerba: uerbera odi*, i.e. *facilius uerberibus*. Poen. Prol. 7 *Qui edistis multo fecistis sapientius: Qui non edistis, satiri fite fabulis*. In Most. iii. 2. 139 *Multo improbiore*, Lucil. xxx. 78 L. Müller *Inprobior multo, quam de quo diximus ante, Quanto blandior haec, tanto uementius mordet*, the comparatives have their proper force. Here the thing compared with the ardours of the dove is the wantonness of women; but the sentence is abruptly closed before this object is expressed; it thus becomes the nominative of a new clause, and is then inferred backwards: 'the dove which is said to kiss far more wantonly (than a woman), though a woman's fancy is the most wide-ranging of all things.' The interposition of 127 makes this less harsh; but the alteration to *Quam quae* is a slight one, and may be right, as Munro assumes. **dicitur**, as often in Pliny of statements taken from others, H. N. x. 191, 2.

**127. Athen.** 394 Ἰδιον δὲ λέγει τῆς περιστερᾶς τὸ κυρεῖν αὐτὰς ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀναβαίνειν, ἢ οὐκ ἀνέχουσιν τὰς θηλείας· ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀναβαίνει μὴ κύσας. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι αἰεὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ὀχεύουσιν, καὶ αἱ θηλείαι δ' ἀλλήλας ἀναβαίνουν ὅταν ἄρρην μὴ πᾶρρην κινήσασαι. Lycophron Al. 131 calls Helen κάσσης πελειᾶδος. **mordenti**, participial ablative used adjectively. So *mugienti fremitu candenti e gurgile laetanti coetu fulgenti auro atque argento laetanti pectore*, Neue Formenl. ii. p. 46. **semper** with **decerpere**, 'to be for ever snatching.'

**128.** The argument returns to the point which it started with, the strength of woman's passion, and so to Laodamia. **multiuola**, like *omniuoli* in 140, from *uelle*, cf. Varro's *multicupidus* ap. Non. 123, not from *uolare*, as if the idea were 'those gentle birds that fly from man to man.' Aristoph. Eccles. 895 ἐφ' ἑτέρον ἂν πτόιστο. Forc. gives no other instance: but Vulp. quotes from the Vulgate Ecclesiastic. ix. 3 *Ne respicias mulierem multiuolam, ne forte incidas in laqueos illius*. Gloss. ap. Mai Class. Auct. vi. 534 *multiuola multis delectationibus*, vii. 569 *multiuolus desideria habens in multis*. **mulier** 'a woman,' generally, as in Bacch. i. 1. 7 *Miserius nihil est quam mulier*. To take *mulier* of the female dove

as Doering, is harsh in point of language and not true, as doves, though wanton, are notoriously faithful to each other, and could not possibly be called *multiuolae*.

129. *tu*, Laodamia. *horum*, masculine, as the particular instances are thought of generally. Cf. LXVI. 28 *fortior alis*.

130. *flauo*. Philostratus 'Ηρωικός 673 Καὶ μὴν καὶ κόμης ξανθῆς ἔχει τὸ μέτριον. Izaac Porphyrogenetus ed. Hingk p. 82 ὁ Πρωτεσίλαος ἀπλόθριξ, ὑπόξανθος. *conciliare*, here of bringing man and wife together Lucr. v. 963, Am. i. 13. 42, more generally in a bad sense of acting as procurer, Mil. Glor. iii. 1. 206.

131. *Aut nihil aut paulo*, a curious modification, but cf. *μόνος ἢ πρῶτος θνητῶν* Aristot. Eleg. fr. 3. 3 Bergk. Cic. Fam. xiv. 4. 1 *Certe nihil aut non multum in uita mali uidissemus*. Hor. C. iv. 14. 20 *Indomitas prope qualis undas Exercent Auster*. Ov. Her. ii. 146 *Aut hoc aut simili carmine notus eris*, xiv. 41 *Aut sic aut etiam tremui magis*. Met. xi. 478 *Aut minus aut certe medium non amplius aequor*. Alciphron fr. 6 προσσευζόμεναι πολλὰ μὲν ταῖς Νύμφαις, πλείω δὲ ἢ οὐκ ἔλδινω τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ. Shelley Prometheus Act ii. ad fin. *And rest having beheld somewhat like thee*.

133. *circumcursans*. Sen. Apocol. 9 (*Hercules*) *modo huc modo illuc cursabat*.

134. *crocina*. Aristophanes gives Cupid wings of gold Aves 697 Στάβων νότον περυγοῖν χρυσοῖν. *candidus* probably refers to his lustrous complexion. Plato Rep. 474 says fair loves (*λευκοί*) were called *θεῶν παῖδες*. *tunica*. Sappho fr. 64 Bergk gives Eros a purple chlamys.

135. Ter. Eun. i. 2. 42 *Neque tu uno eras contenta neque solus dedit*. Hor. Epod. xiv. 15, of a male, A. A. ii. 399.

136. *Rara* and *uerecundae* explain each other. Catullus will bear with his lady's frailties, for she is decorous and they are few. *herae*, in Greece the Spartans and Thessalians called their wives *δέσποινα*, Plut. Lyc. 14, Hesych. s. v. *Δεσποίνας*.

137. *stultorum*, 'jealous fools.' Propertius ii. 34. 20 says of himself in reference to Cynthia *Stultus quod stulto saepe timore tremo*. Alciph. i. 31 διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀμαθίαν ὑπερᾶραι τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἐρωτικῆς ζηλοτοπίας. From a less particular point of view, a lover whose assiduity makes him tiresome (*molestus*) becomes disagreeable (*odiosus*), and converts love into hatred, a proof of his folly (*stultitia*).

138. Aristoph. Nub. 1080 εἴτ' ἐς τὸν Δι' ἐπανενγκεῖν Κάκεινος ὥς ἦττω ἐρωτός ἐστι καὶ γυναικῶν. Καίτοι σὺ θνητὸς ὢν θεοῦ πῶς μείζον ἀν δύναιο; addressed to a supposed adulterer.

139. *in culpa* is constructed both with *flagrantem* (Dräger p. 607) and *iram* as in *paelice saeuae* Ov. Met. iv. 546, *uesanum in uile*, Prop. iii. 17. 23. See Hertzberg on Prop. i. 13. 7, and Quaest. Prop. p. 134. *contudit*, 'has crushed or mastered,' as in Att. xii. 44. 3 *Contudi anum et fortasse uici, si modo permansero*, Colum. vi. 2. 4 *simul atque iras contuderint* (of bullocks). *iram*. Callim. Del. 55 Οὐδ' Ἥρην κοτέουσιν ὑπέρσεας, ἣ μὲν ἀπάσαις Δεινὸν ἐπέβριμάτο λεχωΐσιν, αἱ δὲ παῖδας Ἐξέφερον. Trist. ii. 291, 2 *Proxima adoranti Iunonia templa subibit Paelicibus multis hanc doluisse deam*.

140. *omniuoli*, 'who lusts after all alike.' Munro, who notices the



exact parallelism of the two lines *Noscens omniuoli plurima furta Iouis* and *Rara uerecundae furta feremus herae*. *furta*, the Datanus, *facta* most other MSS. The occurrence of *furta* four lines before (136) makes it somewhat doubtful here. With *facta* = 'outrages,' 'wrongs,' *amatorie*, cf. Prop. i. 18. 26 *neque arguto facta dolore queri*. *plurima furta*, as related by him to Juno Il. xiv. 315-328, Dia, Danae, Europa, Semele, Alcmena, Demeter, Latona.

141-142. These two vv. cannot have followed each other in the original poem. If, with most edd. we assume a lacuna of only two vv. between them, the general sense may have been: 'yet as men cannot be compared with gods, my wrongs with what Juno suffered, cease<sup>1</sup>, Catullus, to complain and have done with (*tolle*) the senile vexatiousness of over-jealousy.' So Ov. Am. iii. 4. 43 cited by A. Weise *Si sapis* (= *ne nimium simus stultorum more molesti*) *indulge dominae* (= *rara furta feremus herae*), *uullusque seuerbs Exue* (= *tremuli tolle parentis onus*). *tolle* would then refer to a lost vocative *Catulle*. It might also be explained as a general expression 'away with' like *I nunc, tolle animos* Prop. iii. 18. 17, supr. XXVIII. 13 *pete nobiles amicos*, where see note. But I have little doubt that Marcilius, Lachmann, and Haupt were right in supposing a much larger lacuna between 141, 142. Catullus can hardly have meant *tolle onus* in any sense but the natural one of *lifting a burden*: and if Haupt is right in believing that another mythological digression was contained in the lost verses, it seems possible that the words *Ingratum tremuli tolle parentis onus* are to be explained by the legend of Aeneas lifting on his shoulders his aged (*tremuli*) father Anchises, who would be *ingratus onus* owing to the running sore in his back (Soph. fr. 343, 493 Nauck) caused by the thunder-bolt of Jupiter in revenge on Anchises for boasting of his intercourse with Venus. The transition to Aeneas might be justified by his being, on some accounts, the slayer of Protesilaus (Eustath. on Il. ii. 701); the punishment of Anchises would illustrate the danger of presuming on the familiarity of the *candida diua*, Lesbia. See Vol. I. pp. 275, 6, where the question is examined in detail.

141. Il. v. 440 μηδὲ θεοῖσιν ἴσ' ἔθελε φρονέειν ἐπεὶ οὐ ποτε φύλον ὁμοῖον ἁβανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἔρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων. Philo de Caritate T. ii. 404 ed. Mang. (Bergk fr. Pindar 265 A) Ἐπεὶτα δ' ὅτι φρονήματος ὑπόπλεως ἀλόγου γενόμενος πᾶς ἀλάζων οὐτε ἄνδρα οὐτε ἡμίθεον μᾶλλον ἢ δαίμονα κατὰ τὸν Πίνδαρον ὑπολαμβάνει ἑαυτὸν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀξίων βαίνειν. Lesbia seems to have challenged comparison with Juno, LXX. 2, LXXII. 2; Cicero alludes to Clodia several times as Ἡρα βοῶπις, probably in reference to the stories of her scandalous intercourse with her brother (Cael. xxxii. 78, Att. ii. 9. 1, 12. 2, 14. 1, 22. 5, 23. 3). *nec* was perhaps answered by a lost *nec* or *et*: it might however be, 'Yet since on the other hand mortals ought not to be compared with gods.' Ov. Pont. iv. 13. 5 *Non quia mirifica est, sed quod nec publica certe*.

143-148. 'After all Lesbia was not solemnly married to me; her

<sup>1</sup> Probably some distinct vocative preceded. In all the five passages quoted by Schwabe of this imperative of self-address (Jahrb. f. Philol. 1878, p. 267) from Plantus, only one is without such a vocative, Men. v. 3. 12 *moue formicinum gradum*. And in all the instances of *tolle* (Verr. v. 65. 168, Hor. C. ii. 5. 9, Epist. i. 12. 3, Verz. Aen. x. 451, Priap. 12. 20, Mart. xi. 11. 1) a distinct person is addressed.

husband was living and our first meeting was clandestine. I may therefore be well contented if I am the one favored lover whose day she marks as a day of signal and special happiness.'

143. *Nec tamen* is perhaps in reference to some married pair, mentioned in the digression. But the passages quoted by Munro on *Lucr.* i. 1050 conclusively prove that *Et tamen* may = 'and putting this or other considerations out of the way,' 'yet, after all.' Here, he paraphrases *Nec tamen* thus, 'Yes, and besides all this, remember too that I have not the claims of a lawful spouse: she came not to my house led thither by her father's hand.' *deducta*, of a bride led to the house of her husband, *Prop.* iv. 3. 13, *Lygdam.* iv. 31, *Ov. F.* iii. 689, *Stat. Theb.* viii. 234, *Dig.* xx. 3. 2 and 5. No other sense is possible. *dextra paterna* is difficult. In a Roman marriage the bride was not usually escorted to her husband's house by her father, but by three boys, one of whom bore a torch, the other two held her (*Fest.* 245 *duo qui tenent nubentem*) probably by each hand. It seems however possible that this custom was not invariable. *Plutarch Q. R.* 29 διὰ τὴν γαμουμένην οὐκ ἔωσεν αὐτὴν ὑπερβῆναι τὸν οὐδὸν τῆς οἰκίας ἀλλ' ὑπεραίρουσιν οἱ προπέμποντες; speaks vaguely, as if to cover more than one possibility. Or, Catullus may be referring to the marriage procession of some mythical ἡρώην whom he had introduced in the lost digression; she would be represented as escorted by her father, just as *Theb.* viii. 234 *multa deductam lampade fratrum Harmonien*, *Statius* describes *Harmonie* led to the house of *Cadmus* by her brothers<sup>1</sup>. v

144. *Flagrantem* (so I would now write), i. e. with all the pomp and luxury of a formal marriage. *Assyrio*. See on VI. 8.

145. *mira*, 'rare,' 'unspeakable.' Somewhat similar is *Lucretius' mirum carumque* i. 730, *manuum mira uirtute* v. 966, *Hor. Epist.* ii. 2. 29 *miros tragoedos*. The idea is nearly that of *Alciphron's* ἐκείνης τῆς ἱερᾶς νυκτός ii. 1. 4. *munuscula*. *Petron.* fr. 30. 14 *Bücheler dat adullera munus*.

146. *dempta uiri gremio*, 'subtracted from her husband's embraces:' see on LXVII. 30. This line is almost alone sufficient to show that Catullus is speaking of *Lesbia*.

147. *Quare illud satis est*. *Catalepta* 13. 11.

148. *Quem diem*, in conformity with a remark of *Servius* on *Aen.* i. 732 *Quidam uolunt masculini generis diem bonum significare, feminini malum*. *candidiore*. 'Id solenne est scriptoribus Latinis ut dies felices creta uel albo lapide lapillo calculo gemma signandos et notandos dicant: infaustos uero nigro.' *Bentley* on *Hor. C.* i. 36. 10, who, besides this passage of *Catullus* and *CVII.* 6, quotes *Mart.* 12. 34. 5-7, viii. 45. 1, 2, xi. 36. 1, 2, ix. 52. 4, 5, x. 38. 4, 5, *Stat. S.* iv. 6. 18, *Plin. Epist.* vi. 11. 3. *Lesbia* must have so far varied this custom as to specialize one particular day by a white mark, and assigned it to her most favored lover.

149-180. 'Such, *Allius*, is the gift of verse with which I would requite your many kindnesses to me, and keep in everlasting remembrance your

<sup>1</sup> The formal making over of the bride by her father to the husband, *traditio*, cf. *LXII.* 60, preceded, and was quite distinct from the *ductio in domum mariti*. *Quintilian* separates them very clearly *Decl.* 306 *aspice illam uirginem quam pater tradidit, eundem die celebri comitante populo* (*Marquardt* vii. ed.<sup>2</sup> p. 53).

family name : heaven will add all those blessings which have from time immemorial been the portion of good and true friends. I wish all happiness to you and your lady-love, to the house as well as the owner of the house which harboured Lesbia and me, to the first promoter of our love, lastly to her who is dearer to me than all the world beside, Lesbia, whose life makes my life happy.'

149. *quod potui*, 'it was all I could.' Catullus sends his friend the best he can do. Verg. E. iii. 70 *Quod potui, puero siluestri ex arbore lecta Aurea mala decem misi: cras altera mittam* (Vulp.). Heroid. viii. 5 *Quod potui, renui*. Nemes. Ecl. ii. 68 *Nuper, quae potui, siluarum praemia misi*. The elaborate character of the poem is in strong contrast with the humility of the poet's language. [*quod potui* MSS. Lachmann preferred Muretus' conj. *quo*.] *confectum carmine*, wrought or framed in verse; Caesar B. G. i. 29 has *tabulae litteris Graecis confectae*, Nepos Hann. 13 *libros Graeco sermone conficere*. Possibly Catullus wrote *confictum*, a word which would suggest the elaborate moulding and dove-tailing into shape, which characterize the poem. So *fauos confingunt et ceras* of bees Plin. H. N. xi. 11.

151. *uestrum* after *tibi*, 'your family name,' see on LXIV. 160. *scabra*, 'corroding.' Verg. G. i. 495 *Exesa inueniet scabra robigine pila*. Here the notion seems to be that of a monument, in which the letters of Allius' name are engraved and liable to be corroded by time. Shakespeare Sonnets ci *it lies in thee To make him much outlive a gilded tomb, And to be praised of ages yet to be*.

152. 'To-day and to-morrow and other days in long succession.' Ad Heren. iv. 50. 63 *Alio nomine appellat, deinde alio atque alio*.

153. Themis gave to Peleus as *εὐσεβίστατος* the *θεόμορον γάμος* of marrying Thetis, Pind. Isthm. viii. 40. Hesychius identifies Themis with Good Fortune *ἀγαθὴ Τύχη*, see Welcker Götterlehre iii. 18-20 and 210, Plutarch with Carmenta, who gave the Roman matrons *εὐτεκνίαν καὶ πολυτεκνίαν* Q. R. 56. Hesiod associates her with Aphrodite, Hebe and Dione (Theog. 16), and she is called *σωματικὴ θεά* in Etym. M. Hence I think the blessings of which Catullus speaks are those of marriage, happiness in the possession of a healthy wife and children, as well as of a vigorous body. If this is so, Allius who in 1-40 is spoken of as a widower would seem to have chosen another wife (*tua uita*), whether as yet married or not is uncertain. [Pighius in his treatise *Themis Dea* (Antwerp 1568) thinks the *munera* here ascribed to Themis are of a *moral* kind. The main ideas associated with the goddess being law<sup>1</sup>, order, decency, wise counsel, observance of pacts (p. 64), these might represent to Allius a decent and harmonious life with his *uita*, undisturbed by brawls and mutual recrimination. But Themis being also *σωματικὴ θεά*, presiding over the procreation of well-proportioned children, and preventing painful or unnatural births (Pighius p. 65), from which point of view she was identified with Carmenta, the special goddess of Roman matrons<sup>2</sup> (Dionys. Ant. i. 31, Plut. Rom. 21, A. Gell. xvi. 16), Catullus must also, I think, at least include in the *munera* of Themis something *physical*, and if so, what else but health and vigour of body for

<sup>1</sup> So Harnecker (1881), 'Themis ist die heilige Satzung, das uralte Sittengesetz, die sittliche Pflicht, die moralische Ordnung.'

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ προσέτι τῆς θεῆς τὰ ἀπόρρητα σύμβολα, δρίγανον λύχνος ξίφος καὶ γυναικίς, δ' ἐστίν, εὐφήμων καὶ μονοειδῶς εἰπεῖν, μόριον γυναικείον.

himself and even more for the partner of his affections? It must not be forgotten that, at least later, the symbol of Themis was a tetrad consisting of an *origanum*-plant (see note on the first Epithalamium), a lamp, a sword, and the *female genital*<sup>1</sup>. (Clem. Alex. Protrept. 6 Sylburg, cited by Pighius p. 108.)

154. *Antiquis*, e.g. in the golden age, or in the Heroic period. *piis* is here a substantive as *pudicas* Prop. iii. 13. 9. Ovid has *diuus auarus* Am. iii. 7. 50, Statius *sapientum priorum* S. ii. 2. 69.

155. *uita*, in this sense of 'beloved,' is generally in the vocative, Truc. ii. 4. 37, Cas. i. 47, and so above XLV. 13, infr. CIX. 1, Prop. ii. 3. 23, 26. 1, *uila* i. 2. 1. Munro thinks Allius had married a new wife, and the allusion to Themis in 153 makes this very probable.

156. 'And the house itself in which we both enjoyed our love, and she that is mistress of the house.' *ipsa*, which *Da* supply, the other MSS omit, fixes the meaning of *domina*, 'not only the mistress of the house, but the house itself,' cf. 70. *Iusinus* can hardly refer to Allius and Catullus; like *nobis* in 157 it must be explained of Catullus and Lesbia.

157. *rem condidit*, 'was the originator of all.' This is my conjecture for the MS reading *terram dedit*; but there is much to recommend Scaliger's *te transdedit* either as 'placed you at my disposal' Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 3. 5 *Domum ad eum statim uenimus eique nos totos tradidimus*, or in the sense of recommending, Fam. vii. 17. 2 *Sic ei te commendauimus et tradidi ut grauissime diligentissimeque potui*, Hor. Epist. i. 18. 78 *Fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus*, S. i. 9. 47 *Hunc hominem uelles si tradere*. Fronto p. 168 Naber *Neque tu me a Nigro tibi traditum diligere coepisti*. Scaliger explains it in this sense; but though Caesar seems to have written *se hostibus transdederunt* B. G. vii. 77, I doubt whether this spelling is admissible in the sense of recommending. *Anser* is the conjecture of Heyse; the name is found in Verg. E. ix. 36, Prop. ii. 34. 84, Ovid Trist. ii. 435; cf. Cic. Phil. xiii. 5. 11. Munro preferred *Afer*. See Excursus.

158. *primo* unelided before *omnia* is extraordinarily harsh; but cf. LXVI. 48 *chalybum*, XCVII. 2 *culum*. Peiper conj. *nomina* or *semina nata boni*.

159. *El longe ante alias omnes mitissima mater* Lygdam. ii. 4. 93; hence the construction seems to be *El quae longe ante omnes carior mihi me ipso est*, a condensed expression for *el quae longe omnium carissima, atque adeo me ipso carior est*. The juxtaposition of *mihi* and *me* as in Cic. Att. iii. 22. 3 *Premor desiderio omnium meorum qui mihi me cariores semper fuerunt*. Pont. ii. 8. 27 *Per patriae nomen quae te tibi carior ipso est*, Trist. v. 14. 2 *O mihi me coniunx carior*.

160. Merc. ii. 4. 5 *Id mihi adimitur qua causa uilam cupio uiuere*. Fronto p. 59 Naber *amo uilam propter te*, ib. 88 *desiderantissime, causa optima uilae meae*. Callimachus fr. 219 Blomf. *Τεθνῶναι δὲ ἐκείνον ἀποπνεύσαντα πιθοίμην*. *uiuere dulce mihi est* is Homeric, Od. xxiv. 435 *Οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγε μετὰ φρεσὶν ἦδὺ γένοιτο Ζῶμεν, ἀλλὰ τάχιστα θανὼν φθιμένοισι μετεΐην*.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Rom. 21 τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν οἶονταί τινες μοῖραν εἶναι κυρίαν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως· διὸ καὶ τιμῶσιν αὐτὴν αἱ μητέρες. A. Gellius xvi. 16 states that mothers sacrificed at the altars of the two Carmentas, Postuerta (goddess of abnormal posture of children in the womb) and Prorsa (goddess of straightforward or natural) to escape painful parturition.

## EXCURSUS ON LXVIII. 27-29.

*Quare, quod scribis Veronae turpe Catullo  
Esse, quod hic quisquis de meliore nota  
Frigida deserto tepefacit membra cubili.*

PROF. JOWETT thought Mallius was remonstrating in these verses with Catullus for remaining at Verona, when he might imitate the example of the fashionable world by taking a course of hot baths at Baiae or some other well-known watering-place. Mallius will then say 'It is discreditable in you, Catullus, to be at Verona, because everybody of any fashion has been here (at Baiae or some other hot spring), giving up his bed and warming his chilly limbs (in a hot bath).' With *deserto cubili* in this sense cf. Stat. S. i. 3. 93, 4 *Deliciae, quas ipse suis digressus Athenis Mallet deserto senior Gargettius horto.*

That Baiae was the place from which Mallius wrote to Catullus was also the belief, independently formed, of Munro. Such a coincidence of opinion in two scholars and on different grounds is too remarkable not to call for some illustration. The following passages will show the sort of place Baiae was in the time of Catullus and Cicero. Varro gave the name *Baiae* to one of his Menippean Satires, Non. 154 *Puellascere ecfeminari uel reuiridiscere. Varro Bais Quod non solum innubae fiunt communis, sed etiam ueteres puellascunt (puerascunt Onions) et multi pueri puellascunt*, a passage which shows the soft and enervating character of the place<sup>1</sup>. Cicero often alludes to Baiae, especially in reference to the profligacy which there found a natural home. Cael. xv. 35 *Libidines amores adulteria Baias actas conuiuia comissationes cantus symphonias nauigia. xx. 47 Nihil igitur illa uicinias redolet? nihil hominum fama? nihil Baiae denique ipsae locuntur? Illae uero non locuntur solum, uerum etiam personant: huc unius mulieris libidinem esse prolapsam, ut ea non modo solitudinem ac tenebras, atque haec flagitiorum integumenta non quaerat, sed in turpissimis rebus frequentissima celebritate et clarissima luce laetetur? 49 Si quae non nupta mulier domum suam palefecerit omnium cupiditati, palamque sese in meretricia uita collocarit, uirorum alienissimorum conuiuiis uti instituerit; si hoc in urbe, si in hortis, si in Baiarum illa celebritate faciat.* In these three passages Cicero is speaking of Clodia, therefore perhaps of Lesbia; and the connexion of Baiae with Clodia and her brother Pulcher is shown by a fragment of Cicero's oration in Clodium et Curionem iv. 1 Orelli *Primum homo durus ac priscus inuictus est in eos, qui mense Aprili apud Baias essent et aquis calidis uterentur. Quid cum hoc homine nobis tam tristi ac seuro? Non possunt hi mores ferre hunc tam austerum et tam uehementem magistrum, per quem hominibus maioribus natum in suis quidem praediis impune tum, cum Romae nihil agitur, liceat esse ualitudinique seruire. . . . Quid homini, inquit, Arpinati cum Baiis, agresti ac rustico? Quo loco ita fuit caecus, ut facile appareret uidisse eum quod fas non fuisset: nec enim respexit illum ipsum patronum libidinis suae non modo apud Baias esse, uerum eas ipsas aquas habere, quae gustu tamen Arpinatis fuissent.* Cf. Att. i. 16. 10 where this joke is repeated: it proves conclusively that Baiae was the fashionable resort of the *beau monde*, and that the society there was not only made up of those *de meliore nota*, but apt to be exclusive to those who were not. This would explain Catullus' strong expression *turpe* (27); he would lose consideration as a man of

<sup>1</sup> See Couat Étude p. 43.

fashion by not being at Baiae; of course more, if Lesbia was there. His reply *non est turpe, magis miserum est* is in other words what Cicero says Att. ix. 2. 5 *Te uero nolo nisi ipse rumor iam raucus erit factus ad Baia uenire. Erit enim nobis honestius etiam cum hinc discesserimus uideri uenisse in illa loca ploratum potius quam natatum.* The season at Baiae was in spring (cf. Lygd. 5. 1-4 where however the allusion is not to Baiae, but to hot springs in general) and Venus, the goddess of April (Hor. C. iv. 11. 16) seems to have been the tutelary deity of the place (Mart. xi. 80. 1). The whole exordium of the poem will thus gain new significance. Mallius, writing to Catullus from Baiae, would have before him the sea to suggest the image of shipwreck in 3, as the *sancta Venus* in 5 would be a reminiscence of the goddess who, though worshipped as the tutelary power of the place, could do nothing to relieve the pangs of one of its visitors.

## EXCURSUS ON LXVIII. 68.

*Isque domum nobis isque dedit dominam.*

The following extract from Mr. Postgate's Catulliana, Journ. of Philology xvii p. 252, sums up the arguments for this, the MS reading:—

'(1) *et domus et dominus* is a regular phrase: compare LXI. 31, and to take its members separately involves a mental dislocation: (2) *domina*, 'mistress,' is a sense not found till Tibullus: (3) *ad quam* (= *apud quam*) the editors have to assume to be corrupt; but no even plausible substitute has been suggested: (4) *isque* is extremely weak if *dominae* be read: (5) Catullus is speaking of what was done for *him*, not for Lesbia: (6) it is very unlikely that he should anticipate the *candida diua* of 30. To reply to some objections, Catullus does not say 'dare dominam' but 'dare dominam *ad quam*,' &c. What difficulty would there be in the corresponding prose phrase 'dedit domum et dominam cuius hospitio uteremur?' There is no reason for identifying *tua uita* 116 with *domina*, and none for supposing Allius lent his own house.'

## EXCURSUS ON LXVIII. 157.

MSS give this verse thus—

*Et qui principio nobis terram dedit aufert,*

and Vahlen (Berlin Programme of 1882) considers this may be right. Comparing Hor. Epp. i. 16. 33 *Qui dedit hoc hodie, cras, si uolet, aufert*, i. 18. 111 *Satis est orare Iouem quae donat (ponit the better MSS) et aufert, Det uitam, det opes*, S. ii. 3. 288 *Iuppiter ingentes qui das adimisque dolores*, he explains the verse of Jupiter, and for *Et* would substitute *Dum* in the sense of 'on to the time when,' as in Hor. C. iii. 21. 24 *Dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus*.

Schöll also (Jahrb. cxxi. 480) and B. Schmidt (Proleg. cxxviii) consider *dedit aufert* genuine. The latter conj.

*Et qui quam primo nobis terram dedit aufert*

explaining of the husband of the lady to whom the house belonged in which both Allius and Catullus met their mistresses. This house after a time was no longer open to the pair of lovers (Allius and Catullus); and this is described in a metaphor designed to be obscure, as the loss of ground which they had once possessed, or perhaps of firm ground which had prevented the shipwreck of their love. This latter is the suggestion of Munro, Journal of Philology viii. p. 335, where he recants his former



view of verses 155-160 in favor of my explanation of *dominam* in 68, *domina* in 156, as referring to the lady-owner of the house where Allius and Catullus first met their respective loves. Munro cites Plaut. Most. iii. 2. 48 TR. *Set, Simo, ita nunc uentus nauem nostram deseruit*. SI. *Quid est? Quo modo?* TR. *Pessumo*. SI. *Quaene subducta erat Tulo in terra?* Merc. i. 2. 84 *Equidem me iam censebam esse in terra atque in tulo loco*. *Verum uideo me iterum ad saxa ferri saeuis fluctibus*. Rud. iii. 5. 44, 45, and the proverb, ascribed to Thales, πιστὸν γῆ, ἄπιστον θάλασσα. He however gives up *aufert* and suggests *Afer* or *auctor*. Bährens conj. *haustis* sc. *aqua*.

Another possibility was suggested by me in the Journal of Philology xiv. 85. In the Early Latin Glossary belonging to the Phillippus Library at Cheltenham (No. 4626), under *lodix* is quoted Mart. xiv. 152 *lodices mittit tibi docti dextra Catulli* where the MSS of Martial give *terra*. The same exchange of words may have happened in the verse of Catullus *Et qui principio nobis dextram dedit*. Then *aufert*, which in common with most edd. I hold to be indubitably corrupt, may be *hospes*. The meaning is well illustrated by another extract from the Phillippus Glossary, *Hospes dicitur quasi ostii pes quia olim quando quis hospitandi gratia domum alicuius ingrediens suscipiebatur, ponebat domus ipsius dominus et qui suscipiebatur pedem super ostium et datis dextris iurabat susceptus quod pacificus esset eius ingressus. hospes dicitur tam qui suscipit tam qui suscipitur*. The *hospes* who gave Catullus the right hand of friendship as a sign that he admitted him to his house on terms of equal and safe intimacy may have been the father of Allius himself: or, as is perhaps more likely, an intimate friend (see Fornerius Select. iii. 27). I do not see any reason for extending *nobis* to Allius (as well as Catullus): though this is the later view of Munro, as stated above.

The suggested explanation to some extent disposes of the metrical difficulty (to my mind a very great one) of a fifth foot formed on the old Ennian model *dex|trām dēdīt*, admitted indeed by Lucretius, but avoided by the *νέωτεροι*. No instance of such a rhythm will be found in the rest of LXVIII: the nearest approach to it is *is datur* 147, *quae Themis* 153, *et tua uita* 155: licences which though all occurring in the last and least wrought section of the poem, can hardly justify another and a greater metrical enormity. If *terram dedit* is retained, this objection remains in full force: but *dextram dedit*, as a combination, might seem to form a single word, just as *herbam dare*, to be defeated (Serv. Aen. viii. 128), must have completely coalesced before such a gloss as that in Phillippus 4626 could be possible, *Herbando i. uictus sum herbando das re. Antiqui enim cum in pratis cursu uel lucta contenderent superati herbam euellentes aduersario dabant*.

## LXIX.

THE Rufus of this poem was supposed by Muretus and Statius (with whom Schwabe and Bährens agree) to be M. Caelius Rufus, the rival of Catullus in the affections of Lesbia: a view which Vulp. and Doering impugn, considering it improbable that such an attack should be directed against a man sufficiently handsome to be described by Cicero (Cael. xv.

36 *Candor huius te et proceritas, uultus oculique perpulerunt*). Schwabe (Quaestt. p. 87) justly remarks that this does not really affect the question; but if Caelius was the profligate Cicero calls him it is difficult to believe that 1, 2 can refer to him. See below on LXXVII.

2. *supposuisse* with *uelit*, a recurring formula C. I. L. i. p. 43 *Nequis eorum Bacanal habuisse uelit*, ib. *Bacas uir nequis adiesse uelit*, Cato R. R. v. 4 *Chaldaicum ne quem consuluisse uelit*, and so Liuv. xxxix. 14 and 17, Hor. S. ii. 3. 187 *Ne quis humasse uelit Aiacem*, Prop. ii. 19. 32 *nocuisse uelit*, but not in Cicero, Caesar, Sallust or Tacitus. (Dräger i. p. 230.) The frequent use of this infinitive in elegiac poetry is probably determined, as Hertzberg (Quaestt. Propert. p. 120) observes, by its metrical convenience. Holtze ii. 38 and Dräger call it an aoristic use; it is equally possible that the wish is regarded as anticipating the completion of the act.

3. *rarae*, 'of thin texture,' Am. i. 5. 13, like the Coan robes, Hor. S. i. 2. 101 *Cois tibi paene uidere est Vt nudam*, Ov. A. A. ii. 298 *Siue erit in Cois, Coa decere puta*. *labefactes*, 'corrupt,' Cluent. lxviii. 194 *quibus pecuniam promiserit, quorum fidem pretio labefactare conata sit*. Val. Max. iv. 3, Ext. 3 *Phryne pulchritudine sua nulla ex parte constantissimam eius abstinentiam labefecit*.

4. *perluciduli*<sup>1</sup>, *διανύφος*, like the amethyst Anth. P. v. 205. 3. Bentley on Hor. iv. 13. 14 quotes Sen. Epist. 90. 45 *illi quidem non aurum nec argentum nec perlucidos lapides ima terrarum faece quaerebant*. N. Q. iii. 25 *Κρύσταλλον appellant Graeci hunc perlucidum lapidem*. Manil. v. 531 *Et perlucentes cuperet pensare lapillos*. *deliciis*, 'to make her doat,' in reference to the daintiness of the gift, Hor. C. iv. 8. 10. 'Not for a cherish'd gem's clarity, lucid of hue,' Metr. Transl.

6. *ualle alarum*, like Ausonius' *ualle femorum* Epigr. 79. 5 Schenkl = Aristophanes' *μῆρ' εἰς ἀπορήτους μύχους* Eccles. 12, Arnobius' (iv. 7) *uirginalis scrobs* = *muliebria*. Varro in his Prometheus viii Riese, 430 Bücheler, applied the word *uallis* to the hollow containing the anus *retrimenta cibi qua exirent, per posticum uallem (callem Bücheler) feci*. Sidonius has *alarum specubus hircosis* Epist. iii. 13. 8 Lütjohann. *trux caper*. Ov. A. A. iii. 193 *Quam paene admonui ne trux caper iret in alas*. The words *caper*, *capra* (Hor. Epist. i. 5. 29) *hircus* (Hor. Epod. 12. 5, infr. LXXI. 1, Plaut. Pseud. ii. 4. 48, cf. *κυνίβρα γράσος*) are all used of the rank smell of the arm-pits. *trux*, enough to knock one down.

7. *mala Bestia* is Plautine. Bacch. i. 1. 21.

8. *quicquid*, feminine, as in Trin. Prol. 15 (Holtze Synt. i. p. 379).

9. *crudelem pestem*, LXIV. 76. *nasorum*. A. A. i. 522 *Nec laedat naris uirque paterque gregis* (Vulp.). *interfice* seems to keep in view the idea of the *mala bestia*, though the passages cited by Nonius 449 show that *interficere* was used of destroying inanimate objects, e. g. bread Lucil. inc. 92 L. Müller, harvests Verg. G. iv. 330, and possibly therefore a smell.

10. *fugiunt*, the indic. adds downrightness and coarseness, as in Plautus; see Holtze Synt. ii. 236 sqq., Dräger Histor. Synt. i. p. 307.

<sup>1</sup> The Christian poet Orientius seems to imitate this passage Commonit. i. 557 *Quo tibi perlucens habitus, qui tegmine raro Offerat ignotis membra tegenda oculis?*



## LXX.

A SHORT epigram on Lesbia without chronological indication, unless we may argue from *nudere* in 1, that Lesbia's husband was now dead. It is obviously modelled on Callimachus, Epig. 26 : cf. especially the repetition of *dicat—dicat* with "Ωμοσε—Ωμοσεν :—

"Ωμοσε Καλλίγνωτος 'Ιωνίδι, μήποτ' ἐκελευς  
ἔξω μήτε φίλον κρείσσονα, μήτε φίλην.  
Ωμοσεν ἄλλὰ λέγουσιν ἀληθέα, τοὺς ἐν ἔρωτι  
ὄρκους μὴ δύναιν οὔτ' ἐς ἀθανάτων.  
νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἀρσενικῷ θέρεται πυρί, τῆς δὲ ταλαίης  
νύμφης, ὡς Μεγαρέων, οὐ λόγος, οὔτ' ἀριθμός.

Cf. Hesych. 'Αφροδίσιος ὄρκος, Plat. Symp. 183 'Αφροδίσιον ὄρκον οὐ φασιν εἶναι, Phileb. 65. Schol. on Symp. 183 'Αφροδίσιος ὄρκος οὐκ ἐμποίνιμος, ἐπὶ τῶν δὲ ἔρωτα ὁμνούντων πολλάκις καὶ ἐπιγορεύωντων μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης (?) καὶ Ἡσίοδος, λέγων 'Ἐκ τοῦδ' ὄρκον ἔθηκεν ἀμείνονα (ἀπήμονα Hermann) ἀνθρώποισι Νοσφιδίων ἔργων περὶ Κύπριδος. Madame de Rémusat, to her husband, Lettres ii. p. 398 *J'avais juré que si je ne recevais pas de lettre aujourd'hui, je ne t'écrirais plus ; mais c'est un vrai serment d'ivrogne ou d'amoureux que j'ai fait là.*

1. Nulli . . . non si, as LXXXVIII. 7, 8. *mulier mea.* Hor. Epod. xii. 23, 4 *Ne foret aequales inter conuiua magis quem Diligeret mulier sua quam te.*

2. Iuppiter, LXXII. 2, Cas. ii. 5. 13-15 Olymp. *Orat, opsecrat Ne Casinam uxorem ducam.* Stal. *Quid tu postea ?* Ol. *Negavi enim ipsi me concessurum Ioui, Si is mecum oraret.* Poen. i. 2. 76 *Illa me amet malim quam di.* Heroid. iv. 36, Met. vii. 801.

3. *cupido amanti* as in A. A. i. 419 *inuenit artem Femina qua cupidi carpat amanti opes.*

4. Plato Phaedr. 276 Οὐκ ἄρα σπουδῇ αὐτὰ ἐν ὕδατι γράψει. Meleager in Anth. P. v. 8. 5 Νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ὄρκιά φησιν ἐν ὕδατι κείνα φέρεσθαι. Paroem. Graec. ii. p. 379 'Ορκους ἐγὼ γυναικὸς εἰς ὕδωρ γράφω, a line ascribed to Sophocles (fr. 741 Nauck, where see references). Philostr. Imag. ii. 8 'Ἄλλ' οὐκ ὕδαρ ταῦτα, ὦ Κριθῆς, οὐδὲ ἐς ὕδωρ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον γράφεις. Cic. Fin. ii. 22. 72 *Fundamenta in uoluptate, tamquam in aqua, ponitis.* Troilus and Cressida iii. 2 as false *As air, as water, wind or sandy earth.*

## LXXI.

MARCIUS seems to be right in saying that this epigram is tame, unless some actual name is introduced to give it point, and it follows that the MS reading of 1 *Viro* is not a corruption of *iure* but, as Muretus Scaliger and Lachmann agree, another way of spelling *Virro*, a name which occurs in Iuuen. v. 39, 43, 99, 128, 134, 149, 156, x. 35, and is similarly corrupted in many MSS.

The general sense of the epigram is thus expressed by Haupt Quaestt. p. 92, reading *Si cui iure bono* and *Aut si quem*, 'Si unquam cuiquam homini merito contigit ut hirco et podagra laboraret, aemulus iste tuus

utrumque malum meritissimo et poena iustissima nactus est. Nam quotiens rem habet cum illa quondam tua puella, ulciscitur iniuriam tibi illatam; punit enim odore suo puellam et se podagra.'

The MSS however give *quam*, not *quem*, in 2, and this agrees with the antithesis of the last line *Illam affligit odore, ipse perit podagra*. On this view Virro transmits his foulness, Virro's mistress her gout (Sen. Ep. 75. 20, 21), to the new lover. *Si quis unquam bonus fuit qui prae ceteris alarum hircu laboraret, aut si cui feminae bona causa fuit cur podagra cruciaretur, in amante aemulo Virronis utrumque perspicitur. Quoties enim cum Virronis amica stuprum facit, et Virronis et amicae utriusque laborat, ab eo hircum ab ea accipit podagram: unde fit ut simul se cum amica punit, simul ambos Virronem et amicam ullores faciat nequitiae, cum utriusque morbum in se admiserit.* Here both *uestrum* and *ulciscitur* are ambiguous; in 3 *uestrum* = either *tuum suumque* or *tuum et amicae tuae*; in 5 *ulciscitur ambos* is either 'punishes both,' i.e. himself and her, or 'gives both a revenge,' i.e. both you and your mistress, by the pangs which each of you transmits to him. For *ulcisci* in this latter sense cf. Sest. lli. 111 *In quo tamen est me ultus cum illo ore inimicos est meos sauiatus*. 'If ever there was a good man with a pestilent feter in his arm-pits to try him, or if ever woman had a disabling gout to torture her with reason, it is for your rival, Virro, the man who makes love to your joint mistress, to show how rarely he has succeeded in catching either malady from you. Each time he enjoys the lady, he secures a punishment for both: the lady he stifles with his smell, and is himself slain with her gout.'

1. *Si quoi bono obstitit* is best explained on the analogy of *ἐν τῷ καὶ ἄλλος, ἐπεὶ ποτὲ, ἐν ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε*, etc. So CIL 1, Cic. Fam. vii. 23. 3 *Si quid generis istiusmodi me delectat, pictura delectat*. Others refer *merito* backwards. 'If ever a good man was afflicted with foul arm-pits, if ever a woman was tortured with gout, for an excellent reason.' *bono*, semi-ironical, XXXIX. 9 *bone Egnati*. By *bono* is meant primarily the *aemulus*, for the two verses 1, 2 present successively the same pair as 6 collectively, *Ipsam affligit odore, ipse perit podagra*. But the form of the sentence suggests also secondarily that in *bono* Virro is alluded to. The *sacer alarum obstitit hircus* would of course be true of both, Virro and his rival, as Catullus says *est a te nactus utrumque malum*. *sacer*, 'accursed,' XIV. 12. MSS mostly give *sacrorum*, O has *sacralorum*. I have followed most edd. including Lachmann and Haupt in keeping the correction of the early Italians *sacer alarum*. My own conj. *sacer introsum* would = *ualle sub alarum*. See Excursus. *alarum*. Petron. 128 *Quid est? inquit, nunquid te osculum meum offendit? nunquid spiritus ieiunio macer? nunquid alarum negligens sudor?* *obstitit*, in a general sense, 'stood in his way.' Ov. F. iii. 435 *Ne tamen ignaro nouilas tibi nominis obstet*. Plaut. Trin. i. 1. 15 *Quae in rebus multis opstant odiosaeque sunt*. Cic. ad Q. Fr. ii. 6. 6 *ea ipsa in re Pompeii offensio nobis obstitit*. Of course it would be mainly in the offensiveness of such a *sacer hircus* that the word would be understood.

2. *merito*, with good reason. The word is specially used of punishment falling on an offender who deserves it. Am. ii. 14. 39 of a woman dying in the attempt to procure abortion, *Ipsa perit, ferturque toro resoluta capillos, Et clamant 'merito, qui modo cumque uident*. Prop. i. 17. 1 of a

lover overtaken by a storm for deserting his mistress, *Et merito, quoniam potui fugisse puellam, Nunc ego desertas alloquor alcyonas. tarda podagra*. Hor. S. i. 9. 32 'quia tardos homines facit et est ὑπαλλαγή.' Acron there. *secat*, 'scourges,' Munro. Mart. ix. 92. 9 *podagra cheragraque secatur*.

3, 4. A brachylogy. Catullus means if ever there was a case of *hircus* and *podagra* combining themselves signally to punish a man, that case is exhibited in Virro's rival.

3. *exercent*, as in LXVIII. 69, Sen. Epist. 99. 13 *Suam alienamque libidinem exercent*. *amorem* is not i. q. *amicam*, but the love which you and he share together (*uestrum*).

4. *Mirifice*, LIII. 2. a *te*. Virro transmits with his mistress his own *malum* and hers.

5. *ulciscitur*, 'punishes.' Menaechm. i. 2. 17 *Nam si foris cenat profecto me, haut uxorem, ulciscitur*. *ambos*, i. e. himself and her.

6. Anth. P. xi. 240 Οὐ μόνον αὐτὴ πνέει Δημοστρατίς, ἀλλὰ δὴ αὐτῆς τοὺς δαμνησαμένους πνέειν πεποίηκε τράγον.

## EXCURSUS ON LXXI. 1.

MSS give this line thus—

*Si qua uiro bono sacrorum (sacratorum O) obstilit hircus.*

Possibly *obstilit* contained some technical religious allusion. Festus s. v. *Obstitum* says Cincius explained this word *quom qui deo deaeque obstiterit, id est qui uiderit quod uideri nefas esset*. This might give a colour to Fröhlich's<sup>1</sup> *Bonae*: combining this with A. Palmer's<sup>2</sup> *scortatorum* (or perhaps *stupratorum*), we might write *Si quei, Virro, Bonae scortatorum obstilit hircus*, if any rank-armed lecher ever violated the sanctity of Bona (Dea) by witnessing something he ought not, as a male. There will then be an allusion to Clodius' intrusion into the house of Caesar during the performance of the mysteries of the Bona Dea. It would follow that the *aemulus* of Virro was Clodius. The word *scortator* seems to have been used by Cic. Cat. ii. 10. 24 *O bellum magno opere peritimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortatorum* (al. *scortorum*) *cohortem praetoriam*.

Or possibly, *Si quoi, Virro, Bonae sacratarum obstilit hircus*, i. e. *si quam sacratarum Bonae Deae hircus umquam profanauit*. But such an allusion either to Clodius or the Bona Dea is after all rather far-fetched and can scarcely be thought probable.

## LXXII.

THIS epigram is closely connected in subject with LXX. But what was then a future possibility, the perfidy of Lesbia, is now a past reality. It may therefore have been written considerably later: yet it belongs to a time when the passion was still at its height (*impensius uror*), and is

<sup>1</sup> Fröhlich conj. *Si quoi iure Bonae sacratorum officit hircus* before *sacratorum* was known to be the reading of the Oxford MS.

<sup>2</sup> Palmer would write (Hermathen. vii. p. 149) *Si quoi iure bonae scortatorum obstilit hircus* explaining *bonae* of a woman who is not chary of her favors.

earlier, I think, than either VIII or LXXVI. The tone is like Theognis, see the notes. Tibullus has imitated this epigram i. 9. 31-34

*Tunc mihi iurabas nullius diuitis auri  
Pondere, non gemmis uendere uelle fidem.  
Non tibi si pretium Campania terra daretur,  
Non tibi si Bacchi cura Falernus ager.*

1. *Dioebas quondam* seems to put Lesbia's assertion (*Dicit LXX. 1, 3*) quite in the past: like *Fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles VIII. 3*, and *At non haec quondam nobis promissa dedisti LXIV. 139. solum. Theogn. 1314 sqq.* Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτοις γ' ἦσθα φίλος πρότερον, ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκ πάντων σ' ἐδόκουν θήσεσθαι ἐταῖρον Πιστόν· καὶ δὴ νῦν ἄλλον ἔχεισθα φίλον.

2. *tenerē, XI. 18. Iouem, LXX. 2.*

3. *Dilexi* is no doubt less distinctly erotic than *amare* (*Fam. xiii. 47 ut scires eum a me non diligi solum uerum etiam amari*), but it does not necessarily imply a moral preference: for Catullus himself has *nescio quid febriculosi Scorti diligit VI. 4, quem tu diligere inciperes LXXXI. 2.*

5. *Nunc te cognoui.* Theogn. 969 Ἐφθην αἰνήσας πρὶν σου κατὰ πάντα δαῖναι Ἡθεα. *impensius.* Terence has *impense cupere Ad. v. 9. 36, inuidere Eun. iii. 1. 23*: the meaning is simply 'more exceedingly.'

6. *mei* for *mi* (*mihi*) seems to have been written by Catullus here as in LXXVII. 3. *leuior*, 'of less esteem.' Ter. Hec. v. 1. 33 *Nec leuiorem uobis, quibus est minime aecum, eum uiderier.*

7. *Qui potis est? inquis.* Plin. Epist. iv. 9. 27 *Qui fieri potest? inquis.* Pers. i. 56 *Qui pote? uis dicam? nugaris.* Cicero Att. xii. 40. 2 uses *Qui potest?* = 'how is it possible?' if the MSS can be trusted.

8. The younger Dousa quotes Anth. P. v. 256. 3, 4 Ὑβρις ἔρωτας ἔλινος μάτην ὅδε μῦθος ἀδᾷται Ὑβρις ἐμὴν ἐρέθει μᾶλλον ἐρωμανίην. Here the *iniuria* is doubtless a preference shown by Lesbia to some rival of Catullus. *magis*, the lover becomes more enamoured of the person, as he becomes less attached to the character (*minus*) Ovid A. iii. 11. 38 *Auersor morum crimina, corpus amo* (Dousa f.) Cicero has the same antithesis pro Caec. ii. 6 *reprehendendum fortasse minus, querendum uero magis etiam uidetur.*

## LXXIII.

A SHORT protest against the ingratitude of a friend. Who the person alluded to is, is not known: Muretus, Voss, and others think it is the Alfenus of XXX: Alex. Guarinus, with whom Schwabe Quaestt. p. 85 and B. Schmidt p. xv agree, the Rufus of LXXVII, in accordance with which view Schwabe writes in 4 *Immo etiam, Caelei, taedet obestque magis.* As there is nothing in the language of the epigram to determine the character of the offence, it may have been written on either: but it may quite as well have been written on neither. It is not necessary to suppose that Catullus introduced the name of his ungrateful friend: *quisquam* rather points to the contrary. The tone is again Theognidean.

1. *bene uelle mereri*, 'to wish to do any kindness.' So constantly and in Asin. i. 2. 3 (a scene which may have occurred to Catullus, see on 3) *Bene merenti mala's, male merenti bona's.*

2. *pium*, 'grateful.' Pont. iv. 1. 7, 8 *Non potuit mea mens quin esset grata teneri. Si precor officio non grauis ira pio.*

3, 4. Lucian. Timon 48 οὐκέτι πιστευτέα τῶν νῦν οὐδενί· πάντες ἀχάριστοι καὶ πονηροί.

3. *ingrata*, 'without return,' as in Asin. i. 2. 10 *Ingrata irrita esse omnia intellego Quae dedi et quod benefeci*. Epid. i. 2. 33 *Miserum est ingratum esse homini id quod facias bene*. This is more likely than that *Omnia sunt ingrata* = 'everything is ungrateful,' 'all is ingratitude,' cf. LXXXIX. 3 *omnia plena puellis*; for *ingratus* in this sense cf. Sen. Epist. 99. 4 *Dolor iste non superuacuos tantum sed ingratus est*. Ergo quod habuisti talem amicum, periit opera? tot annis, tanta coniunctione uitae, tam familiari studiorum societate nihil actum est? The sentiment is of course common Od. iv. 695 Οὐδέ τις ἔστι χάρις μετόπισθε εὐεργέων. Theogn. 1263 ὦ παῖ, ὅς ἐδ' ἔρδοντι κακὴν ἀπέδωκας ἀμοιβήν, Οὐδέ τις ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ χάρις παρὰ σοῦ. Οὐδέν πώ μ' ὤνησας· ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ πολλάκις ἤδη Εἰ ἔρδων αἰδοῖς οὐδεμιῆς ἔτυχον.

4. *nihil fecisse benigne Prodest*, 'There is no kindness which brings to the doer an after-gain.' Petron. 92 *Neminem nihil boni facere oportet: aequae est enim ac si in puteum conicias, sed antiquus amor cancer est*.

*fecisse benigne*. Robortello compares pro Deiot. xiii. 36 *benigne sibi a P. R. esse factum*. *Prodest* is omitted by MSS, but was rightly supplied by Avancius in his edition of 1534-1540 and independently after him by Guyet, Fröhlich, and Bücheler. *Prodest* is the etymological correlative of *obest* and is to be preferred to other conjectures for this reason alone. Reid on pro Sulla iv. 12 shows that this *figura etymologica* is common in Cic. *delata—prolata, amissum—remissum, ferebat—referebat* all in the pro Sulla: and in actual Latin the two words are often contrasted, Verr. ii. 69. 169 *ne quid tibi prodesse posset—ut etiam obesse deberet*. Mil. xiii. 34 *non modo nihil prodest, sed obest etiam Clodii mors Miloni*. Orat. xlix. 166 *Id quod scis prodest nihil, id quod nescis obest, uersum efficit ipsa relatio contrariorum, id esset in oratione numerosum quod scis, nihil prodest: quod nescis, multum obest*. Ov. M. xi. 320, Trist. iii. 4. 8, v. 1. 66, Fronto p. 168 Naber *ne quid obsit amicitia nobis quae nihil profuit. immo etiam taedet*. Att. ii. 6. 2 *Nam istic non solum non licet, sed etiam taedet*.

5. *Vt mihi (obest)*. Theogn. 1309 Ὡς περ ἐγὼ νῦν ἔδ' ἐπὶ σοί. quem nemo grauius nec acerbius urget, Sapph. fr. 12 Bergk ὅστινας γὰρ Εἰ θέω, κῆποι με μάλιστα σίνονται.

6. Probably the most prosaic verse in Catullus: yet the position of *modo* belongs to verse, not prose. Prop. iii. 11. 29 *Quid modo quae nobis opprobria uexerat armis. unum atque unicum*. Truc. i. 2. 91 *unice unum (amat)*. The author of the treatise *de remediis fortuitorum* ascribed to Seneca, and re-edited by J. Loth in *Révue de Philologie* for 1888, pp. 118-127, from five MSS, one of which is the Salmasianus of cent. vii, distinguishes the two words thus, S. *Perdidi amicum*. R. *Fortem animum habe, si unum; crubescere, si unicum*, p. 126.

## LXXIV.

THIS is the first of a series of poems addressed to Gellius. The remaining six are LXXX, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, XC, XCI, CXVI. The MS order is no indication of the chronological sequence; and it is quite possible, as Bruner and Westphal suppose independently, that the earliest is XCI, in which Gellius is accused of acting treacherously to Catullus in

the matter of Lesbia. With Catullus, as we know from the parallel cases of Furius and Aurelius, of Egnatius and Ravidus, jealousy was the habitual starting-point of a poetical attack; and there is a fierceness in these epigrams on Gellius which must have been prompted by a personal motive, probably the strongest personal motive which the poet knew, rivalry in the love of Lesbia.

Were all the poems written to the same individual? and if so can we identify him?

Reasoning *a priori* we should expect to find in a series of attacks aimed at the same personality the same name; and conversely, if we found the same name attached without variation to a series of poems agreeing in their general scope as well as in the specific character of their charges we should incline to believe that they were all aimed at the same person. If then in four of the poems (LXXXVIII-XCI) a person called Gellius is accused of incest and other gross impurities, the remaining two poems (LXXIV, LXXX) in which the same name Gellius is introduced, and which also dwell on incest and gross impurity, must be addressed to the same person. If subsequently we find in each of the two groups the same fluctuation of vocative and nominative (*Gelli* LXXXVIII, XCI, *Gellius* LXXXIX = *Gellius* LXXIV, *Gelli* LXXX) the probability of identity is increased. Proceeding to the last poem of the series CXVI, if we find, not indeed the same kind of allegation, but a confession of hostility which has taken the shape of a personal attack, has drawn upon the author of that attack the hatred of the person assailed, has obliged the assailant to supplicate his enemy by an appeal to his literary vanity—a supplication which after all is of no avail;—all this agrees so entirely with what we learn from the former six poems as to justify us in concluding that it is the sequel and result of them, and that the Gellius in each of the three groups is the same. Nor will it be denied that the solemn and emphatic *Gelli* of CXVI. 6 comes with far greater force if we suppose it a final warning to a character already held up to detestation. In one word, as Merkel has well remarked, Gellius is to Catullus what the subject of the *Ibis* was to Ovid, the mark of his most determined hostility; to suppose a division of personality is to frame an hypothesis as gratuitous and improbable in itself, as it is injurious to the effect of the collective series of poems.

Assuming then that the Gellius of all the seven epigrams is the same, can we find any historical person to correspond with the description of Catullus? The points of this description are—

1. Gellius was young—*rosea labella* LXXX. 1—and the vices ascribed to him, though not incompatible with maturer years, suggest more naturally the idea of youth: especially LXXXIX. 1-3 *Gellius est tenuis: quidni? cui tam bona mater Tamque ualens uiuat tamque uenusta soror Tamque bonus patrius tamque omnia plena puellis Cognatis*. It is also more probable that Catullus would be on terms of close friendship with a young man; parity of years would be more likely to produce confidence, and this confidence would be more likely to be abused by a young man (XCI).

2. He is accused of gross profligacy: and in particular (1) of making advances to Lesbia; (2) of incest with his mother, sister, and uncle's wife; (3) of other impurities of an unmentionable kind: LXXIV. 5 *quamuis irrumet ipsum*, LXXX. 6, LXXXVIII. 8.

3. He was literary, CXVI. Catullus had tried to appease his anger by sending him some translations from Callimachus: and the words *tela ista tua euitamus*, as compared with *fixus nostris* seem to imply that he had written something against Catullus.

There are two historical personages to whom Catullus has been thought to allude. Schwabe (Quaest. pp. 103-117) collects the passages in which they are mentioned; I give them *in extenso*.

The first of these is Gellius Publicola, who is attacked by Cicero in his speech pro Sestio li. 110. This Gellius was the son by a former husband of a woman who afterwards married L. Marcius Philippus consul 663 | 91, and thus uterine brother of L. Marcius Philippus consul 698 | 56.

Pro Sest. li. 110 *An sicubi aderit Gellius homo et fratre indignus uiro clarissimo atque optimo consule, et ordine equestri, cuius ille ordinis nomen retinet, ornamenta confecit, id erit popolare? Est enim homo ille populo Romano deditus. Nihil uidi magis: qui cum eius adulescentia in amplissimis honoribus summi uiri, L. Philippi uitrici, florere potuisset, usque eo non fuit popularis, ut bona solus comesset. Deinde ex impuro adolescente et petulante, posteaquam rem paternam ab idiotarum diuitiis ad philosophorum regulam perduxit, Graeculum se atque otiosum putari uoluit, studio litterarum se subito dedit. Nihil saneate et iuuabant anagnostae, libelli pro uino etiam saepe oppignerabantur; manebat insaturabile abdomen, copiae deficiebant. Itaque semper uersabatur in spe rerum nouarum: otio et tranquillitate rei publicae consenescebat.* lii. *Ecquae seditio umquam fuit, in qua non ille princeps? Ecqui seditiosus, cui ille non familiaris? Ecquae turbulenta contio, cuius ille non concitator? Cui bene dixit umquam bono? bene dixit? immo quem fortem et bonum ciuem non petulantissime est insectatus? qui, ut credo, non libidinis causa, sed ut plebicola uideretur, libertinam duxit uxorem.* 111. *Is de me suffragium tulit, is adfuit, is interfuit epulis et gratulationibus parricidarum—in quo tamen est me ultus<sup>1</sup> cum illo ore inimicus est meos sauiatus—qui quasi mea culpa bona perdiderit, ita ob eam ipsam causam est mihi inimicus, quia nihil habet. Vtrum ego tibi patrimonium eripui, Gelli, an tu comedisti? Quid? tu meo periculo, gurgis ac uorago patrimonii, helluabare, ut si ego consul rem publicam contra te et gregales tuos defendissem, in ciuitate esse me nolles? Te nemo tuorum uidere uult: omnes aditum sermonem congressum tuum fugiunt: te sororis filius Postumius, adulescens grauis senili iudicio notauit, cum in magno numero tutorem liberis non instituit. Sed latus odio et meo et rei publicae nomine, quorum ille utri sit inimicior nescio, plura dixi quam dicendum fuit, in furiosissimum atque egentissimum ganeonem.* 112. *Illuc reuertor: contra me cum est actum, capta urbe atque oppressa, Gellium, Firmidium, Titium, eiusmodi furias illis mercennariis gregibus duces et auctores fuisse, cum ipse lator nihil ab horum turpitudine audacia sordibus abhorreret.* In Vat. ii. 4 *Gellius nutricula seditiosorum omnium.* De Harusp. Resp. xxvii. 59 (*Quam uidetis*) *tam eminentibus canibus Scyllam tamque ieiunis quam quibus istum uidetis, Gelliis Clodiis Titiis rostra ipsa mandentem?* Att. iv. 3. 2 *Vix iam Decimum designatorem; uix Gellium retinet.* Q. Fr. ii. 1. 1 *Fuerunt nonnulli aculei in C. Caesarem, contumeliae in Gellium.* Schol. Bob. in Orat. pro Sestio li. *L. Marcius Philippus uir honestissime cognitus, qui etiam collega Cn. Lentulo Marcellino in consulatu fuit. Fratrem hic (cod. hunc) habebat uterinum L. Gellium,*

<sup>1</sup> A certain conjecture of Octavius Pantagathus. MSS give *ultus*.

*te ipsum quantum apparet Ciceronis inimicum. In quantum igitur legem Philippi fratris (cod. frater) eius extulit, in tantum hunc defloravit, qui dissimilis exstiterit.*

There are several points in which the Gellius here described by Cicero would correspond with the Gellius of Catullus: he was literary (*Graeculus*), indifferent to conventional ideas of decorum, as shown by his marrying a *libertina*, and foul in his vices (cf. *illo ore* with LXXX, LXXXVIII. 8). He was also a partisan of Clodius, and notorious among the men of the time; an additional reason for the marked prominence which Catullus has given to his name.

It is however unlikely that the Gellius of Cicero's orations is the Gellius of Catullus for the following reasons: (1) If L. Marcius Philippus was consul in 56 B.C., even allowing him to have obtained the consulate *anno* he must have been 43 years old at the time; and his half-brother Gellius must have been older. The poems against Gellius must have been written subsequent to the period when Catullus first became acquainted with Lesbia, on the ordinary hypothesis 62-59 B.C.: now even in 59 L. Marcius Philippus must have been 40, and Gellius no longer young: it follows that in proportion as a later date is assigned to the poems, the chance of their being addressed to Cicero's Gellius becomes less; (2) when Cicero delivered the *pro Sestio*, in B.C. 56, the son of Gellius' sister Postumius was already father of several children; (3) Cicero's description implies that Gellius had gone through the successive phases of a profligate youth, a would-be philosopher, a political incendiary ready for any seditious or revolutionary undertaking. Again, if Cicero's Gellius was the Gellius of Catullus, it is strange that Cicero, who never shows any scruples of delicacy in the charges he brings against his opponents, should say nothing of incest—the most prominent feature of the picture painted by Catullus. And reversely if Gellius was the glutton and the needy adventurer Cicero represents him, would not so skilful an artist as Catullus have worked this into his picture?

For these and similar reasons Schwabe, whose arguments, though in the whole convincing, seem to me over-minute (see especially pp. 108, 109), concludes that the Gellius Publicola of Cicero's *pro Sestio* cannot be the object of the seven epigrams of Catullus: although this identification has been adopted by Parthenius, Manutius, Muretus, Turnebus, Statius, Vulpus, and recently by Drumann and Halm. (Schwabe *Quaestt.* p. 103.)

It was the opinion of Octavius Pantagathus<sup>1</sup> quoted by Statius on LXXIV. 1, and recently revived by Bruner and Schwabe, that Catullus

<sup>1</sup> Octavius Pantagathus (Ottavio Bagatto) was one of the circle of Italian scholars contemporary with the sitting of the Council of Trent. He died in 1578. He was an intimate friend of Fulvio Orsini, and contributed notes or conjectures to many of Orsini's works, the *Caesar* of 1575, the *Notae in Ciceronem* of 1581, the *Fragmenta Historicorum* of 1595. De Thou (*Hist. sui temporis* vol. v. p. 847, ed. London, 1733) combines him with G. Faernus, Latinus Latinus, Paulus Manutius, Antonius Augustinus, as living in the closest literary intimacy with Orsini (De Nohac, *Bibliothèque de F. Orsini*, p. 69 note). De Nohac says of Bagatto p. 260 note 'Tout ce qui venait de Bagatto fut recueilli pieusement par ses amis. Ce savant modeste était remarquablement instruit. "Varro nostri temporis" dit Paul Manuce, "homo divini ingenii" dit Fulvio. La biographie de Bagatto, *O. Pantagathi vita auct. Io. Baptista Rufo. Romae, typis Varesii* 1657 (reproduite dans les *Vitae Selectae* de Gryphius, est à refaire: le sujet est digne d'exciter l'intérêt d'un érudit.'



alludes to a younger Gellius, the son of L. Gellius Publicola consul 682 | 72 and himself consul 718 | 36 (Dion C. xlix. 1). The passages which refer to him are these: Val. Max. v. 9. 1 *L. Gellius omnibus honoribus ad censuram defunctus cum grauissima crimina de filio, in nouercam commissum stuprum et parricidium cogitatum, prope modum explorata haberet, non tamen ad uindictam procurrit continuo, sed paene uniuerso senatu adhibito in consilium expositis suspicionibus defendendi se adulescenti potestatem fecit: inspectaque diligentissime causa absoluit eum tum consilium etiam sua sententia. Quod si impetu irae abstractus saeuire festinasset, admisisset magis scelus quam uindicasset.* Dion Cass. xlvii. 24 Διατρίβοντος δὲ Βρούτου ταύτῃ ἐκείνῳ Γέλλιος Ποπλικόλας ἐπεβούλευσε . . . ὁ δὲ δὴ Γέλλιος ἐφωράθη μὲν, ἔπαθε δὲ δεινὸν οὐδέν, ὁ γὰρ Βρούτος ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἐν τοῖς φιλάτοις αἰεὶ ποτε νομίσας εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Μάρκον Μεσσάλαν πάντῳ Κασσίῳ προσκεκείμενον εἰδώς, ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν. καὶ δε ἐπέθετο μὲν καὶ τῷ Κασσίῳ, οὐδὲν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε κακὸν ἔπαθεν. Αἰτίον δὲ ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Πόλλα προμαθοῦσα τὴν ἐπιβούλην καὶ δέισασα περὶ τοῦ Κασσίου μὴ προκαταλήφθῃ (σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡγάπα) καὶ περὶ τῷ υἱῷ μὴ καταφωράθῃ, τό τε ἐπιβούλευμα αὐτῇ ἐκούσα τῷ Κασσίῳ προεμήνυσε καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ παιδὸς ἀντέλαβεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ βελτίῳ αὐτὸν ἐποίησε· πρὸς τε γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπὸ τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἀπηγομώλησεν.

If, as is generally assumed, the Gellius Publicola of Dion Cassius is the person alluded to by Valerius Maximus, it would seem that L. Gellius Publicola consul 72, censor 70, divorced his wife Polla and that after this divorce Polla married the father of the famous M. Messala Corvinus, subsequently well known as an orator and as the friend of Tibullus. After divorcing Polla, L. Gellius married again; and it is to this wife and the charge of incestuous intercourse between her and her husband's son that Catullus may be alluding. It is a farther possibility, maintained by Bruner and less positively by Schwabe, that the *patruus* of LXXIV is the Gellius attacked by Cicero; and if so, the *uxor patru* may be the *libertina* of pro Sestio lii. It will not be denied that read in this light the poems stand out in increased clearness, especially LXXIV, each detail of which is consistent with the delineation of Cicero: cf. 1, 2 with Cicero's *ad philosophorum regulam*; 3, 4 with *qui ut credo, non libidinis causa, sed ut plebicola uideretur, libertinam duxit uxorem*; 5, 6 with *illo ore inimicos est meos sauiatus*. The *mater* of LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, XC, XCI will then be the *nouerca* of Valerius Maximus. (Schwabe Quaestt. pp. 111-117.)

I will add here a conjecture of my own. Horace in his first book of Satires (10. 28) speaking of the folly of those who mixed Greek words with Latin, mentions Pedius Publicola and Corvinus together as speakers who affected a laborious purism in their language. They are again combined in v. 85 of the same satire *te, Messala, tuo cum fratre*; if we may follow the natural impression which the words convey, as well as the direct attestation of Acron, whose note is *fratres Publicola*. What little is known of Pedius Publicola is given by this Scholiast and Porphyron. Acron on S. i. 10. 25 *Te, inquit, qui Lucilium defendis, consulo: utrum tunc tantum Latinis Graeca permisceas, cum uersus facias, an et quando durissimam causam Petillii de furto Capitolino aduersus Pedium Publicolam siue aduersus Messalam Coruinum peroras? Hi autem ita a Graecis abhorruerunt ut Messala primus Funambuli nomen intulerit et*

*post eum Terentius* (Hec. Prol.) *Funambuli eodem accessit exspectatio.* Again *Pedius Publicola et Messala Corvinus oratores fuerunt, qui obseruauerint ne Graecis sermonibus uterentur. Erant autem fratres cauidici optimi.* Schol. Cruq. u. s. *Pedius Publicola et Messala Corvinus a Graecis uocibus ita abhorruerunt ut Messala schoenobaten latine funambulū reddiderit ex Terentio in Hecyra.*

Can this Pedius Publicola, the brother of Messala Corvinus, and his rival in accuracy of language, be the Gellius Publicola whom Dion Cassius calls the brother of M. Messala? Publicola is mentioned as commanding the right wing of Antonius' fleet at the battle of Actium (Vell. P. ii. 85) and does not afterwards appear in history; but there is nothing which would lead us to infer that he died then. It is at least conceivable that he passed by adoption into the family of the Pedii, and under this name combined with his own cognomen Publicola, devoted himself to oratory with the same aims and purpose as his more famous brother M. Messala Corvinus. The connexion of Messala with Q. Pedius (the colleague of Octavianus as consul after the death of Hirtius and Pansa in 711 | 43), who had married a relation of Messala's, the grandmother of Q. Pedius, the painter (Plin. H. N. xxxv. 21), would be a reason for Gellius' wishing to connect himself with the family of the Pedii. He would retain his cognomen Publicola in the same manner as M. Junius Brutus when adopted by Q. Servilius Caepio is called Q. Caepio Brutus (Phil. x. 11. 24-26), less formally Q. Caepio, sometimes simply M. Brutus or M. Caepio<sup>1</sup>.

It is obvious that Catullus' last poem would be addressed with peculiar propriety to a man whose literary bias was to purism. Catullus says he had often been seeking with a mind which hunted closely (*animo uenante requirens*) to send Gellius some translations from Callimachus, and that he had hoped to soothe his anger by this appeal to his literary vanity. According to Quintilian (x. 5. 2) it was a habit with Messala to translate Greek orations into Latin; Gellius may have followed the same principle, a natural expedient for securing accuracy and delicacy of expression.

1. **patruum**, his uncle, as in LXXXVIII, LXXXIX. The Romans associated ideas of strictness and stern morality with this relation, as in Horace's *patruae uerbera linguae* C. iii. 12. 3, Persius' *Cum sapimus patruos* i. 11, pro Caelio xi. 25 *Fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam patruus censor magister: obiurgauit M. Caelium, sicut neminem unquam parens, multa de incontinentia intemperantiaque disseruit.* A. Otto (Archiv für Latein. Lexicographie v. 474) adds Manil. v. 454 *Tutorisue supercilium patruū rigorem.* According to Apuleius Flor. iii. 16. 64 the Greek poet Philemon had made the *patruus obiurgator* a stock character in his comedies. **obiurgare.** Pro Caelio xi. 27 *Deliciarum obiurgatio.* Hor. S. ii. 2. 99 *Iure, inquit, Trausius istis Iurgatur uerbis*, where the railing words are explained by 97 *Iratum patruum, uicinos, te tibi iniquom.*

2. **delicias diceret**, VI. 1. **faceret**, XLV. 24. Nep. Alcib. 2 *Postea quam robustior est factus, non minus multos amauit, in quorum amore, quoad licitum est, odiosa multa delicata iocosaque fecit.*

3. **ipsi** = an emphasized *sibi*. Roby Latin Grammar 2269 quotes de Diuin. i. 54. 122; but except in *oratio obliqua* this use is rare and

<sup>1</sup> See however Nipperdei's opuscula p. 494.

hardly classical Dräger i. p. 66. **perdepsuit** = *fuit*, as *molere* which is combined with *depsere* in Varro ap. Non. 99. Cic. Fam. ix. 22. 4 *Batuit, inquit, impudenter: depisit multo impudentius. Atqui neutrum est obscenum.*

4. 'And by the act laid his uncle under the seal of silence.' **reddidit**, not simply = *fecit*, but made as the result of his act: the notion is literally that of giving back or returning with a new condition attached. The verse is imitated in an epigram Riese Anthol. Lat. 159. 6 *Incepto puerum reddidit Hippocratem.* The cast of the language is Plautine. Bacch. iv. 4. 15 *Si frugist, Herculem fecit ex patre: Decumam partem ei dedit, sibi nouem abstulit.* **Harpocratem.** In *Cabinet du Duc d'Orléans* (1784) vol. i. p. 7 Harpocrates is figured as a boy seated on lotus-flowers, with the right hand lifted to the lips, but not touching them, the left resting on his left knee. This raising of the hand to the lips is explained by Plutarch de Is. et Osir. p. 378 as *ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σιωπῆς σύμβολον*. Caelius writing to Cicero Fam. viii. 1. 4 alludes to this gesture as common: *neque haec incerta tamen uulgo iactantur, sed inter paucos, quos tu nostri palam secreto narrantur; at Domitius, cum manus ad os apposuit.*

5. **Quod uoluit fecit.** Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. 20 *Maximianus postquam senibus expulsis quod uoluit et fecit.*

6. **uerbum non faciet**, as often. Ter. And. i. 2. 7, 8 *Nunquam cuiquam nostrum uerbum faciet, neque id aegre tulit.* Si. *At nunc faciet.* This is the third time *facere* is introduced in this poem; each time the meaning is slightly different.

## LXXV.

THAT this tetrastich is an independent whole and not the second half of an eight-line epigram from which it has been severed by an accidental displacement of some leaves of the archetype—a theory first stated by Scaliger and adopted since by most editors including Lachmann—is in my opinion probable from the following considerations. (1) It is in itself perfect: it is the isolation of LXXXVII, the supposed missing half, which first prompted the wish to complete that allowedly imperfect tetrastich by these four lines, and to alter the reading of all good MSS in LXXV. 1 to do so; (2) the MS reading *Huc deducta* is a simple and natural expression, which bears in itself the marks of genuineness. Caesar B. C. i. 70 *Res tamen ab Afranianis huc erat necessario deducta ut, si priores, montes quos petebant, attingissent, ipsi periculum uitarent, impedimenta totius exercitus cohortisque in castris relictas seruire non possent.* i. 86 *Paucis cum esset in utramque partem uerbis disputatum, res huc deducitur ut ii qui habeant domicilium aut possessiones in Hispania, statim; reliqui ad Varum flumen dimittantur.* Hor. S. i. 1. 15 *Ne te morer, audi Quo rem deducam.* Velleius P. ii. 1. 4 *Sed uel ferocia ingenii uel inscitia nostrorum ducum uel fortunae indulgentia cum alios duces, tum Pompeium magni nominis uirum ad turpissima deduxit foedera . . . nec minus turpia ac detestabilia Mancinum Hostilium consulem.* In all these passages *deduci* is used of something to which a person or object is finally brought—a crisis or point at which the situation defines itself, sometimes as necessitating a disgraceful issue, sometimes as indicating two alternatives, each disagreeable. It is in this last sense, I think, that Catullus says *Huc est*

*mens deducta*: his devotion to Lesbia on the one hand, and her increasing profligacy on the other, have reduced him to a miserable alternative: however virtuous she may become, he cannot any longer love her with absolute good will: however vicious, he cannot dismiss his love entirely. Theogn. 1091-1094

Ἀργαλέως μοι θυμὸς ἔχει περὶ σῆς φιλότῃτος,  
Ὅτε γὰρ ἐχθαίρειν ὅτε φιλεῖν δύναμαι,  
Γιγνώσκων χαλεπὸν μὲν, ὅταν φίλος ἀνδρὶ γένηται,  
Ἐχθαίρειν, χαλεπὸν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φιλεῖν.

1. *mea* with Lesbia, as in V. 1, LXXXVII. 2. *culpa*, XI. 22.

2. 'And has lost itself so irreparably (irrecoverably) by its own devotion;' i.e. has reduced itself to such a state of distraction by its determination to be constant to an unworthy object. *officio*, as Prop. ii. 25. 39 *Al uos qui officia* (attentions) *in multos reuocatis amores*. So Shakespeare uses 'duty.' *perdidit se*. Tib. ii. 6. 51 *Tunc morior curis: tunc mens mihi per dita fingit Quisue meam teneat, quot teneatue modis*.

4. *omnia si facias*, Shakespere Sonnets lvii *So true a fool is love that in your will, Though you do anything, he thinks no ill*.

## LXXVI.

IN this poem Catullus takes a retrospect of his passion for Lesbia, and reflecting on his own fidelity and the now incurable vices of his mistress, resolves to break off the connexion. He is consoled in this determination by thinking how true he had himself been to Lesbia throughout; his many words and deeds of love cannot fail to bring him joy in the recollection (1-6). It is true they have not been requited; so much the more reason why they should cease (7-10). He must brace his resolution to leave her, and even if so long-continued a love cannot be relinquished without pain, must make up his mind to this as the only course of safety (11-16). Here however he is overcome by an agony of love, and, as if conscious of his weakness, calls on the gods to help him in tearing from his heart the passion which has ended with robbing him of all pleasure and brought him to the verge of death (17-22). Lesbia is now sunk past all recovery; he will not hope any more that she can be otherwise; it is enough if the gods repay his devotion by suffering him to forget her (23-26).

The intensity of this soliloquy makes it one of the most interesting in the cycle of Lesbia-poems: as an expression of resignation struggling with despair it possesses a force and reality which belong only to the highest genius. Its ruggedness rather adds to the effect: perhaps from the contrast which it presents in this respect to the polished tenderness of Ovid and the elaborately-wrought, though not less equally real, feeling of Propertius. It must have been written late, perhaps indeed after all the rest of the cycle except LVIII. See however on XI.

1. Catullus argues from the conduct of men in their dealings with their fellow-men to his own conduct as a lover. If the memory of services done and the consciousness of duty religiously performed bring pleasure in the retrospect, his own religious fidelity to Lesbia must surely be a

source of satisfaction in the future, in spite of her ingratitude. The language is parallel on both sides; the **benefacta** of men to men (1) is answered by Catullus' *bone dicta factaque* (8) to Lesbia: the *pietas* (2) which leads men to avoid breaches of oath or contract in dealings with each other, has kept Catullus from any verbal or formal violation of his solemnly-pledged fidelity to her (26). It is this notion of *pietas* which connects the beginning with the centre and end of the poem; it recalls the unkindness of the gods and then by a kind of revulsion of feeling prompts the despairing appeal to their compassion.

2. **pium** is explained by 3, 4; it consists in the blameless performance of what possesses a religious or quasi-religious sanction, fulfilment of oaths or promises, and avoidance of anything which would tend to violate such sanction, e.g. swearing by the gods with the intention of deceiving. Alciphron ii. 4. 18 εὐσεβεῖ σοι κέχημαι ἑραστῇ καὶ ὀρκῶν ἱερῶν μνημον.

3. **sanctam fidem**, 'the sanctity of good faith.'

4. **Dium numine abusum**, the reading of nearly all the MSS, is supported by Cic. pro Domo Sua xlviii. 125 *Ementiri fallere abuti deorum immortalium numine* (Vulp.). *Numen* and *nomen* are often confused in MSS (see Bentley on Hor. Epist. ii. 1. 16, Ribbeck on Aen. v. 768) and Quintilian has *Potest uideri hoc nomine (epichirematibus) recte abusus* Inst. Orat. v. 10. 6; but here *nomine* (Voss) is without MS support, and is weaker than *numine*, as the mere *name* of the gods was often introduced into expressions of conversation or ordinary life, and would hardly be *impium*: whereas to swear by the divine power of the gods was a recurring formula in oaths and promises, e.g. Ovid Met. x. 430 *Promissaque numine firmat*, vii. 94 *Seruatus promissa dato. Per sacra triformis Ille dae, lucoque foret quod numen in illo . . . iurat*; and so Liu. vi. 29 *Dilectus foederis expetile poenas debitas simul nobis uolatis nobisque per nostrum numen deceptis*.

5. **parata manent**, 'are ready and in store.' **in longa aetate**, the retrospect would be a lifelong pleasure. [MSS *manentum* or *manenti*, whence Munro conj. *manent iam*, not improbably.]

6. **ingrato**, 'unrequiting,' LXXIII. 3.

7. The exclusive **ouiquam**, 'any single one,' is here used without a negative as in Att. ix. 15. 5 *Praeterquam quod te moueri arbitror oportere iniuria quae mihi a quoquam facta sit*, Sen. de Tranquill. xi. 8 *Cuius potest accidere quod cuiquam potest*, and in the numerous passages of the comic writers as well as of Cicero, where *quisquam* is preceded by *si*. See Holtze Synt. i. p. 400, Dräger Synt. i. p. 80, who however quotes some instances where a negative is either expressed or implied, e.g. Phil. viii. 4, 12, Leg. iii. 18. 42, de Fato 26. Catullus in speaking of the benefits performed by lovers to the beloved uses Platonic language. See Phaedrus 231, where however the opposite view is stated, that lovers *regret* the kindness they have done, after the passion is over.

8. **perierunt**, 'have gone for nothing.' Prop. ii. 21. 5 *Tot noctes periere*, Lucr. iii. 940 sqq. *Sin ea quae fructus cumque es periere profusa Vilaque in offensu, cur amplius addere quaeris, Rursum quod pereat male et ingratum occidat omne?*

11-16.

*Make thee as iron a soul, thyself draw back from affliction.  
Yea, tho' a God say nay, be not unhappy for aye.*

*What? is it hard long love so lightly to leave in a moment?*

*Hard; yet abides this one duty, to do it: obey.*

*Here lies safety alone, one victory must not fail thee.*

*One last stroke, to be lost haply, perhaps to be won.*

Metric. Transl.

11. *Offirmare animum* is found in Plautus Merc. Prol. 82, and Plin. Epist. vii. 27. 8 *offirmare animum auribusque praelendere*; but as *offirmare* is used intransitively Pers. ii. 2. 40 *Offirmastin' occultare*, Hec. iii. 5. 4 *Certum offirmare est uiam persequi*, Eun. ii. 1. 11 *Censen posse me offirmare Perpeti*, 'to steel myself so as to bear,' Wagner ad loc., the construction with the ablative is easily intelligible. Munro, believing *animo offirmare* scarcely warranted, prefers *animum offirmas* (so Pleitner Studien p. 58), and thinks Ovid imitated this passage Met. ix. 745 *Quin animum firmas teque ipsa recolligis, Iphi?* Both Pleitner (1876) and Munro consider *animo* to have arisen from the *o* of the first syllable of *offirmas*. *istinc te ipse reducis*, 'and of your own accord withdraw from that love,' *istinc*, with the amatory associations of the word, e.g. in Ter. Hec. iii. 2. 4 *iterum istinc* (from that door) *excludere, ipse*, as nothing but his own resolution could rid him of the passion. *istinc te ipse* is my conj. for *istinc teque* or *istinctoque* of MSS. The v. seems to be imitated by Ovid Trist. v. 7. 65 *meque ipse reduco A contemplatu semoueoque mali*. A very similar passage occurs in the Epistles ascribed to Plato vii. p. 325 *ἐδυσχέρανά τε καὶ ἑμαυτὸν ἐπατήγαγον ἀπὸ τῶν τότε κακῶν*.

12. *deis inuitis*, in despite of the gods, though the gods say no: i. e. though destiny seems resolved to keep you miserable. Sen. Theb. 205 *Quod innocens es dis quoque inuitis*, of the involuntary criminal Oedipus. Aen. ii. 402. Quintil vi. Prooem. 3 *Quem ultra esse usum mei dis repugnantibus credam?* *desinis esse miser*. Rem. Amoris 657 *odio qui finit amorem, Aut amat aut aegre desinit esse miser* (Stat.).

13. *Difficile est*—*Difficile est*. See on LXIV. 61, 2. *longum amorem*, 'a love of long time,' here past; in Aen. iii. 487 of the future. Propertius i. 19. 26 *Non satis est ullo tempore longus amor* seems to mean that there is no moment at which the lover, looking back on the past, can say love has lasted long enough. Menand. Καρχηδόνιος fr. 262 Kock *ἔργον ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου* 'Ανοίαν ἡμέρα μεταστήσαι μὴ, Incert. 726 K. *ἔργον ἐστὶ, Φανία, Μακρὰν συνήθειαν βραχεὶ λύσει χρόνῳ*.

14. *efficias*, as if laying down an injunction, 'you are to do this in any way you can.' See on VIII. 1.

15. *Vna salus*, Aen. ii. 354. *hoc est tibi pervincendum*, 'this is the point you must not fail to win,' as in Liu. iv. 12 *Tribunus plebis . . . factus neque ut de agris diuidendis plebi referrent consules ad senatum pervincere potuit*, xxxvii. 16, Cic. Att. ii. 1. 8 *Restitit et perucit Cato*, which shows the idea of resistance or struggle against opposing forces seen in *peruicax*.

16. *Hoc facias*. Munro (Journal of Philology ix. p. 216) translates these imperative subjunctives by 'mind' or 'pray.' Tib. iv. 4. 9 *Sancte ueni tecumque feras*, 'pray bring.' Liu. vi. 12. 10 *Tu T. Quinti equitem . . . teneas, tum . . . infer*. He observes that *facias* here = *faciendum est tibi*, just as in the verses of Euripides Phoenissae (524, 5) which Caesar was fond of quoting *εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος περὶ Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τᾶλλα*

δ' εὐρεθεῖν χρέων, Cicero translates the last words by *aliis rebus pietatem colas* (de Off. iii. 21. 82). **siue pote.** From this we may perhaps infer that Catullus would have avoided *polest* in the sense sometimes found in the comic writers 'is possible.' That *potis, pote* is not treated by Catullus as an adj. of two terminations is clear from XLV. 5 *Qui pote plurimum perire*, LXVII. 11 *Nec peccatum a me quisquam pote dicere quicquam*, LXXII. 7 *Qui potis est?*

17. **si uestrum est misereri**, which was denied.

18. **Extremam** is explained by **ipsa in morte**. Vergil has *Extremam in morte* twice, Aen. ii. 448, xi. 846: this confirms my reading **ipsa in** (MSS *ipsam*) instead of the *ipsa* of most edd.; the preposition is not so closely connected with the following word as to prevent the pentameter dividing after it, cf. CXI. 2 *Nuptarum laus e laudibus eximiis*, Prop. iv. 8. 35 *Vnus erat tribus in secreta lectulus herba*.

19. **puriter** seems strange from Catullus, not so much as the lover of Lesbia, towards whom he had been religiously faithful, but as judged by poems like that to Ipsithilla XXXII. Yet he himself declares that his poems were no indication of his conduct XVI. 5; and Horace in a passage like this S. i. 6. 68-70 *Si neque auaritiā neque sordes nec mala lustra Obiciet uere quisquam mihi, purus et insons, Vi me collaudem, si et uiuo carus amicis*, certainly appeals to the chastity, or at least to the absence of profligacy, in his life. Cf. *puriter* of bodily cleanliness in XXXIX. 14 and of cleanly-washed hands, in a comic fragm. ap. Non. 516. The ordinary view explains **puriter**, 'blamelessly,' of the absence of anything like crime or impiety, as Propertius speaks of Cynthia ii. 32. 27, 28 *Non tua deprenso damnata est fama ueneno, Testis eris puras, Phoebe, uidere manus*; cf. Ovid Pont. ii. 7. 49: and so Theognis 198 uses καθαρῶς with σὺν δίκῃ, as we say 'with clean hands' for 'honestly.'

20. **pestem perniciemque**, 'mischief and misery.' The two words are joined in Ad. ii. 1. 34 *perniciēs communis adulescentium, Periurus, pestis*, pro C. Rabir. i. 2 *Pestem ac perniciem ciuitatis*; Lucilius ap. Non. 218 *Pestem perniciemque calax quam et Manlius nobis*.

21. **Sei** (MSS *Seu*), after the former *si* in 19 is not more objectionable than the double *si* in Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 155-157, and again 158-159. **surrepens.** Callim. Epig. 45. 5 Blomf. τῷ καὶ νῦν δεῖδουκα, Μενέξενε, μή με παρυσόδῳς Οἶτος ὁ σιγέρπης εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα βάλη. Seneca Epist. 104. 1 has *febrem subrepentem*. **torpor**, lethargy. Hor. Epod. 14. 1.

22. Passerat's *exsomni* is clever, but hardly agrees with the lethargic stupor Catullus is describing. **laetitias**, a strict plural. Cicero has *sollicitudines et laetitias tuas* Att. i. 17. 6 and quotes *omnibus laetitias* as an expression of the comic poet Caecilius de Fin. ii. 4. 13, Fam. ii. 9. 2 (Vulp.).

23-24. Ov. Am. iii. 14. 1-4 *Non ego ne pecces, cum sis formosus, recuso, Sed ne sit misero scire necesse mihi. Nec te nostra iubet fieri censura pudicam, Sed tantum temples dissimulare rogat*.

23. **contra diligat**, love as I love her, make return of love. Schwabe compares the Plautine *contra amare*, Amphitr. ii. 2. 23, Merc. v. 2. 78, Mil. ii. 1. 23, where Prof. Tyrrell states that it is frequent in Plautus.

24. **non potis est**, 'is impossible,' as in LXXII. 7, Eun. ii. 2. 32. This seems simpler than to supply *esse* and make Lesbia the subject of *potis est*.

25. *uolare* . . . *morbum*. Phaedr. 231 of lovers *αἰτοὶ ἐμολογοῖσι νοσεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σωφρονεῖν*.

26. *pro*, as the reward of, LXIV. 157, LXVIII. 150. Lambinus on Cas. ii. 6. 66 'cuius pietatis nunc pretium et mercedem refero, Catullus ad seipsum, *O di reddite mi hoc pro pietate mea*.' The author of the Ciris 524 imitates Catullus *Illi pro pietate sua* . . . *Reddidit optatam mutato corpore uilam*. But in Caesar B. G. v. 27 *pro pietate satisfacere*, = 'as natural duty demanded.'

## LXXVII.

IF we could be sure that the four lines *Sed nunc—anus*, which Scaliger, Lachmann, and Haupt place after v. 6 of this poem, are rightly inserted there, we might speak more confidently of its exact meaning. But these lines in the MSS follow LXXVIII. 6, and though they cannot belong to that epigram (which must end with the word *adullerium*), and can hardly be said to fit well into either of the other places assigned them XCI. 10, LXXX. 8, it does not follow that they are rightly assigned to LXXVII. It was the opinion of Bergk, subsequently, it is true, withdrawn, that they are the remains of a poem which as a whole is lost. That there are solid grounds for this belief is, I think, clear. (1) 1-6 are in themselves complete; as in other hexastichs of Catullus, the point of the epigram is conveyed in the balance of the last two lines, whether we suppose an antithesis between the past fidelity of Rufus and his present treachery (*uenenum, pectus*) or an emphatic repetition of the same denunciation in slightly different terms (*uenenum, pestis*): with the former view cf. LXXIII. 5, 6, LXXIV. 5, 6, XCVI. 5, 6; with the latter LXXXIII. 5, 6, LXXXVI. 5, 6, CXIV. 5, 6. (2) There is in 1-6 a tendency to repeat in the pentameter either a word or a sound of the hexameter, 1, 2, *frustra, frustra*; 3, 4, 5 *subrepsi, eripuisti, Eripuisti*; 5, 6 *heu heu nostrae; heu heu nostrae*; this is not found in the four verses *Sed nunc—loquetur anus*, which in consequence give a perceptibly feeble effect to the whole. (3) The strong word *amicitiae* clenches the epigram well as in CIX. 6. (4) If the four verses *Sed nunc—anus* form part of the epigram, what is the point of the opposition conveyed by them? Scaliger explained it to lie in the fact that in 1-6 Rufus is upbraided for his treachery in robbing Catullus of the affections of Lesbia, in 7-10 is taxed with the additional aggravation of making love in a foul way (*os hircosum*). But if this is the meaning, we should have expected the high-flown language of 1-6 to be followed at the end of the epigram by language at least not less strong. Whereas after stating in hyperbolical words that Rufus was the viper who had stolen into his bosom, and robbed him of his all, he ends with the comparatively tame remark, 'yet this is not the cause of my present anger; I am now protesting against the disgusting character of your intimacy with Lesbia, and I assure you that you will pay for your outrage in the knowledge of your filthiness which I transmit to posterity.' To me this seems a descent and an anti-climax. Is it not equally possible that the four verses *Sed nunc—anus* are the surviving remnant of a lost epigram, the commencement of which contained an attack on an enemy of the poet's



on some ground *not* associated with Lesbia, to which *Sed nunc—anus* add this intimacy as a new and final aggravation?

If it is uncertain whether verses 7–10 belong to LXXVII at all, it is also uncertain who the person addressed is. Muretus and Statius thought it was M. Caelius Rufus, the orator; and this view was accepted by Niebuhr (Rhein. Mus. ii. 598) and more recently by Teuffel, Iungclaussen, Schwabe and B. Schmidt. As M. Caelius is known to have been one of the lovers of Clodia there is nothing to make this opinion impossible, and the poem may then be assigned to the period when Caelius and Clodia were acquainted, i. e. from 695 | 59 to 697 | 57 (Schwabe Quaestt. pp. 66, 67). On the other hand the tenour of Cicero's speech pro Caelio seems rather to indicate that Clodia was notorious, if not actually infamous, when she made the acquaintance of Caelius (cf. XXXI. 75 *in hoc flexu quasi aelatis—nihil enim occultabo fretus humanitate ac sapientia uestra—fama adolescentis paulum haesit ad metas notitia noua mulieris et infelici uicinitate*: cf. ib. *ab illius familiaritatis infamia*) and if so, can we suppose Catullus to have so completely shut his eyes to the prevailing ill-repute of his mistress, as to call her *pura puella*, and speak of her *pura sauia*?

1. **frustra** refers to the disappointment which Catullus felt in finding Rufus to be false, when he thought him true, **nequicoquam**, to the fact that nothing came of believing him to be true. **credite**, 'believed,' as several times in Ovid, Met. vii. 98, Trist. iii. 10. 35 *Vix equidem credar*. Verg. Aen. ii. 247 *Dei iussu non unquam credita Teucris*.

2. **immo**, 'I was not disappointed of one thing—a heavy loss.' **magno cum pretio atque malo**. See on XL. 8.

3. **subrepsti**, like a snake: Theognis 602 speaks of a false friend as *ὑποκρίων δὲ ἐν κόλπῳ ποικίλον εἶχες ὄφιν*. De Harusp. Resp. xxiv. 50 *Etiamne in sinu atque in deliciis quidam optimi uiri uiperam illam uenenatam ac pestiferam habere potuerunt?* Seneca very similarly Consol. ad Marciam 1 *Vide quam non subrepam tibi nec furtum facere adfectibus tuis cogilem*. **mei**, LXXII. 6. **intestina** = 'bowels,' is common in Plautus. **perurens**, as Pliny says Epist. vii. 1. 4 *Perustus ardentissima febre*: Catullus explains his meaning in 5, 6.

4. **omnia nostra bona** probably refers to Lesbia, who was all in all to Catullus. Terence in the Andria makes Chrysis on her death-bed speak of Glycerium as *bona nostra haec*. Baehrens well compares LXVIII. 158 *A quo sunt primo omnia nata bona*.

5, 6. 'Shame on thee, the cruel poison of my life, shame on thee, the trusted breast on which my friendship leaned,' i. e. shame on you for betraying the intimacy of our friendship by injuring me in my dearest affections. I have retained **pectus** which is regularly used with **amicitiae**. Stat. S. iv. 4. 103, Mart. ix. 14. 2, Manil. ii. 582 *nihil ex sese natura creauit Pectore amicitiae maius*, Elegia Maecenatis 26 *Pectus eram uere pectoris ipse tui*, Sen. Epist. i. 3. 2 *Diu cogita an tibi in amicitiam aliquis recipiendus sit, cum placuerit fieri, toto illum pectore admille: tam audaciter cum illo loquere quam tecum*. Shakespere is fond of the conceit, especially in the Sonnets, e. g. cix. 3, 4 *As easy might I from myself depart As from my soul which in thy breast doth lie*. [A. Palmer agrees with me in retaining **pectus**, but for **heu nostrae** conj. *non uerae*. Edd. generally give **pestis**, the plausible conj. of Bapt. Guarinus.]

7-10. If these verses belong here, Scaliger's explanation is probably right, 'Exprobrat illi os hircosum,' and so Schwabe Quaestt. p. 86 'nefandam fellandi libidinem exprobrat;' cf. LXXX, LIX. 1. In themselves vv. 7, 8 need mean no more than that the object of Catullus' attack was a profligate who had ventured on the last liberties with Lesbia, cf. Lucr. iv. 1108 *Adfigunt auide corpus iunguntque salivas Oris et inspirant pressantes dentibus ora*.

7. *puræ*, if Lesbia is alluded to, would indicate that as yet she had not entered on her final stage of debauchery; but even at an early period the word seems incongruous.

8. *Sauia*, here 'lips,' as in Mil. Glor. ii. 1. 16. *conminxit*, or as Catullus perhaps wrote *conmixit*, see Neue Formenlehre ii. p. 382, and cf. Hor. S. i. 3. 90, 'has befouled,' is supported by *conmixtae* XCIX. 10.

9. *non impune feres*, οὐ κάρμποίῃς, 'you shall not carry off (i.e. retire with) your act unpaid for.' So often, e.g. XCIX. 3, Heaut. v. 1. 45 *Ne illud haud inultum, si uiuo, ferent*, Asin. iv. 2. 7 *tacita haec auferas*.

10. *qui sis*. Ov. Pont. iv. 3. 1, 2 *Conquerar, an taceam? ponam sine nomine crimen, An notum qui sis omnibus esse uelim?* *fama anus*. See on LXVIII. 46 *carta loquetur anus*. Martial's imitation xii. 4. 4 *Fama fuisse loquax cartaque dicet anus* personifies in one line the two things personified separately by Catullus; but he has also *fama anus* i. 39. 2.

## LXXVIII.

A SHORT epigram on a man named Gallus, otherwise unknown. The hexastich is obviously complete in itself, and is one of the best written by Catullus. The vv. *Sed nunc id doleo—carta loquetur anus*, which follow it in the MSS, cannot belong to it; but it is quite possible that they are in their right place, part of the poem to which they belong having been lost and these four verses surviving as a fragment. See introduction to LXXVII.

Gallus has two brothers, one the husband of a charming wife, the other father of as charming a son. Gallus shows his good taste in effecting the union of a pair made for each other. Gallus also shows his folly in not seeing that he is himself a husband and an uncle, and that his own wife may effect a similar union with his nephew.

1. *lepidissima*, 'very charming,' with a *bodily* idea as in Epid. i. 1. 41 *Forma lepida et liberali adolescentulam*, Heaut. v. 5. 16 *Dabo illam lepidam quam tu facile ames*.

3. *bellus*, a man of refinement, with especial reference to gallantry. Inscr. Pomp. 1883 *Nemo est bellus nisi qui amauit*. Lucr. iv. 1190 *Et si bello animos et non odiosa*. Att. i. 1. 4 *Durius accipere hoc mihi uisus est quam ego uellem et quam homines belli solent*: the last two passages show the idea of surrender or complaisance which forms part of the notion of a man of gallantry. Here Gallus shows himself true to the character by his indifference to personal or family considerations in forwarding the intimacy of his two scandalous relatives.

4. *bello bella*, of course in the other sense 'pretty:' so CVI. 1. Bacch. i. 1. 48 *lepidus cum lepida accubet*.

5, 6. 'Gallus is a fool and fails to see that whilst he is himself an uncle who teaches his nephew how to seduce an uncle's wife, he is all the time a husband with a wife of his own,' and that the lesson taught may be applied against himself, by the seduction of his wife by his nephew. This seems to be a more probable construction than to make *Qui patruus patruī monstret adulterium* a definition of *maritum*, 'that he is a husband who with a nephew of his own (*patruus*) points out how a nephew may seduce his uncle's wife.'

## LXXIX.

THIS poem becomes more interesting if we read it in the light of Apuleius' assertion, that Lesbia's real name was Clodia. For if Lesbia is Clodia, Lesbius will of course be Clodius, and, as Schwabe has shown, Quaestt. p. 62 sqq., P. Clodius, the *sororius adulter* of Pis. xii, the *istiū mulieris uir, fratrem uolui dicere* of Cael. xiii. Not only does this give a point to *pulcer* (P. Clodius Pulcer), but also to *gente*, in which we may well trace an allusion to the family pride of the gens Claudia. The meaning of the last line to some extent depends on the reading which we adopt. The general idea indeed is unaffected; *sauia* must refer to that *oris impudicitia* which, though not specially imputed to P. Clodius, is included in the general description of his infamy, de Harusp. Resp. xxvii. 59, xx. 42, Sest. vii. 16 *qui enim in eiusmodi uita nerui potuerunt esse hominis fraternalis flagitiis sororis stupris omni inaudita libidine infamis?* (Schwabe Quaestt. p. 91.) But if we retain the reading of most MSS *natorum*, the allusion would seem to be something more than this: for in conjunction with *tria* we can scarcely fail to interpret this of that fixed number of three children, on which under the empire was founded the *ius trium liberorum* or *natorum* (Mart. iii. 95. 6, ii. 91. 6, 92. 1), and which would seem to have been becoming the recognized number of a full *familia* some time before. Suet. Caesar 20 *Campum Stellatē . . . diuisit extra sortem ad uiginti millibus ciuium, quibus terni pluresque liberi essent*. Dion C. xxxviii. 7 ἡ τῶν Καμπανῶν γῆ τοῖς τρία τε πλείω τε ἔτι τέκνα ἔχουσιν ἐδόθη. ib. 50 *Pompeio exprobratum est quod cuius causa post tres liberos exegisset uxorem . . . eius postea filiam . . . in matrimonium recepisset*. Schol. Bern. Lucan. ii. 330 *susceptis tribus liberis (Cato) uxorem suam Hortensio tradidit*<sup>1</sup>. Catullus may then be supposed to allude not only to the *impurum os* of Clodius, but also to the *mollities* which was sometimes associated with it, cf. Gell. i. 5. 1 *Hinc etiam turpibus indignisque in eum uerbis non temperatum, quin parum uir et ore quoque polluto diceretur*. The connexion of the two lines would then be 'still, vile as I and my family are in the estimation of this handsome scion of a patrician family, I defy him to produce three children of his own begetting who would not shrink from kissing their polluted father.'

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle Pol. ii. 9. 18 shows that the possession of three sons conferred special privileges at Sparta: ἐστὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μὲν γεννῆσαντα τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἀφαιρουσαν αἰναι, τὸν δὲ τέτταρας ἀτελεῖ πάντων.

It is an objection to this view that Clodius was, at least later, the father of a son and daughter (Riese). Nor, unless some special circumstance of the time made such a taunt justifiable,—e.g. a distribution of land or grant of privileges to fathers of three children, such as Caesar proposed in 695 | 59 to 20,000 of the poorer citizens in the passage cited from Suetonius (Iul. 20)—would there be much point in the allusion.

Hence it is perhaps safer to adopt *notorum* of *O* and a MS at Brescia which gives *ndtorum*, 'acquaintances.' Lesbius' vices made him too unpleasant to be kissed by his friends. Cf. the words of Salmonis to Gemellus in Alciphron. iii. 28. 2 ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Γέμελλε, στυγῶ, βδελυττομένη . . . τὴν δυσ-χέρειαν τοῦ στόματος, ἐκ τοῦ μυχαιάτου τῆς φάρυγγος τὴν δυσσομίαν ἐκπέμποντος. So Munro with most modern edd.

Lipsius Var. Lect. i. 5 thought that by Lesbius was meant not P. Clodius, but Sextus Clodius, his follower, who is often mentioned as scandalously intimate with Clodia. De Dom. x. 25 *helluoni spurcatissimo, praegustatori libidinum tuarum, homini egentissimo et facinorosissimo, Sex. Clodio socio tui sanguinis, qui sua lingua etiam sororem tuam a te abalienauit.* 26 *ex ore impurissimo Sex. Clodii.* xviii. 47 *Hanc tibi legem Clodius scripsit, spurciorem lingua sua?* xxxi. 83 *Quaere hoc ex Clodio . . . latilut omnino, sed si requiri iusseris, inuenient hominem apud sororem tuam occullantem se capite demisso.* Cael. xxxii. 78. But, as Schwabe observes, this is inconsistent with *pulcer*, for Sex. Clodius was not handsome in person but ugly (Pis. iv. 8), nor was he connected with the Clodian familia of the Pulcri. B. Schmidt, indeed, Prolegom. p. xxi, accepting Lipsius' view that Sex. Clodius is meant, paraphrases vv. 1, 2 of the Epigram thus: 'Sex. Clodius non est quem adhuc putavi homo sordidus, sed gentis Claudiae nobilissima familia Pulchrorum natus, nam Clodia eum utpote gentilem suum mihi cum tota gente mea anteposit.' The point of the Epigram however is then so obscured as to be barely intelligible.

1. **quid ni**, 'well he may be,' 'by all means let him be so.' Aesch. fr. 303 Nauck λευκός. τί δ' οὐχί; καὶ καλῶς ἠφευμένος ὁ χοῖρος.

2. **cum tota gente**, 'with all your kith and kin' (Munro). Clodius might look down upon the provincial Catullus. Cicero alludes to his connexion with the gens Claudia in Clodium et Curionem v. 3 *Tunc cum uincirentur pedes fasciis, cum calauticam capiti adcommodares, cum uix manicatam tunicam in lacertos induceres, cum strophio adcurate praecingerere, in tam longo spatio nunquam te Appii Claudii nepotem esse recordatus es?* Prof. Sellar, Roman Poets of the Republic p. 408, from this verse and LVIII. 3 *se atque suos omnes*, inclines to think that Catullus had a large connexion of kinsmen; and this agrees with the inscriptions discovered by Gagliardi at Brescia, in one of which a C. Quintius Catullus and an Antonia Catulla, in the other an Annius Valerius Catullus, are mentioned.

3. **pulcer**, cf. Cicero's jokes on the *pulcellus puer* Att. i. 16. 10, ii. 1. 4, 22. 1. **uendat**, either (1) *literally*, 'let him put me up to sale by auction, like a slave' (Bährens), or (2) in a sense short of this, 'let him treat me as an insolvent debtor, and sell off *all my effects*.' Thus **uendat Catullum** would = *uendat Catulli bona*. See Mayor on Iuuen. iii. 33, who

compares Quintil. viii. 6. 24 *a possessore quod possidetur, ut hominem deuorari, cuius patrimonium consumatur*, and Cic. pro Quinct. xv. 50 *cuius bona ex edicto, huius omnis fama et existimatio cum bonis simul possidetur; de quo libelli in celeberrimis locis proponuntur, huic ne perire quidem facile obscureque conceditur; cui magistri fiunt et domini constituuntur, qui, qua lege et qua condicione pereat, pronuntient, de quo homine praeconis uox praedicat et pretium conficit, huic acerbissimum uiuo uidentique funus ducitur, si funus id habendum sit, quo non amici conueniunt ad exsequias cohonestandas, sed bonorum emptores, ut carnifices, ad reliquias uitae lacerandas et distrahendas*. The word *uendat* is probably chosen in reference to Clodius' selling himself and his services as a speaker (Tac. Ann. xi. 7 *quantis mercedibus P. Clodius et C. Curio contionari soliti sint*); as well as to his putting up to public auction the effects of Ptolemy king of Cyprus, a transaction in which the person of the king seems to have been held up to ridicule (Sest. xxvi. 57, xxvii. 59, pro Domo xx. 52, de Harusp. Respons. xxvii. 58 *reges qui erant, uendidit*, where note that *reges = regum bona*, like Pompeii's sector Phil. ii. 26. 65, *Ptolemaeum publicasses = Ptolemaei bona* pro Domo viii. 20 (Holden on Sest. xxvi. 57)).

4. *natorum*, i. e. if he can find three children to acknowledge him as their father by kissing him, as was usual between parents and children. Plaut. Stich. i. 2. 34. The point is thus twofold, (1) he cannot be a father of a perfect *familia*; (2) he is too polluted to allow of his nearest relations kissing him. Others take *natorum* in the sense of *nemo natus*, 'no one in the world,' or as = 'well-born,' Mart. x. 27. 4 *Nemo tamen natum te, Diodore, putat*, the opposite of *ex se natus* Phil. vi. 6. 17, Tac. Ann. xi. 21 a man of no family. If, with *O*, *natorum* is read, cf. Cael. ii. 3, Hor. S. i. 1. 85, Caesar B. C. i. 74 *suos notos hospitesque quaerebant*: and for *tria natorum* Anth. P. vi. 180. 2 *Τρεῖς γυῖοι* (in an epigram by Archias).

## EXCURSUS ON LXXIX. 4.

IN spite of the testimony of *O* and the Brescian MS, I still lean to *natorum*. P. Clodius, it must be remembered, was popularly accused of improper intimacy with his *three sisters*, as well as with his *brother*. Cicero Sest. vii. 16 asks what vigour (*qui nerui*) could there be in the life of a man *fraternis flagitiis, sororiis stupris, omni inaudita libidine insani*? and the Bobbian Scholiast there notes *Et Appius Claudius maior natu infamis in eundem Clodium fuerat et soror Clodia, ut saepe iam diximus*. Again in Fam. i. 9. 15 Cicero says of Clodius *non pluris fecerat Bonam deam quam tres sorores*. It seems possible therefore that the mention of three *children* is determined by this scandal of the three *sisters*: Catullus in effect suggesting that Clodius, however much he might be in favor with each of his sisters, had lost by his depravity all that could recommend him as a husband or father of a family.

Peiper's conj. *aratorum*, which has been strangely overlooked, would have a special significance, if the Epigram was written at the time when Clodius was trying to get himself appointed one of the commissioners for the distribution of the Ager Stellatis in 59 B.C., as recorded by Cicero Att. ii. 7. 3 *Hercule, uerum ut loquamur, subcontumeliose tractatur noster Publius: primum qui cum dami Caesaris quondam unus uir fuerit, nunc ne in uiginti quidem esse potuerit*. Catullus would then say 'let Clodius buy up me

and all my gens, if he can relieve his own needs by getting a commissionership for distributing land on Caesar's law, and so ingratiate himself with the poor *aratores* settled on it.' (Cf. Tyrrell's Appendix in Vol. I of his Correspondence of Cicero p. 412.) The subobscene allusion which Peiper traces, comparing Truc. i. 2. 48 *Non aruos hic, sed pascuos ager est: si arationes Habiturus, qui arari solent, ad pueros ire meliust*, would well suit the *pulcellus puer*.

Schöll's *nostrorum* would give a fine irony, contrasting as it does the sturdy independence of Catullus and his provincial relatives with the proud but degraded descendant of the gens Claudia.

## LXXX.

1. **Quid dicam quare**, 'what am I to say is the reason?' Rosc. Amer. xxxiii. 94 *Permulta sunt quae dici possunt quare intellegatur*. For *Quid est quare* cf. Sen. de Ira ii. 6. 3. **rosea** implies youth, LXIII. 74.

3. 'When you rise in the morning, or leave your couch after the mid-day siesta,' LXI. 111.

4. **quiete E molli** with **suscitat**. Tusc. Disp. iv. 19. 44 *Quaerentibus respondebat Milliadi tropaeis se e somno suscitari*. **longo die**, not simply, I think, 'in the lingering summer day,' but 'in the long hours of the day,' i.e. when the heat is greatest, and the hours pass most slowly.

5. 'At any rate there is something the matter.' Verg. Ecl. viii. 107 *Nescio quid certest, et Hylax in limine latrat*. **an uere**. Pont. i. 5. 31 *An populus uere sanos negat esse poetas?*

6. **medii uiri**. Mart. ii. 61. 2, iii. 81. 2, Priap. xliii. 2. **tenta** = *mentulam tentam* Priap. xx. 6, cf. ib. xxxiii. 2, lxxix. 1. **uorare**, Mart. vii. 67. 15.

7. **Sic certe est**. See on LXII. 8. **rupta Ilia**, of a rupture, as in XI. 20.

8. **sero**. Petr. Petitus Misc. Obs. iii. 2 compares Plutarch's *σπερματικός ὄππος*, de Placitis Philosophorum 24.

## LXXXI.

ONE of the series of poems to Juventius, who is here accused of deserting the poet for a rival from Pisaurum. From *in tanto populo* we may conjecture that it was written at Rome. Cicero mentions a Drusus of Pisaurum, a friend of Pompeius, as employed on the lucrative Campanian commission Att. ii. 7, but there is nothing to identify him with the object of Catullus' jealousy. Couat Étude p. 98 and Bährens think *Furius* is meant: Bruner and B. Schmidt, with more probability, *Aurelius*, to whose name *inaurata* in 4 is possibly an allusion (Bruner).

2. **diligere inciperes**, a pleonasm in the style of the older poets (Scaliger). Enn. Medea Exul 231 Ribbeck *quod iter incipiam ingredi?* Pompon. Verniones 174 *Porcus est quem amare coepi, pinguis non pulcer puer*. Plaut. Bacch. iii. 6. 36 *Occipere tute ipse amare*.

3. **moribunda** is explained by Voss of the sickly character of the air of Pisaurum, which in his own time was believed to prevent longevity:

by Conr. de Allio of the *inhabitants* who, from their unhealthy climate, wore a deathly look: a view adopted by Forcellini. It seems more natural to refer *moribunda* to the decaying (*Viribus illa carens et iam moribunda* Ovid M. vii. 851) state of Pisaurum, which, though it does not seem to be expressly stated, is not at variance with the general language of Cicero; at any rate Long Dict. Geog. s. v. can hardly be right in concluding from Sest. iv, Phil. xiii. 12 that Pisaurum was at that time in a flourishing condition. *Pisauri*, a town of Umbria on the Adriatic between Fanum Fortunae and Ariminum. It was founded as a Roman colony simultaneously with Potentia in Picenum B.C. 184, Liv. xxxix. 44. (Dict. Geog. s. v.) Antonius settled a fresh body of military colonists at Pisaurum; but just before the battle of Actium, the town was destroyed by chasms opening in the earth (Plut. Ant. 60). If anything similar to this visitation had occurred in the earlier history of the town, it might be a reason for the place declining and falling into decay.

4. *inaurata*, composed of wood or some similar material and then coated with gilding. From the time when M'. Acilius Glabrio erected the first *statua aurata* to his father B.C. 181 (Liv. xl. 34, Amm. Marc. xiv. 8. 8) they are often mentioned, as in Cic. Verr. ii. 46. 114 *cuius (Verris) statuæ Romæ stant inauratae*, Pis. xi. 25: such gilt statues were sometimes presented as a compliment to distinguished benefactors, as by the Capuans to Cicero Pis. xi. 25. Here *inaurata* is in reference to the paleness of the man, cf. LXIV. 100. *statua*, perhaps with some notion of stiff (Pseud. iv. 1. 7) inanity as in Eur. El. 383 *αὐτὸς δὲ σαρκὸς αἰ κεραὶ φρονῶν 'Αγυλματ' ἀγορὰς εἰσιν*, quoted by Mayor on Iuven. viii. 55, Paroem. Graec. ii. p. 102 Leutsch *ἀνδρίας σφυρήλατος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναισθητῶν*, Val. Max. iv. 3, Ext. 3.

6. *et nescis*, without being sensible of your enormity. *et* nearly = *et lamen* as in XCVII. 2.

## LXXXII.

THE Quintus of this poem may be the person mentioned in C. 1 with Caelius as *flos Veronensum iuuenum*, and as enamoured of Aufilena. Schwabe, following many of the commentators, thinks that C. 7 *Cum uesana meas torreret flamma medullas* refers to Catullus' passion for Aufilena (CX, CXI), and explains the present poem as a protest addressed by the poet to a rival: and so Bährens. But this view of C is violently improbable, and it seems better with Conr. de Allio, Ribbeck and B. Schmidt (Proleg. p. xiv) to explain LXXXII. 3, 4 of Lesbia, *Ambobus mihi quae carior est oculis* CIV. 2; for only Lesbia can be designated by *mea uita*.

1. *oculos debere*, to be indebted to you as the preserver of all he holds most dear; the sense might be paraphrased, 'if you wish me to look upon you as the saviour of my happiness, do not become the destroyer of it.'

2. *carior oculis*. Cf. the story in Lucian (Toxaris 40) of Dandamis consenting to lose his eyes for his friend Amizokes. Lear. i. 1 *Dearer than eyesight space and liberty*. Gray Bard i. 3 *Dear as the light that visits these sad eyes*.

ship 702 | 52 (cf. Brut. xciv. 324, de Fin. iv. 1. 1). Cicero says of him *fuit M. Crassi quasi secundarum*, and Schwabe infers from this that he was in the intimacy of Crassus and may therefore have accompanied him into Syria 699 | 55. The description would agree very well with what is said of Arrius in Catullus' poem. (Schwabe Quaestt. pp. 322-331.)

The pronunciation of the letter *h* was one of the grammatical questions of the time. Caesar treated *de uerborum aspirationibus* in his work de Analogia (Fronto p. 221 Naber); Nigidius Figulus laid down a rule *Rusticus fit sermo si adspires perperam* (Gell. xiii. 6); Varro enjoined its omission or retention in individual words e.g. *Graccus ortus* (Charis. p. 82 Keil) *pulcrum* (Charis. 73 Keil) *Rodus retor* (Cassiodorus p. 2285 P.), and elsewhere indicates the same thing by his etymologies, as in connecting *olus asta* with *olla astare* L. L. v. 108, 115, *hordeum* with *horrere* L. L. v. 106.

According to Cicero (Orat. xlviii. 160) a change was introduced in his own lifetime. The old fashion was to aspirate vowels only, consonants never; this he had been obliged to give up in deference to the new fashion. *Quin ego ipse, cum scirem ita maiores locutos esse, ut nusquam nisi in uocali aspiratione uterentur, loquebar sic, ut pulcros Cetegos triumphos Kartaginem dicerem; aliquando idque sero conuicio aurium cum extorta mihi ueritas esset, usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi reseruauit. Orciuos tamen et Malones Otones Caepiones sepulcra coronas lacrimas dicimus quia per aurium iudicium licet.* And this agrees with the well-known statement of Quintilian i. 5. 20 *H litterae ratio mutata cum temporibus est saepius. Parcissime ea ueteres usi etiam in uocalibus, cum aedos ircosque dicebant; diu deinde seruatum ne consonantibus aspirarent, ut in Graccis et in triumphis; erupit breui tempore nimius usus ut choronae chenturiones praechones adhuc quibusdam inscriptionibus maneat, qua de re Catulli nobile epigramma est.* Cf. Gell. ii. 3. Corssen i. p. 103 sqq. traces this fluctuation in inscriptions and MSS: see also Brambach Neugestaltung der Latein. Orthographie pp. 282-294, and Sandys' commentary on Orat. xlviii. 160.

From this epigram it is clear that Catullus disapproved of the gradually encroaching predominance of *h*, in this respect agreeing with Cicero. Their judgment was to some extent confirmed by the Augustan writers; for the MSS of Vergil, which may be taken as the best representative of the orthography of that time, are against such spellings as *chorona chenturio*, etc., and preponderate in favour of *umerus umor ora onus Orcus*; on the other hand the new fashion prevailed in such words as *Celhegus Otho*, etc. Catullus represents Arrius' over-fondness for the aspirate as a vulgar habit which he had inherited from his ancestors; if this is true, the plebeian pronunciation had overpowered the more aristocratic, which, as we saw from Cicero, was then beginning to be antiquated; but it is equally, or perhaps more probable, that the habit of over-aspirating was a consequence of the increasing number of Greeks resident in Rome.

A passage in Cicero's de Orat. iii. 12. 45 closely resembles vv. 5, 6 of this epigram. If Cicero copied Catullus, the epigram must have been known to him in November of 55 B.C. See A. S. Wilkins' Introduction to his ed. of the de Oratore p. 3.



1. **commoda**, military stipends or rewards out of the usual course. Fam. vii. 8. 1 *Simul sum admiratus cur tribunatus commodā, dempto praesertim labore militiae, contempseris.* A. A. i. 131, 2 *Romule, militibus scisti dare commodā solus. Haec mihi si dederis commodā, miles ero.* In Rull. ii. 20. 54 *Si quam spem in Cn. Pompeio exercitus habeat aut agrorum aut aliorum commodorum.* Vitruv. Praef. *Cum M. Aurelio et P. Minidio et Cn. Cornelio ad apparationem ballistarum reliquorumque tormentorum refectiōnem fui praesto et cum eis commodā accepi.*

3. **sperabat**, 'flattered himself,' nearly = *existimabat*. Andr. Schott Observat. ii. 36 compares the use of ἔολπα, ἔλπομαι, ἐλπίζειν.

4. **quantum poterat**, 'with the full strength of his lungs.'

5, 6. Cicero de Orat. iii. 12. 45 very similarly, but *in contrariam partem*, of women preserving in its integrity the language and pronunciation of antiquity, *Equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam—facilius enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conseruant, quod multorum sermonis experies ea lenient semper quae prima didicerunt—sed eam sic audio ut Plautum mihi aut Naeuium uidear audire. Sono ipso uocis ita recto et simplici est ut nihil ostentationis aut imitationis adferre uideatur; ex quo sic locutum esse eius patrem iudico, sic maiores; non aspere ut ille quem dixi, non uaste non rustice non hiulce sed presse et aequabiliter et leniter;* and so the elder Curio grew up in a house trained to purity of language *patrio instituto* (Brut. lix. 213). But these were aristocrats; the plebeian Arrius would inherit a plebeian pronunciation.

5. **Credo**, ironical: Arrius seems to have prided himself on his hereditary pronunciation. Theophrastus makes it a sign of the δυσχερής to call his ailments συγγενικά ἀρρωστήματα, ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν πάππον. **Liber** is probably the uncle's name: Passerat ingeniously explains it as adj.: Arrius, he supposes, was the descendant of men who were *not* free; he compares a similarly ironical line of Afranius ap. Charisium 119 Keil *Contemnes? liber natus est, ita mater eius dixit, In Gallia ambos cum emerem.* The whole verse is consistently contemptuous: **auunculus**, itself an undignified word (Serv. on Aen. iii. 343), is made more so by the prosaic addition of **eius**. **eius**, very rare in poetry; Bentley on Hor. C. iii. 11. 18 quotes five instances where it ends a hexameter, Hor. S. ii. 6. 76, Lucret. i. 782, 965, Prop. iv. 2. 35, Ov. Trist. iii. 4. 27.

7. **omnibus aures**, Fronto p. 61 Naber *Omnibus aures tuae uoculae subseruiunt* where Naber reads *omnium* against the MS.

8. **leniter et leuiter**, Att. xiii. 21. 6 *De Attica optime quod lenius ac lenius (al. leuius) et quod fert εὐκόλως.* Gell. xviii. 9. 7 *ueteres non insequē sed in sece dixerunt, credo quia erat lenius leuiusque.* Plut. Sol. 28 Ὁ Σόλων τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δέῃ ὥς ἥκιστα ἢ ὥς ἥδιστα ὁμιλεῖν. Καὶ ὁ Σόλων, μὰ Δεῖ, εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἥκιστα ἢ ὥς ἁριστα. Apuleius is full of such assonances; see Koziol Stil des L. Apuleius pp. 201–208.

9. **postilla**, a word found in Ennius (Ann. 42), Cato, Plautus Curc. iv. 2. 43, Poen. i. 2. 21, Terence (Eun. i. 2. 47) and the older writers, but probably antiquated in Catullus' time.

10. Phil. xiii. 9. 19 *Parata sententia consularis cum repente ei affertur nuntius.*

11. **Ionios**. He would cross the Adriatic (*Ionium mare* de Orat. iii. 19. 69) on his way. The repose (*requierant*) was not allowed to re-

main undisturbed long; for this would be at the beginning of the journey. Catullus probably means by *Ionios fluctus* the lower part of the Adriatic, as Vergil places the Strophades *Ionio in magno* Aen. iii. 211, cf. Strabo 123 δ' *Ἰόνιος κόλπος μέρος ἐστὶ τοῦ νῦν Ἀδρίου λεγομένου*. 317 τὸ μὲν οὖν στόμα κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ἐστί, διαφέρει δὲ ὁ Ἰόνιος διότι τοῦ πρώτου μέρους τῆς θαλάττης ταύτης ὄνομα τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ Ἀδρίας τῆς ἐντὸς μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ: he can hardly allude to any part of the Aegean, though Ovid seems to mean this Fast. iv. 566, cf. Sen. Theb. 610, Thy. 143.

## LXXXV.

THIS epigram is a brief but pointed expression of the connexion between violent love and violent hate. Plut. Cato 37 *κινδυνεύει τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν, ὥς φησι Θεόφραστος, αἴτιον τοῦ μισεῖν γίγνεσθαι πολλάκις*. Am. ii. 4. 5 *Odi, nec possum cupiens non esse, quod odi*. Schulze cites Merc. iv. 5. 14, Poen. iii. 1. 15, Publ. Syri Sent. 42 Ribbeck *Aut amat aut odit mulier, nihil est tertium*. The infidelities of Lesbia would have been sufficient to occasion the distich at almost any period of Catullus' amour with her: but it belongs rather to the early than to the later period. See on LXXXVI.

## LXXXVI.

A COMPARISON of a certain Quintia with Lesbia. 'Quintia in the judgment of many is beautiful; to my view she has particular points of beauty, fine complexion, height, and symmetry of form; but is not completely beautiful. Only Lesbia is such; she combines a beautiful whole with perfection in every part.'

Catullus has before compared Lesbia with rival beauties, see XLIII. Petronius has a similar epigram fr. xxxi Bücheler—

*Non est forma satis, nec quae uult bella uideri,  
Debet vulgari more placere sibi.  
Dicta sales lusus sermonis gratia risus  
Vincunt naturae candidioris opus.  
Condit enim formam quicquid consumitur artis,  
Et nisi uelle subest, gratia tota perit.*

Sen. Epist. 33. 5 *Non est formosa cuius crus laudatur aut brachium, sed illa cuius uniuersa facies admirationem partibus singulis abstulit.*

1. *multis*. So Lucilius ap. Non. 306 *Omnes formosi, fortes tibi: ego improbus: esto*. *longa*, 'tall,' LXVII. 47. Varro ap. Non. 27 describes a woman as *proceram candidam teneram formosam*, Prometheus Liber fr. x Riese.

2. *Recta*, 'well-shaped,' Prop. ii. 34. 46 *Despicit et magnos recta puella deos*. *singula*, 'one by one,' Philostrate. Icones i. 28 *Τάχα τις καὶ τὴν παρείαν ἐπαινίσεται, καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς ῥινός, καὶ καθ' ἐν οὕτως τὰ ἐν τῇ προσώπῳ*. Ov. Am. i. 5. 19–23 *Quos umeros, quales uidi teligique lacertos! Forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi! Quam castigato planus sub pectore uenter! Quantum et quale latus! quam iuuenale femur! Singula quid referam? nil non laudabile uidi.*

3. *illud formosa*, that word 'beautiful.' The word is quoted wi

alteration. So Quintil. viii. 6. 38 *illud canto*, ix. 3. 64 *illud edico*. Mayor on Plin. Epist. iii. 2. 2 *cum dico Princeps* cites Ov. M. i. 169 *lactea nomen habet*. xv. 96 *At uetus illa aetas, cui fecimus aurea nomen*. Suet. Claud. 24 *Gabinio Secundo, Chaucis gente Germanica superatis, nomen Chaucius usurpare concessit*. It is common in Greek. Xen. Oecon. vi. 14 τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ σεμνὸν ὄνομα τοῦτο τὸ καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθός. vi. 15 προσέκειτο τὸ καλὸς τῷ ἀγαθῷ. Eur. Rhes. 521 ξύνθημα δ' ἡμῖν Φοῖβος ἦν τι καὶ δέη Μέμνησ' ἀκούων. Aristot. Pol. ii. 3 οὕτως ἕκαστος ἐμὸς λέγει τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ κακῶς, ὁπόστος τυγχάνει τὸν ἀριθμὸν. Strab. 157 ὑπάρξει πᾶσι αὐτοῖσι, τὴν μὲν καλουμένην Ἑλλήνας, τὴν δὲ Ἀμφίλοχοι.

4. *mica salis*, 'grain of salt,' 'any spark of animation.' Stat. compares Lucr. iv. 1162 *totā merum sal*. Mart. vii. 25. 1-4 *Dulcia cum tantum scribas epigrammata semper Et cerussata candidiora cute, Nullaque mica salis nec amari fellis in illis Gutta sit, o demens, uis tamen illa legi*. The sillographer Timon (circ. B.C. 274) had said νόον δέ μοι οὐκ ἔστι κόκκος, 'not a grain of sense,' Liddell and Scott, s.v. κόκκος.

5. *formosa* would seem from this to imply more than *pulcerrima*; not mere beauty of form or person, but a general charm of gesture and expression.

6. Anth. P. v. 95 Τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες, Πάφιαι δύο, καὶ δέκα Μοῦσαι· Δερκύλις ἐν πασαῖς Μοῦσα Χάρις Παφίη. Musaeus Her. et Leand. 63 Πολλαὶ δ' ἐκ μελίων Χάριτες ῥέον· οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ Τρεῖς Χάριτας ψεύσαντο πεφυκεῖναι· εἰς δὲ τις Ἡροῦς Ὀφθαλμὸς γελῶν ἑκατὸν Χαρίτεσσι τιθῆλει.

## LXXXVII.

An obviously imperfect fragment. See on LXXV.

3. *Nulla fides nullo*. So Lachmann after the Datanus, and the double negative is in harmony with the simple plainness of the statement, as well as with τὸ ἀκακὸν τῆς γυναικείας ἐρμηκείας which Catullus here, like Sophron, may voluntarily be imitating, Etym. M. 774. 41. Similarly Tibullus iv. 7. 8 *Ne legat id nemo quam meus ante uelim*. *foedere* without *in* may be right, just as Cicero says *famulorum numero educatus* Rep. ii. 21. 37, *beluas numero consecratas deorum* iii. 9. 14, *eo numero habeas quo me* Fam. xiii. 62, Corn. Nepos Dat. 6 *cum magno fore periculo*. But *in* would easily fall out after *unquam*, and Doering may be right in restoring it, as I have done in the very parallel case LXXVI. 18 *ipsa in morte*.

4. *amore tuo*, 'love for you.' LXIV. 253. *ex parte*. The particularizing *ex parte mea* emphasizes Catullus' fond love for Lesbia in contrast with the love of her numerous other admirers (Monse).

## LXXXVIII—XCI.

ON Gellius: the first three deal with the charge of incest only, the fourth accuses him besides of making love to Lesbia. See on LXXIV. With this and the two following epigrams compare Mart. ii. 4 *O quam blandus es, Ammiane, matri! Quam blanda est tibi mater, Ammiane!*

*Fratrem te uocat et soror uocatur. Cur uos nomina nequiora tangunt? Quare non iuuat hoc quod estis esse? Lusum creditis, hoc iocumque? Non est. Mater quae cupit esse se sororem, Nec matrem iuuat esse nec sororem.*

## LXXXVIII.

1. **Quid facit is**, like *Qualem existimas qui in adulterio deprenditur?* de Orat. ii. 68. 275.

2. **Prurit**, Mart. ix. 73. 6. **abiectionis tunicis**, a mark of shameless depravity. **peruigilat**, Aristoph. fr. 116 Dindorf *ἐν ἡδυόμοις Στρώμασι παννυχίζων* Τὴν δέσπουσαν ἐρείδεις. Nub. 1069 *τὴν νύκτα παννυχίζειν*. Plut. Crass. 32 *παννυχίδας ἀκολάστους μετὰ γυναικῶν*. Lucian Dial. Meretr. xiv. 1 *Ὁ δὲ τῶν νυκτῶν φιλεῖται καὶ μόνος ἔνδον ἐστὶ καὶ παννυχίζεται*. In all these passages there is probably some idea of the nocturnal festivals of Venus, the licentious *peruigilia Veneris*.

3. **non sinit**, by seducing his uncle's wife, LXXIV. 3.

4. **suscipiat**, 'incurs,' 'contracts,' as Cic. Phil. xi. 4. 9 *Miserior igitur qui suscipit in se scelus quam si qui allerius facinus subire cogitur*. So *suscipere impuritates parricidia maculam crimen* etc.

5, 6. Lucr. vi. 1076 *Non si Neptunus fluctu renouare operam det, Non mare si totum uelit eluere omnibus undis*. Did Catullus copy Lucretius, or Lucretius Catullus?

5. **quantum non**, 'more than.' Liv. ix. 37 *quantus non unquam antea exercitus*. Trist. ii. 231 *tanto quantum non exstitit unquam*. **Tethys**. Haupt Ind. Lect. 1855 affirms that *Tethys* is not used for *mare* by any writer before Archias Anth. P. vii. 214. 6 *πορθμεύσεις Τηθύος εἰς πέρατα*, although from Catullus LXVI. 70 Callimachus might be thought to have done so. Here Catullus obviously has in his mind Homer's *Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθὺν* Il. xiv. 201, cf. Apoll. R. iii. 244 *Τηθύος Ὠκεανοῦ τε*: a personality attaches to both names, as is farther indicated by *genitor Nympharum*.

6. **genitor**. Il. xxi. 196 *Ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα καὶ πᾶσαι κρήναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν*. Schol. Eur. Hippol. 122 *Ὠκεανὸς λέγεται εἶναι πατήρ τῶν ὑδάτων*. **genitor Nympharum**, Ocean with all his streams cannot wash away such guilt. **abluit**. O. T. 1227 *Οἶμαι γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν ἴστρον οὔτε Φᾶσιν ἂν Νίψαι καθαρμῷ τήνδε τὴν στέγην, ὅσα Κεύθει*. Cic. de Legg. ii. 10. 24 *amnis ullis elui*.

7. **nihil quicquam**, as in Plaut. Bacch. iv. 9. 113 *Nihil ego tibi hodie consili quicquam dabo*, Poen. iii. 1. 1 *tardo amico nihil est quicquam iniquius*, Merc. iii. 1. 9, Ter. And. i. 1. 63, Hec. iii. 3. 40, Ad. iii. 3. 12, and so *nemo quisquam* (Holtze Syntax. i. p. 403). 'There is nothing whatever that is crime.' [A. Palmer conj. *quisquam*, i. e. *nihil est ultra, quo sceleris quisquam prodeat*.] **quo prodeat ultra**, Verr. v. 45. 119 *Estne aliquid ultra quo crudelitas progredi possit?*

## LXXXIX.

1. **quid ni?** 'well he may be,' de Orat. ii. 67. 273 *Cum rogaret eum (Maximum) Salinator ut meminisset opera sua se Tarentum recepisse*:

*Quidni, inquit, meminermi? nunquam enim recepissem, nisi tu perdidisses.* **bona**, 'kind,' ironically, in the same sense as CX. 1, where see note.

2. **ualens uiuat**, in contrast with the *tenuitas* of Gellius.

3. **bonus**, as allowing him to take liberties with his wife. **omnia plena**, a common formula. Att. ii. 24. 4 *Sed prorsus uitae laedet, ita sunt omnia omnium miseriarum plenissima.* Fam. ix. 22. 4 *stultorum plena sunt omnia.* Verg. G. ii. 4 *tuis hic omnia plena Muneribus.* Tib. i. 8. 54 *lacrimis omnia plena madent.* Ov. Pont. iii. 3. 86 *Cunctaque laetitiae plena triumphus habet* (partly from Vulp.).

5, 6. *Yea, let his hands touch only what hands touch only to trespass; Reason enough to become meagre, enough to remain.* Metric. Transl.

5. **nihil attingat, nisi quod fas tangere non est.** Similarly Cicero in Clodium et Curionem fr. iv. 3 Orelli *Quo loco ita fuit caecus ut facile appareret uidisse eum quod fas non fuisset.*

## XC.

2. **aruspicium** seems to allude to divination with sticks of tamarisk, as described by Strabo 733 (see on 5), Schol. Nicand. Theriac. 613 *Μάγοι δὲ καὶ Σκύθαι μυρκίνῃ μαρτεύονται ξύλῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ῥάβδοις μαρτεύονται.* Phoenix ap. Athen. 530 *Οὐ παρὰ Μάγους πῦρ ἱερὸν ἀνέστησεν, ὡς περ νόμος, ῥάβδοις τοῦ θεοῦ ψάων* (Scaliger).

3. Strabo 735 *Τοὺς δὲ Μάγους οὐ θάπτουσιν, ἀλλ' οἰωνοβράτους ἔωσι· τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μητράσι συνέρχεσθαι πάτριον νερόμισται* (Scaliger).

4. **impia**, 'unnatural,' and, to Roman ideas, abominable. Euripides Androm. 173 sqq. speaks of such incestuous connexions as peculiarly barbarous, i. e. non-Hellenic, τοιοῦτον πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος, Πατήρ τε θυγατρὶ παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ, διὰ φόβου δ' οἱ φίλτατοι Χωροῦσι καὶ τῶνδ' οὐδὲν ἐξείργει νόμος, where the scholiast notes ταῦτα Περσικὰ ἔθη (Doering). Tertullian. Apologet. p. 10 ed. Rigalt *Persas cum suis matribus misceri Clesias refert.*

5. **Gnatus**, 'that the son of these parents may worship the gods with a chant which is acceptable,' i. e. if the gods are to look with favor on the rite, it must be performed by the son born of an incestuous union between a mother and her child. L. Müller conj. *Gratus*. **carmine**, the ἐπῳδαὶ of which Strabo speaks several times 733 *Ἐπὶ μυρρίνην διαθέντες τὰ κρέα, ῥάβδοις λεπτοῖς ἐφάπτονται οἱ Μάγοι καὶ ἐπάδουσιν, ἀποσπένδοντες ἔλαιον ὁμοῦ γάλακτι καὶ μέλιτι κεκραμένον οὐκ εἰς πῦρ, οὐδ' ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦδαφος. τὰς δ' ἐπῳδὰς ποιοῦνται πολλὸν χρόνον ῥάβδων μυρκίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες.* ibid. καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ εἰσιόντες ἐπάδουσιν ὥραν σχεδόν τι. (Scaliger.) **diuos**, according to Strabo 732 Zeus, the Sun, the Moon, Aphrodite and the elements.

6. **Omentum**, the caul or membrane enveloping the intestines. Plin. H. N. xi. 204 *Ventriculus atque intestina pingui ac tenui omento integuntur.* Catullus here speaks with strict correctness, for the Magians, though victims were cut up as part of their worship, did not like most nations assign any portion of the *flesh* to the gods, ὅμως δὲ τοῦ ἐπίπλου τι μικρὸν τιθέασιν, ὡς λέγουσί τινες, ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ Strabo 732 (Scaliger). **liquefaciens**. Persius imitates Catullus ii. 47 *Tot tibi cum in flammis iunicum omenta liquescant* (Scaliger).

## XCI.

2. 'A magnificent verse, and not far short of being the very finest line that has come down to us from the pen of Catullus. The elisions add to the effect, and must have been intentional.' A. Palmer.

3. *cognossem*, subjunctive of the supposed but false reason, as *videbam*, of the actual or true one. Roby Latin Grammar 1744. Avancius and recently Mähly conj. *non nossem*, which Riese, Bährens, and B. Schmidt adopt. With Lachmann and Haupt I retain *cognossem*. The sense is: 'My reason for trusting you, Gellius, was not any of the ordinary reasons for such confidence, e. g. that I had known you long and intimately, believed you to be a man of your word, or thought it possible you would shrink from a vile action.'

5. *neque quod*, an inversion of the natural order *quod neque*: see on LXIII. 62. *matrem* here for *nouercam* (Westphal Catull's Gedichte p. 121). *germanam*, properly a sister both on the father's and mother's side, whence the combination *soror germana*.

6. *cuius me* not *me cuius*, in spite of the bad rhythm, and the inversion of *neque quod* in 5. There is a similar suggestion of inverted order in LXVIII. 52 *in quo me corruerit genere*. *edebat*, 'preyed upon,' gives the idea of a slowly and silently consuming passion. Aen. xii. 801 *Ni te tantus edit tacitam dolor*.

8. *Non satis id causae*. De Inuent. ii. 20. 60 *Atrocitas iniuriarum satisne causae sit quare praedudicetur?* *id* is emphatic: 'though you were admitted to my intimacy, *that* did not seem to me a sufficient ground for expecting that you would betray me:' a fine irony.

10. *Culpa*. Cic. Fam. ix. 22. 2 *Memini in senatu disertum consularem ita eloqui: Hanc culpam maiorem an illam dicam? potuit obscenius? Non, inquit: non enim ita sensit. Non ergo in uerbo est: docui autem in re non esse: nusquam igitur est*. Plin. H. N. viii. 43 *Odore pardi coitum sentit in adullera leo tolaque ut consurgit in poenam. Idcirco ea culpa flumine abluitur aut longius comitatur*.

## XCII.

On the same subject as LXXXIII, and perhaps belonging to the same period: but more probably later, if we may argue from *assidue* in 4 that Lesbia had entered upon the more profligate period of her life.

2. *dispeream nisi*, like *dispeream si* Prop. ii. 22. 9, a form of adjuration which seems to have become archaic in Martial's time xi. 90. 8. Riese cites two instances from the Catalepta, 9. 2 *Dispeream nisi me perdidit iste putus*, 13. 3 *Dispeream si te fuerit mihi carior aller*, a proof of the early date to which these poems may be assigned.

3. *Quo signo?* Anth. P. v. 213. 3 *Εὐνὴ δὲ σημεῖον*. Fam. xi. 21. 1 *Signum enim magnum amoris dedisti*. Hec. ii. 1. 39 *Quid ais? non signi hoc sat est?* sc. of pretended *hatred*. *quia sunt*, O with four other MSS: *quia sint* is the reading to which the MSS of A. Gellius, who discusses this epigram N. A. vii. (vi.) 16, point, *quia sin totidem* (Hertz)

Vaticanus 3452 (V), *q̄i sin totidem* Hertz' Vat. 1532 (*quas in totidem* most others). If this reading is adopted, *Quo signo?* will be addressed to Catullus by some supposed interrogator, *quia sint* is Catullus' answer, as the questioner is to imagine it. 'You ask, by what sign I know this. Understand, it is because my own case is parallel.' **totidem mea.** Plat. Theag. 121 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν πραγμάτων τεκμαίρομαι καὶ ἐς τὰλλα. The expression is perhaps drawn from the language of games, possibly the game of *scripta* as described by Ovid A. A. iii. 363 sqq., cf. Rich. s. v. *abacus*; 'I have made as many points,' 'our scores are even,' as we might say, it's six of one to half-a-dozen of the other, meaning it is exactly the same with me as with her. This is perhaps the meaning of Ovid's *Quid faciam? turbae pars habet omnis idem* F. v. 108, all the Muses have made the same score. Not unlike is *paria habet* Fronto p. 24 Naber. Cicero in his Hortensius alluded to the game of *scripta*, fr. 53 in vol. iv. p. 984 of Orelli's edition *Itaque tibi concedo quod in duodecim scriptis solemus, ut calculum reducas, si te alicuius dati paenitet.* [Munro accepts this as probable, adding that Horace's *Dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet* (Sat. ii. 3. 298) is enough to show that *totidem* should not be tampered with.] **deprecor.** Gellius N. A. vii. (vi.) 16. 2 in a discussion on this verse interprets the word as meaning *detestor uel execror uel depello uel abominor*; and he quotes instances from Ennius and Cicero where it seems = *propulsare* or *abigere*. If this is right, *deprecor* here = 'I wish off, away,' 'I pray to be rid of.' It can hardly mean, as it has been explained, 'I curse' or 'execrate her' (Lewis and Short); but the vacillations of Gellius suggest as a possibility, 'I cry out upon her,' nearly = 'I rail or revile at her:' 'rate,' Brister; 'cry down,' Gepp: '*I that abuse her*,' Metr. Transl. [Valla, quoted by Floridus Sabinus Lect. Subsec. i. 8, in Gruter's Lampas i. p. 1049 explained *deprecor* here as 'uerbo uel facto recusare,' to disclaim or disown; this might pass into the sense of *repudiating*, or *abjuring*.]

## XCIII.

An expression of contemptuous indifference to the good opinion of J. Caesar. Schwabe assigns it to 55 B.C.; but there is absolutely nothing to fix the date. It was perhaps suggested by some overture which Caesar had made him: his fame as a poet would make it worth while to win him over, if not to friendship, to silence. It probably preceded XXIX, LVII.

1. *Nil nimium studeo*, 'I am not over-anxious.' Mart. ix. 81. 3 *Non nimium curo. uelle placere*, a pleonasm perhaps belonging to common life. Sen. Apocol. 14 *Incipit patronus uelle respondere* where Bücheler quotes Petron. 9 *coepit mihi uelle pudorem extorquere*, 70 *coeperat Fortunata uelle saltare*, 98 *si Gilona tuum amas, incipe uelle seruare*. Nep. Att. 4 *noli me uelle ducere*. Vahlen collects other instances Comment. in honor. Mommseni p. 665. The verse admits of another interpr. 'I am not over-anxious that Caesar should be pleased to say "yes."' Ov. Am. ii. 4. 16 *Aspera si uisast rigidasque imitata Sabinas, Velle, sed ex alto dissimulare puto.*

2. Phaedr. iii. 15. 10 (of a lamb) *Vnde illa sciuit niger an albus nasceret* ? Cic. Phil. ii. 16. 41, Quintil. xi. 1. 38, Apul. de Magia 16. 'To know white from black' was a proverbial expression. Aristoph. Eq. 1279 οὐδεις ὅστις οὐκ ἐπίσταται, 'Ὅστις ἢ τὸ λευκὸν οἶδε, where Schol. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ παροιμιώδης εἶναι ὁ λόγος, ὅστις οἶδε τὸ λευκὸν ἢ τὸ μέλαν. Matron ap. Athen. 135 Σηπὶν εὐπλόκαμος δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήσσσα, 'Ἡ μόνῃ ἰχθὺς οὖσα τὸ λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν οἶδεν<sup>1</sup>. The personal appearance of Caesar would of course interest his admirers; and Catullus seems by his expression to convey that he hardly cared to think of Caesar as a great man. Plin. H. N. xxxv. 10 *Maius, ut equidem arbitror, nullum est felicitatis specimen quam semper omnis scire cupere qualis fuerit aliquis.* *albus.* Plutarch informs us that Caesar had a *white* skin: Caes. 17 τὴν ξέω ὦν ἰσχνὸς καὶ τὴν σάρκα λευκὸς καὶ ἀπαλός.

## XCIV.

THIS with CV *Mentula conatur Pipleium scandere montem*, CXIV *Firmanus saltu non falso Mentula diues*, CXV *Mentula habet instar triginta milia prati*, forms a series of attacks on an individual nicknamed *Mentula*, probably identical with *Mamurra*, the favorite of Caesar XXIX, LVII, and perhaps the *decoctor Formianus* of XLI, XLIII. The points dwelt upon in the epigrams are *Mentula's* profligacy, his unsuccessful attempts in literature, and his wealth. In all these he corresponds closely with *Mamurra*, the rake that 'brothels from bed to bed' (XXIX. 7), the *diffutula mentula* on whom Caesar and Pompeius squander twenty or thirty millions of sesterces, the possessor of all the rich stores of Gaul and Britain; again the *eruditulus* whom Caesar admits to his own *lectulus* (LVII. 8). This view is scarcely invalidated by the fact that *Mentula* is not a metrical equivalent of *Mamurra*, for though this rule is generally observed and probably determined Catullus in calling his mistress *Lesbia*, it is obvious that *Mentula*<sup>2</sup>, as a nickname, and not a pseudonym, might follow the ordinary freedom observed in nicknames, cf. LII. 2 *struma Nonius* (see Schwabe Quaestt. p. 234). It is perhaps a confirmation of this identification that *Mentula* in CXIV is called *Firmanus*; for in the combination *Firmanus Mentula* Catullus may well have meant to suggest the *Formianus Mamurra* (Schwabe p. 231). It was a suspicion of Iungclaussen's that the adoption of the name *Mentula* was subsequent to Caesar's reconciliation with Catullus, as mentioned by Suetonius Iul. 73; the poet would have ceased to attack Caesar, but would continue his hostility to the favorite; hence would adopt a disguise. (See Iungclaussen p. 22, Schwabe pp. 235-239.) This view is to some extent at variance with the present epigram, the point of which turns upon the correspondence of *Mentula's* name with his conduct, and

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the meaning of *Vna est nobilitas argumentumque coloris Ingenui timidas non habuisse manus* (Bücheler Petron. Carm. 47. 7, 8), 'the one true nobility and proof of (possessing the) genuine Jew tone is to circumcise fearlessly.' The two vv. seem to me undoubtedly to belong to the former six with which they are connected in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly Plato was called *Satho* by Antisthenes Diog. Laert. iii. 35, vi. 16, Athen. v. 220, xi. 507, as pointed out to me by my lamented friend Mr. R. Dear, sometime fellow of Merton College.



would be a very poor joke if the name was not a real one. Hence Fröhlich considers *Mentula* to be an actual name like *Bestia Buca Capito Naso* *Domus* (*Caballus Capella Capra*, and denies the identification with Mamurra (cf. Westphal p. 195). A more exact parallel would be *Mutto* which occurs in the name *hominis sordidissimi* in Cicero's oration pro Scauro § 23. Possibly *Mentula* as a name was connected in some way with the family of Mamurra, and was known to be ; Catullus might then use it as an indirect, yet unmistakable mode of attacking him. Or, as Riese suggests, a nickname (such as soldiers might invent) had become so inseparably identified with Mamurra, as to be interchangeable with, and suggestive of, his real name.

*Mentula* commits adultery, at least there's a namesake of his which does; it is a true proverb that says 'the pot will find its own way to the pot-herbs.'

*Mentula*, wanton is he. His calling sure is a wanton's.

Herbs to the pot, 'tis said wisely, the name to the man<sup>1</sup>.

1 *Mentula moechatur. Moechatur mentula certe.* The first *Mentula* seems to be used as a name: the second, in its proper sense as a nickname.

2 *No C. 3. 4 hoc est quod dicitur illud Fraternum uere dulce sodalicium. ipse olla olla legit.* 'the pot gathers the pot-herbs for itself,' i. e. if *mentula* is a pot it will find its own way to the herbs, and a *Mentula* will play a similar part. That this is the meaning is shown by the assonances *Mentula mentula olera—olla*. Scaliger compares the Homeric *ἄλλος ὅλος ὀλέσας ὀλέσας ὀλέσας* Od. xvi. 294. [Another view, adopted by many of the older commentators, explains *legit = furatur*<sup>2</sup> and *ipsa olera olla legit* as an excuse put forward by the real culprit; either (1) an excuse offered by Caesar. Caesar says 'It is *Mentula* (i. e. Mamurra) that is the thief, not I.' Reply, 'True; at any rate there is a namesake of *Mentula* who commits adultery. It's the old proverb, the pot is the thief of the pot-herbs, but the pot did not put them there, and Mamurra is not responsible for Caesar's adulteries.' Or more generally (2) 'You say it is the thief that commits adultery: by all means; you might as well say "it's the pot that's the thief!"' (Vulp.) Varro connects *olla* with *olus* L. L. v. 108.

## XCv.

On the *Lynceus* of C. Helvius Cinna, Catullus' companion in the cohorts of Memmius in Bithynia (N. 20). Of this poem, which was on the incestuous connexion of Myrrha with her father Cinyras, and which occupied its author six or nine years, a few fragments only remain. I quote them from J. Vahlen's edition:

1 *... Lynceus crescens in aluo* Prisc. 269 K. .

2 *... Lynceus Lynceus conspexit Eous*

3 *... Lynceus Lynceus post Hesperus idem* Servius on G. i. 288.

<sup>1</sup> From my Metrical Translation, London, Murray 1871.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. English 'picking and stealing.'

Besides these, Charisius 93 and 145 Keil mentions the genitive<sup>1</sup> *tabis* as an elsewhere unexampled form used by Cinna in the Zmyrna. The poem was, as might be expected from its elaboration, obscure. Philargyrius on Ecl. ix. 35 *Cinna Zmyrnam scripsit quam nonum post annum ut Catullus ait edidit; id quod et Quintilianus ait.* (x. 4. 4). *Vnde etiam Horatium in Arte Poetica dicunt ad eum alluisse, cum ait 'nonumque prematur in annum.'* Fuit autem liber obscurus adeo ut et nonnulli eius aetatis grammatici in eum scripserint magnamque ex eius enarratione sint gloriam consecuti. Suetonius Gramm. 8 says Crassitius wrote a commentary on it, *Vni Crassitio se credere Zmyrna probavit . . . Intima cui soli nota sua extiterint.* Martial (x. 21. 4) *Iudice te melior Cinna Marone fuit* selects Cinna as a type of those obscure poets who write for grammarians. Yet it was this poem, not the hexameter *Propempticon Pollionis* (Charis. 124 K.) or the *poemata* in various metres (Gell. ix. 12, xix. 13) which gave him his reputation. Catullus does not seem to have exaggerated his friend's merits, since Vergil Ecl. ix. 35 *Nam neque adhuc Vario uideor, nec dicere Cinna Digna, sed argulos interstrepere anser olores* classes him with Varius and contrasts him with Anser. See Servius there, and cf. Valgius' lines ap. Schol. Veron. on Ecl. vi. 22 *Herrmann Codrus(que) ille canit, quali tu uoce solebas Atque solet numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos; Dulcior ut nunquam Pyllo profuxerit ore Nestoris aut (doc)to pectore Demodoci.* See Teuffel Hist. of Roman Literature i. p. 370 English Translation, Schwabe Quaestt. pp. 266 sqq.

The Hortensius of 3 is probably the Q. Hortensius Hortalus to whom Catullus sent his translation of the *Coma Berenices*. The description of Catullus agrees well with the words of Gellius xix. 9 *Nam Laelius implicata et Hortensius inuenusta et Cinna inlepidia et Memmius dura ac deinceps omnes rudia fecerunt atque absona*, as well as with Cicero's statement (Orat. xxxviii. 132) that Hortensius was a better speaker than writer, and Quintilian's assertion that his writings were below his reputation (xi. 3. 8; see Schwabe Quaestt. p. 270). Catullus may have quarrelled with him after sending him LXV and the accompanying translation: or *uice uersa* after offending Hortensius by the slighting allusion to his poetry in the present epigram, may have sent LXV as a peace-offering.

The change from Hortensius to Volusius (7, 8) is perhaps intentional. To pass from one poetaster to another, from one writer of *annales* to another (XXXVI. 1, Vell. Paterc. ii. 16 *Q. Hortensius in annalibus suis rettulit*), as if both were on a level, and both equally contemptible, would indirectly add to the acerbity of the attack on the former, especially if the lines on Volusius' *Annales Volusi cacata carta* were already published and known. This however is not the only way of bringing Hortensius into logical connexion with Cinna on the one hand, Volusius on the other. We might suppose Hortensius to be introduced as the *patron* of Volusius, condemned in a single month to read 500,000 verses of Volusius' inditing.

*Millia cum interea quingenta Hortensius uno  
[Mense leuis quot habet carta legit Volusi.]*

The antithesis thus becomes more complete, nine years against one month;

<sup>1</sup> Charis. 145 K. *Huius tabis Cinna in Smyrna dixit, nullo ante se usus auctore, quando per nominatum et ablatium tantum modo declinari posse grammatici pronuntiant.*

the windy chronicler Volusius with his *popular* (Fam. viii. 2. 1) patron Hortensius, against the finished versifier Cinna and his friend Catullus, the greatest poet of the time. At any rate I see no reason to alter the reading of all MSS *hortensius*<sup>1</sup>: though since Weichert *Rel. Poet. Lat.* p. 179 and Fröhlich *über einige Gedichte des Valerius Catullus* (before 1850) pp. 275–279, a long series of critics have laboured to show that Hortensius could have nothing to do with the poem: Unger *Quaestio de Tanusio Gemino* 1855, Schwabe *Quaest.* pp. 268–288, Pleitner *Studien* p. 32 (Dillingen 1876), Munro *Crit. and Eluc.* pp. 209–214, Bährens *Comment.* p. 577, B. Schmidt *Prolegom.* pp. xliii–xliv.

1. i. e. **post nonam messem quam coepta est** = *nona messe post quam coepta est.* **nonam.** Quintil. x. 4. 4 *Cinnae Zmyrnam nouem annis accepimus scriptam et panegyricum Isocratis, qui parcissime, decem annis dicunt elaboratum.* **messem,** ‘summer,’ here the antithesis of *hiemem* in 2.

2. Munro rightly doubts whether **edita** can = *edita est* (yet see CX. 3 *quod mentita*), but his inference that the construction is carried on in 5, and that *Zmyrna* there simply repeats **Zmyrna** of 1 ‘The *Zmyrna* of my Cinna, published ten summers and ten winters after it was begun—the *Zmyrna*, I say, will be sent as far as the waters of Satrachus’ is, I think, questionable. At least the ordinary (LXIV. 305), if not invariable, use of *cum interea* adds the clause introduced by it as an extra or *concluding* statement; and does not allow it to be *interjected* as Munro supposes here. So all the passages cited by Dräger ii. p. 549, except Verr. ii. 9. 25 *ipso uigesimo anno, cum tot interea praetores, tot quaestores, tot calumniatores in prouincia fuissent, hereditas ab his Veneris nomine petita est.* In the passage of Catullus such an interjected clause is very awkward, and unlike the poet’s usual style. It remains to suppose either that a distich has been lost after 2 or that **est** after **coepta** suggests a second *est* and compensates for its absence.

3. **cum interea,** ‘while all the time’ = ‘whereas,’ see on LXIV. 305. **Milia quingenta,** of any large number like *milibus trecentis* IX. 2. **uno,** perhaps *mense*: Haupt suggests *die*: Plutarch says Cicero could write 500 verses in one night, Cic. 40.

5. **cauas,** ‘deep,’ descending far into their bed, Verg. G. i. 326, iv. 427. **Satrachi,** a river of Cyprus, mentioned by Lycophron Al. 448 where Tzetzes notes *Σάτραχος πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς Κύπρου· τινὲς δὲ διὰ τοῦ εἰ γράφουσι Σέτραχον.* Nonnus Dionys. xiii. 458 *Ἡχι θαλασσιγόνου Παφίης νυμφῆιον ὕδωρ Σέτραχος ἡμερούς, ὅθι πολλάκις οἶδμα λαβοῦσα Κύπρις ἀνεχλαίνωσεν λελοιπόμενον νύκτα Μύρρη* which shows its connexion with Myrrha or *Zmyrna* the subject of Cinna’s poem. Etym. M. p. 117, 37 *Ἀῶος· ποταμὸς τῆς Κύπρου· Ἀῶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀδωνίς ὠνομάζετο, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ οἱ Κύπρου βασιλεύσαντες· Ζωίλος δὲ ὁ Κεδραεὺς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μητρὸς κληθῆναι· τὴν γὰρ Θεϊαντος θυγατέρα οὐ Σμύρναν ἀλλὰ Ἀῶαν (Ἀῶαν Meineke) καλοῦσι. Φιλίας δὲ πρῶτον βασιλεία Ἀῶων· Ἡοῦς ὄντα καὶ Κεφά-*

<sup>1</sup> No one has stated this difficulty so clearly as Fröhlich. ‘If both halves of the poem form a single whole the same two poets must be mentioned in either half: if Cinna and Hortensius in the first, then Cinna and Hortensius in the second: and conversely if Cinna and Volusius in the second, then Cinna and Volusius in the first. To bring together *three* writers as our epigram does, would produce a poem comparable with a syllogism of *four* terms,’ p. 276.

λου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὅρος τι ὠνομάσθη Ἀώιον, ἐξ οὗ β' ποταμῶν φερομένων Σεράχου καὶ Πλιέως, τὸν ἕνα τούτων ὁ Παρθένιος Ἀῶον κέκληκε. (Meineke Anal. Alexand. p. 279, cf. Haupt Obs. Crit. pp. 1, 2, Weichert Poet. Lat. Rel. p. 179, Unger<sup>1</sup> in Philologus xxxiii. pp. 418 sqq., M. R. James in Journal of Hellenic Studies ix. pp. 181, 2.) Haupt is doubtless right in explaining Catullus' introduction of the Satrachus here in reference to the subject of the Zmyrna, 'Cinna's poem shall be read in the remote region whose legends it narrates.' **penitus**, far into the interior of the country. **mittetur**, to be read in the provinces, Mart. xii. 3. 1 *Ad populos mitti qui nuper ab urbe solebas Ibis, id, Romam nunc peregrine liber.*

6. **cana**, the centuries will grow gray in reading the poem: so long will it be remembered. Mart. viii. 80. 2 uses *saecula cana* = past ages. **peruoluent**. Trist. ii. 238 *nostros euoluisse iocos*.

7. **Volusi**. See on XXXVI. **Paduam**, one of the mouths of the Po. Polyb. ii. 16 Σχίζεται δ' εἰς δύο μέρη κατὰ τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Τριγαβόλους· τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον στόμα προσονομάζεται Παδῶα, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Ὀλανα. Munro tries to show that this northern branch of the Padus was distinct from *Padūsa* (Aen. xi. 457 *piscosoue amne Padusae*); but Vibius Sequester includes under *paludes* a word which the best MS (see Bursian's edition, Turici, 1867) gives as *Paduae*<sup>2</sup>; and it is rather more probable that *Padua Padūsa Padūsa* were mere variations of the same word. At any rate very little stress can be laid on Haupt's argument that 'as Satrachus is a river, the antithesis requires that Padua shall be also a river' (Munro p. 211): for this argument would lead us to expect not *Paduam* (whether a branch of the Padus or a marsh formed by it), but *Padum*. **ad ipsam**, they will not travel beyond the birth-place of their author.

8. **scombris**. They will be used as waste-paper to wrap fish in. Mart. iii. 50. 9 *Quid si non scombris scelerata poemata donas, Cenabis solus iam, Ligurine, domi*. iii. 2. 3, 4 *Ne nigram cito raptus in culinam Cordylas madida legas papyro*. **laxas**, because there was plenty of paper and no stint: hence also perhaps **saepe**: other and viler uses are alluded to XXXVI. 1. **tunicas**, of paper used for wrappers, Mart. iv. 86. 8 *Nec scombris tunicas dabis molestas* (Alex. Guarinus).

9. **Parua**, Servius on Ecl. ix. 35 calls the Zmyrna *a libellus*. *Cinna poeta optimus fuit, qui scripsit Zmyrnam: quem libellum decem annis climauit*. **sodalis** though a mere conjecture is supported by X. 29. Kiessling, Comment. in honorem Mommseni p. 354, makes it probable that Cinna was a native of Brixia. Others think a name has fallen out, which would contrast better with *Antimacho* in 10, Bergk *Philetae*, Rossbach *Phanoclis*, Munro *Phalaeci*.

10. **populus**, as Horace speaks of *uentosae plebis suffragia* Epist. i. 19. 37. 'By **populus** the poet means the large circle of readers consisting of those who even if they belonged to the educated class, were as a rule without aesthetic training and had no fine feeling for true poetry and

<sup>1</sup> Unger, because the first syllable of Σάτραχος is long in Lyc. 448 καὶ Σάτραχον βλάσαντες Ἰλίου τε γῆν, of Σάτραχος in Nonn. Dionys. xiii. 459 Σάτραχος ἱμερόεις, objects to *Sātrachi* in Catullus. But if the word was written Σάτραχος in Etym. M. as Gaisford shows, the τ must have been slurred and sometimes omitted altogether, just as in βότρυχος for βόστρυχος, which Pollux ii. 27 cites from Pherecrates, in an anapaestic line.

<sup>2</sup> *Paduas Galliae a Pado dicta*: Bursian corrects *Padusa*: but Vibius more probably wrote *Padua*.

beautiful treatment of a subject.' Pleitner, *Studien* p. 33. *tumido*, 'wordy,' mainly in reference to the *length* of Volusius' Annals, hence in opposition to *parua monumenta* (Schwabe p. 282), but also with the notion of many words and little meaning. This agrees with ancient statements about Antimachus, e.g. Brut. li. 191 *quod dixisse Antimachum clarum poetam ferunt, qui cum conuocatis auditoribus legeret eis magnum illud quod nouistis uolumen suum* (his *Thebais*) *et cum legentem omnes praeter Platonem reliquissent: Legam, inquit, nihilo minus; Plato enim mihi instar est omnium*. Acron on A. P. 146 *Antimachus poeta reditum Diomedis narrans coepit ab exordio primae originis, id est, coepit ab interitu Meleagri*. This lengthiness was also found in Antimachus' *Lyde*, an elegiac poem on his mistress, cf. Callim. fr. 441 Blomf. *Λύδη καὶ παχὺ (pingue) γράμμα καὶ οὐ τοπόν*, a verdict which, as Dilthey thinks Cydippa p. 19, Catullus here adopts, in opposition to the extravagant judgment of such admirers as Antipater of Thessalonica, Anth. P. vii. 409. It seems strange that Catullus should think of comparing Volusius with a poet who, according to Quintilian x. 1. 53, ranked second among epic poets; perhaps we may trace in this his dislike of unfinished workmanship (*adfectibus et incunditate et dispositione et omnino arte deficitur*, Quintil. u. s.) and the predominating influence of Alexandrian symmetry and conciseness.

## XCVI.

To Calvus on the loss of Quintilia his wife or mistress. Schwabe, *Quaest.* p. 264, whom Munro, Plessis<sup>1</sup> and B. Schmidt follow, thinks the former, as Quintilia is an actual Roman name<sup>2</sup>, and the grammarian Diomedes 376 Keil speaks of Calvus' wife *Caluus alibi ad uxorem 'prima epistula uidetur in uia delita'*. Calvus wrote elegies on Quintilia Prop. ii. 33.

89, 90—

*Haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calui  
Cum caneret miseræ funera Quintiliae,*

to which two of the extant fragments have been referred by Lachmann (Propert. p. 14). Charis. p. 101 Keil *Feminino genere dixit cinerem, ut Caluus in carminibus*

*Cum iam fulua cinis fuero* (fr. 16 L. Müller),  
*ilem*

*Forsitan hoc etiam gaudeat ipsa cinis* (fr. 17 L. Müller).

1. *quicquam* after *si* as in CII. 1. *mutis sepuloris*, nearly = the silent dead CI. 4 *Et mutam nequicquam alloquerer cinerem*. So Antipater of Sidon in Anth. P. vii. 23. 5 *Ὅφρα κέ τοι σποδιή τε καὶ δοτέα τέρψιν ἄρῃται, Εἰ δὴ τις φθιμένοισι χρίμπεται εὐφροσύνα*. *gratum acceptumue*. The two words are combined similarly Tusc. Disp. v. 15. 45, Stich. i. 1. 50, Corn. Nep. Hann. 7. Cf. XC. 5.

3. I follow Haupt in considering *Quo desiderio*, 'from the regret with

<sup>1</sup> Essai sur Calvus pp. 14, 19. Caën 1885. M. Plessis imagines her 'sérieuse, instruite, fidèle et tendre, assise volontiers au foyer domestique, capable de se dévouer, se prenant aux grands sentiments et aux grandes pensées,' but the portrait is purely ideal.

<sup>2</sup> This is not conclusive: Quintilia occurs as the name of a Mima (Teuffel, Hist. of Roman Literature, i. p. 11, English Transl.).

which we renew the image of past loves' in apposition with *dolore* which it defines and specializes (Peiper, who also conj. *reuocamus*). Al. Guarinus' *Quom*, which Munro prefers, is unnecessary: *Qui* or *Quei* of others, though not far removed from *Que* the reading of *O*, and supported by similar instances XLIV. 21, LXVIII. 118 hardly connects itself so well with *desiderio*.

4. *missas*, 'lost,' as in Pseud. ii. 3. 19 *Certa mitimus dum incerta petimus*. [Haupt Opusc. i. p. 215 and Munro both question *missas*: Bährens' distinction 'adhibetur uox ea (*mittere*) de eis quae sponte nostra dimittimus, non de eis quae inexorabili necessitate rumpuntur,' seems at least generally true: hence *amissas* of the early Italian scholars may be right. Yet the harsh elision *olim amissas* takes from the tenderness of the poem, and it seems possible that *mittere* 'to drop' may sometimes be used of dropping a thing *involuntarily*, i. e. in effect losing it. So I think in Pseud. ii. 3. 19, where rhythm strongly supports *mitimus* of *B C D* and the Ambrosian Palimpsest against *amittimus* the conj. of Ritschl. In the new ed. Götz prints *mitimus*.] For the sentiment cf. Sen. Ep. 99. 19 *Hae lacrimae per elisionem cadunt nolentibus nobis; aliae sunt quibus exitum damus cum memoria eorum quos amisimus retractatur et inest quiddam dulce tristitiae, cum occurrunt sermones eorum iucundi, conuersatio hilaris, officiosa pietas*.

5. *Certe*, perhaps in its strict sense 'at least,' implying that the joy might be much greater than the grief; in any case it preponderated. *tanto dolore* 'st, as *magno dolori esse* B. G. v. 29. *mors immatura* = *πρόωπος μοῖρα* of an epigram by Crinagoras A. P. vii. 643. 3, 4.

6. *quantum gaudet* = *quantum gaudium habet* = *quantum est gaudium quod habet*, as in Luc. i. 259 *sed quantum, uolucres cum bruma coercent, Rura silent, mediusque iacet sine murmure pontus, Tanta quies*. Pers. i. 60 *linguae quantum sitiat canis Apula, tantum*. 'At least be sure that Quintilia's grief for her early death is not so great as the joy she feels in your love.'

## XCVII.

AGAINST Aemilius, of whom nothing is known. The poem is unusually coarse even from Catullus: only XXIII, XXXIII, XXXVII and the fragmentary LIV can compare with it. There is a similar epigram Anth. P. xi. 241 of which the last part is lost *τὸ στόμα χῶ πρωκτὸς ταυτὸν, Θεῖδωρί, σου ἔξει, ὥστε διαγῶναι τοῖς φυσικοῖς καλὸν ἦν. Ἡ γράψαι σε ἴδει ποῖον στόμα, ποῖον ὁ πρωκτός*, cf. ib. 415 *τίς σου, Μεντορίδῃ, προφανῶς οὕτως μετέθηκεν τὴν πυγὴν, οὐπερ τὸ στόμα ἔκειτο πρὸ τοῦ; Βδείς γάρ, κοῦκ ἀναπνεῖς, φθόγγῃ δ' ἐκ τῶν καταγείων. Θαῦμα μ' ἔχει τὰ κάτω πῶς σου ἄνω γέγονεν*. Riese Anth. Lat. 205. 10.

1. *ita me di ament*, as in Plautus, e. g. Pseud. iv. 1. 33.

2. *culum*. See on LXVI. 48. Alex. Guarinus well observes that the non-elision of *-um* here follows the hiatus of *di ament* in 1: hence it seems doubtful whether *Virumne os an culum*, the generally accepted emendation, is necessary.

3. I. e. *os nihilo mundior res est culo, culus nihilo immundior res est ore*.

**nilo**, as in Hor. S. i. 5. 67, Priap. 52. 10. **illud**, not the *os* but the *culus*. Key L. D. p. 287 quotes with other instances of *hic ille* thus abnormally used, Ov. M. i. 697 *credi posset Latonia, si non Corneus huic* (the nymph) *arcus, si non foret aureus illi*, Trist. i. 2. 23, 24 *nilil est nisi pontus et aer Fluctibus hic tumidus, nubibus ille minax*, where see S. G. Owen.

4. **Verum etiam**, 'or rather indeed.' **mundior et melior**, double alliteration as in Vell. P. ii. 3 *equestris ordinis pars melior et maior*. So *leniter et leuiter* LXXXIV. 8.

5. **sesquipedalis**, like Sappho's Πόδες ἐπυροπόνητοι, fragm. 98 Bergk. Pers. i. 57 *Pinguis aqualiculus propenso sesquipedale exstet*.

6. **Gingivas ploxeni ueteris**, 'gums that might belong to a worn-out carriage-frame,' i. e. receding from the teeth and forming fissures or gaps like those in the body or frame of a gig, when the leather or other soft material with which it is covered gives way and falls into a number of uneven notches or slits all round. See Rich s. v. Nearly so Alex. Guarinus 'exesas carie, sicut est capsula uetus tineis corrosa:' but his MS of Festus, i. e. probably of Paulus Diaconus 'codex manu scriptus antiquus sane et integer satis, in quo multa reperiuntur uocabula quae in aliis desunt codicibus' did not contain the word: and he speaks therefore with hesitation. Festus explains *ploxenum* as *capsum in cisio capsae*, seemingly, the body of a carriage, Vitruv. x. 14. 2 and 3, Isid. Orig. xx. 12. Quintilian (i. 5. 8) says Catullus found the word in the region of the Po.

7. **in aestu**, 'quia tum laxior esse solet,' Alex. Guarinus. MSS give *in aestum* which Scaliger defends as an archaism, improbably, as *in aestu* would naturally follow the construction of *in sole* Cato R. R. 88, Celsus i. 2, iv. 3; and even if *in aestum* is retained it might more easily be explained 'at the approach of.'

8. **cunnius**. *O* gives *cōmis*, which points to the form *connus*, as the word is actually written in a MS at Parma, 716. This latter is however rare, e. g. *connos* in an epigram by Luxorius 302. 12 Riese, *connum* in some MSS of Mart. ii. 84. 3, ix. 92. 11; and Cicero must still have heard it so sounded, as he does not distinguish it from the name *Connus*. Fam. ix. 22. 3 *Socratem fidibus docuit nobilissimus fidicen. Is Connus uocitatus est. num id obscenum putas?* It is remarkable therefore that eleven instances preserved on the walls of Pompeii, have the *u* form; only one the *o*, no. 1406 Zangemeister. The well-known passage in Cicero's Orator xlv. 154 *cum nobis non dicitur, sed nobiscum, quia si ita diceretur, obscenius concurrerent litterae*, points however clearly to the increasing predominance of the *u* sound in Cicero's time.

9. Cf. XXXVII. 2. **facit**, 'gives out.' For this sense of *facere* see the exhaustive discussion by Thielmann in Archiv für Latein. Lexicographie iii. p. 180.

10. **Et**, 'and yet.' Phaedr. i. 8. 11 *caput Incolume abstuleris et mercedem postules*. Sen. de vita beata 21 *Quare opes contemnendas dicit et habet? pistrino traditur atque asino*, 'is made over to the grinding-mill and the donkey,' i. e. is sentenced to drive the donkey employed to turn the stone mill (*mola*) in the pistrinum. A horse is figured in this employment in Rich s. v. *mola asinaria*. Cf. Cato R. R. 11, Ovid. F. vi. 318, A. A. iii. 290. This is more natural than to explain *asino* after Muretus and Voss (cf. Barth. Aduersar. vi. 1) of the upper stone of the mill, like *δῶρος* (Hesych. *δῶρος λέγεται*

δ' ἀνώτερος λίθος τοῦ μύλου, Xenoph. Anab. i. 5. 5 ὄνος ἀλέτης); or to suppose that *traditur asino* can mean to be made over to donkey's service. Plautus has *in pistrinum tradier* Most. i. 1. 16 (where see Sonnenschein), and of this Catullus' words are a mere expansion. Apuleius ix. 12 describes the men employed in the *pistrinum* as *sic tunicati ut essent per pannulos manifesti; frontes litterati et capillum semirasi et pedes anulati, tum lurore deformes, et fumosis tenebris uaporosae caliginis palpebras adesi*; and in 13 speaks of the miserable state of the mules and asses employed.

11. *attingit*, 'is ready to touch,' 'consents to handle.' The word is more generally used of *men* (Bährens).

12. *Aegroti*, and therefore *cacaturi*. Voss' explanation 'pallidi et luridi' is possible, yet hardly as a mere epithet naturally belonging to executioners: but as heightening the revolting ideas connected with such men by a new circumstance of disgust, as we might speak of a sick hangman. *carnificis*, contemptuously, as the rudest and most brutal of men. *Carnifici mea flenda potest fortuna uideri* Trist. iii. 11. 37. *Permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitiuis Inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum* Iuuen. viii. 174.

## XCVIII.

It is doubtful to whom this epigram alludes. The MSS have *Victi*, one or two inferior ones *Vilti*: and this may represent the name Vettius, or Vectius. The history of Catullus' time contains one notorious person of this name, L. Vettius the informer, *Vettius ille, ille noster index* as he is called by Cicero Att. ii. 24. 2. His first appearance is in B.C. 62 when he accused J. Caesar of being an accomplice of Catiline, Suet. Iul. 17; later, in 59 B.C. he gave information to the younger Curio of a plot to assassinate Pompeius, was brought before the Senate and there produced a list of supposed conspirators, including Brutus and C. Bibulus the consul. This list he afterwards expanded, omitting Brutus and adding others not mentioned before, Lucullus, C. Fannius, L. Domitius, Cicero's son-in-law C. Piso, and M. Iuuentius Laterensis. Cicero was not included; but was indicated as an eloquent consular who had said the occasion called for a Servilius Ahala or a Brutus. (Att. ii. 24, in Vatin. x, xi.) Vettius was not believed and was thrown into prison, where he was shortly afterwards found dead.

Cicero (in Vat. x. sqq.) asserts that Vettius was brought to the Rostra to make a public statement on this alleged conspiracy by Vatinius, and that as he was retiring he was recalled by Vatinius and asked whether he had any more names to add. An informer who did not scruple to charge some of the noblest and best men in Rome with so monstrous a design would naturally be hated, and this hatred would be increased by his connexion with Vatinius, the object of universal disgust. There is therefore nothing improbable in the view put forward doubtfully by Schwabe but accepted by Westphal, that the epigram of Catullus is directed against this L. Vettius. If the young Iuuentius of the poems belonged to the family of Iuuentius Laterensis, Catullus would have a personal motive in addition to public and general grounds of dislike: but public feeling



alone would be enough to prompt the epigram. The persistency with which Cicero attaches the words *index indicium* to Vettius was doubtless meant to convey a slur; while the words of Catullus *Ista cum lingua etc.*, find a practical commentary in Cicero's language *ibi tu indicem Vettium linguam et uocem suam sceleri et menti tuae praebere uoluisti* x. 24, just as *Si nos omnino uis omnes perdere, Vetti* is well illustrated by Cicero's *ciuitatis lumina notasset* xi. 26.

1. **putide**, 'disgusting,' XLII. 11.

2. **fatuis**, see on LXXXIII. 2. *Fatui* or idiots were sometimes kept in Roman houses Sen. Ep. 50. 1.

3. **Ista cum lingua**, 'as owner of that vile tongue,' Pers. iii. 1. 68 *Cum hac dote poteris uel mendico nubere*. Phorm. iii. 1. 1 *Multimodis cum istoc animo es uituperandus*. **si usus ueniat tibi**, 'should you ever have the opportunity,' Cato R. R. 157 *Et hoc, si quando usus uenerit, qui debilis erit, haec res sanum facere potest*. Mil. Glor. i. 1. 3 *ubi usus ueniat*.

4. **Culos**. Your tongue is so foul that it might well be employed as a peniculus for the filthiest purposes: either as a *sponge* to clean the posteriors (Paul. Diac. p. 208 M., Mart. xii. 48. 7) or a *brush* for removing the dirt from a rustic's shoe (Festus p. 230). **carpatinas**, or as it is

sometimes spelt *carbatinas*, is explained by Hesych. *μονόπελμον και εἰτέλει ὑπόδημα ἀγροικικόν*, where Rich supposes *μονόπελμον* to mean having the sole and upper-leather all in one. Perhaps like the old English *startup*.

5. **omnino omnes**, Varro Bimarc. fr. ii Riese, 45 Bücheler *τῶπων τρόπους qui non modo ignorasse me Clamat, sed omnino omnis heroas negat Nescisse*.

6. **Hiscas**, 'just speak.' Mayor on Phil. ii. 43. 111 *Respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere audebis?* and cf. Sen. de vita beata 20 cited on CVIII. 3. **omnino**, 'by all means;' the two senses may be kept up by translating 'if you wish quite to kill all of us, just speak; you'll quite succeed in doing what you wish.' The word is perhaps taken from Vettius' speeches.

## XCIX.

To Iuuentius. The tone of remonstrance is Theognidean: see 1283 sqq. The alternation of singular and plural is also characteristic of Theognis, see Theog. 667 *ἔχοιμι*, 671 *φερόμεσθα*, 447 *εἰ μ' ἐθέλεις*, 448 *ἡμετέρης*, 504, 5 *γλώσσης οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ ταμίης* 'ἡμετέρας', 599 *οὐ μ' ἔλαθες*, 600 *ἡμετέρην φίλιν*, 1099 *ἐμῆς φιλότῆτος ἀμαρτῶν*, 1200 *ἡμετέρην φίλιν* (Hartel in Wiener Studien i. p. 15). From *dum ludis* in 1, I am inclined to think that this is one of the earliest of the series, perhaps the first; it belongs to the same period as XLVIII and is prior to XV, XVI, XXI, XXIII, as well as to LXXXI: and so Bruner.

The poem is interesting from two points of view, (1) from the comic exaggeration of the offence: cf. however Xen. Symp. iv. 25 *Δοκεῖ οὗτος καὶ πεφίληκέναι τὸν Κλεῖαν' οὐ ἔρωτος οὐδὲν ἐστὶ δεινότερον ὑπέκκανμα' καὶ γὰρ ἀπληστον καὶ ἐλπίδας τινὰς γλυκείας παρέχει* (2) From the *medical* character of the language throughout. See my Excursus in Vol. I.

Harnecker (Jahrbücher für Philol. for 1886 pp. 273-279) comparing this poem with the younger Pliny's verses (vii. 4) on Cicero's alleged fondness for his freedman Tiro,—a fondness with more of the passionate and ideal than of the gross and actual—and emphasizing the grotesque exaggeration of Catullus' language whether in describing his own agonies as a lover (3 *amplius horam Suffixum in summa me memini esse cruce*, 11 *infestum misero me tradere amori Non cessasti omnique excruciare modo*) or painting the coquettish anger of Iuventius; concludes that this with the other poems of the Iuventius series are unreal; to be classed in the same category with the Ligurinus of Horace or the Marathus of Tibullus, and meant to serve as a pendant and a contrast to the real love-poems, the Lesbia series; παιδοφιλεῖν in verse, may have been, he thinks, part of the literary character of the new school; another proof of their determination to imitate Alexandrian models.

2. *dulci dulcius*. Asin. iii. 3. 24 *melle dulci dulciior*. Truc. ii. 4. 20 *hoc est melle dulci dulcius*. *ambrosia*, Anth. P. xii. 68. 10.

3. *id non impune tuli*, LXXVII. 9. Fam. xiii. 72. 3 *cum multos libros surripuisset nec se impune laturum putaret*.

4. *Suffixum in cruce*, impaled on an upright pole with a sharp point at the top. In Pison. xviii. 42 *Si te et Gabinium cruci suffixos uiderem*. B. Afric. 66 *in cruce omnes suffixit*. Sen. Epist. 101. 12 *Suffigas licet et aculam sessuro crucem subdas*. Maecenas ap. Senec. Epist. 101. 11 *Hanc mihi uel acula Si sedeam cruce sustine*.

5. *purgo*, 'clear myself,' i. e. excuse: so often, Amphit. iii. 2. 28 *ut me purgarem tibi*, said by Jupiter in fear of Alcmena's anger. Eun. iii. 1. 44 *Purgo ego me de istac Thaidi?* Cic. de Pet. Consulatus ix. 35 *Si qui tibi se purgare uolet, quod suspectum se esse arbitretur*. x. 40 *quos laesisti, eis te plane purgato*.

6. *Tantillum*, 'one grain,' Apul. M. vi. 20 *Nec tantillum quidem indidem mihi delibo*. *uestrae*, not = *tuae*, but 'of you and others like you,' 'your boyish cruelty.' So Prop. iii. 15. 44 *Nescit uestra ruens ira referre pedem* the anger of you women: cf. ii. 9. 31 *nobis*, ii. 29. 32 *Me similem uestris moribus esse putas?* Ov. Her. i. 75, 76 Ehwald *Haec ego dum stulte metuo, quae uestra libidost, Esse peregrino captus amore potes*. Mart. vi. 43. 6 *uestrae, Castrice, diuitiae*, of you millionaires. 'Vester = tuus is not found till long after the time of Cicero,' Heitland on pro Rabir. perduell. reo v. 14. Munro denies this; but, I am convinced, wrongly. *Vester* is never = *tuus* in Catullus. See on LXXI. 3. *saeuitiae*. Theogn. 1300 ἀλλὰ τί μοι τέρμα γένοιτο κλέιν Σῆς ὀργῆς.

8. *abstersti*. Asin. iv. 1. 52 *tu labellum abstergeas Potius quam quouquam sauium faciat palam*. *articulis*, 'fingers,' de Nat. Deor. i. 28. 79 *Naeuos in articulo pueri delectat Alcaeus*, so Am. ii. 15. 4. Petronius 32 has *extremo articulo digiti*. Catullus perhaps preferred the word as giving greater distinctness to the idea.

9. *contractum*, of taking or catching a disease, infection, etc. *Tussis contrahitur* Cels. iv. 10. 1.

10. *lupae*, the Roman name for a prostitute of the lowest kind. Lucilius ap. Non. 498 *Si nihil ad faciem et si olim lupa prostibulumque Numi opus atque assis*. The word is mentioned in the Pornographia of Suetonius in Miller's *Mélanges Grecques* as λῦππα. Dionys. Antiqq. Rom. i. 84 ἡ

δημοσιεύουσα ποτὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὄραν οἱ περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον διατρίβοις ἐπὶ κλησιν ἔθεντο Λούπαν' ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Ἑλληνικόν τι καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἐπὶ ταῖς μυσθαρνοῦσαις τὰ ἀφροδίσια τίθεντον, αἱ νῦν εὐπρεπεστέραν κλήσει ἐταῖραι προσαγορεύονται.

11. *infestum*, 'to the attack of,' passive as CXVI. 4, Gell. ix. 12. 2 *Infestus ancipiti significatione est. Nam et is infestus appellatur, qui malum infert cuiuspiam, et contra cui aliunde impendit malum, is quoque infestus dicitur.* *misero amori*, 'my woeful love,' which is here represented as punishing Catullus by the suffering which it brings from the displeasure of the loved object: so *misero amori* 15. In reading *infestum misero* I follow the Bolognese MS and Phillipps 9591 as well as the indications of the Hamburgensis and Canon. 33 which have *infestum miserum*. All other edd. adopt *infesto miserum* of *G O* and the plurality of MSS. But Cat. has *misero amori* in 15, and it seems likely that he there repeats his former words.

12. *Non cessasti*, untiringly: you gave yourself up to the task.

13. *ex ambrosia*, 'from being ambrosia,' Stich. i. 2. 81 *condicionem ex pessuma primariam*. Apicius i. 6 *uinum ex atro candidum*.

14. *tristi*, 'bitter,' as in Anth. P. v. 29. 2 *πικρότερον γίνεσθαι ἑλλεβόρου*. The Schol. on Pers. v. 100 states that hellebore was washed to take from its acerbity (*acrimonia*).

15, 16. Cf. the last two lines of Ov. Pont. i. 9 *Qui quoniam extinctis quae debet praestat amicis, Et nos extinctis adnumerare potest.* ib. ii. 2. 123. W. S. Landor (a true poet as well as an excellent scholar) and Harnecker both condemn these vv. They are, indeed, somewhat prosaic and tame: but they are very true to nature. Catullus excuses himself to Iuvenius in the very language of a boy.

### C.

Two youths of Verona, Caelius and Quintius, had respectively attached themselves to a brother and sister of the same family, Aufilenus and Aufilena. Catullus here expresses his satisfaction in this very fraternal love-making, but confesses his sympathy for the former in preference, as for one whose friendship he had tested at the height of his own passion for Lesbia. At least the words *uesana flamma* can hardly refer to anything but this, cf. VII. 10, XCI. 2. The reference to *sodalicia* in 4 suggests that the poem was written in 799 | 55 when Crassus seems to have carried a law against the illegal political societies known by that name. In the following year Cn. Plancius was accused by M. Iuvenius Laterensis of using the *sodalicia* for bribing purposes and was defended by Cicero.

1. *Caelius*, perhaps the *Caeli, Lesbia nostra, Lesbia illa* of LVIII. (Westphal). *Quintius* may be the person to whom LXXXII is addressed and a relation of the Quintia of LXXXVI. *Aufilenum—Aufilenam*. The Schol. on Aristoph. Thesmoph. 1059 mention a similar case of a brother and sister, Agathocles and Agathoclea, each in turn beloved by Ptolemaeus Philopator.



2. *Flos iuuenum*. Theogn. 1320 σὸν δ' εἶδος πᾶσι νέοις μέλει.

3. *Hoc est, quod dicitur, illud*. The expression *fraternum sodalicium* was proverbial. 'This is that brotherhood of true love of which the proverb speaks.' This is generally explained as referring simply to Aufilenus and Aufilena, Catullus meaning that Caelius and Quintius are *fratres sodales* because they attach themselves to a brother and sister. But it is probable that the notion of brotherhood in profligacy is included, as in Cicero's *fraternae geminae* Q. Fr. ii. 15<sup>b</sup>. 2, Horace's *par nobile fratrum* S. ii. 3. 243; and possibly, as Vulp. suggested, Caelius and Quintius were actually *cousins* (*fratres patruales*).

4. *dulcos*, in reference (a) to the idea of brother being like brother, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἐοικέναι ἀδελφὸν οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, Plat. Cratyl. 408, (b) to their close correspondence in *vice*. *Dulcis* is specially used of *amours*, A. A. ii. 480. *sodalicioium*. It is clear from Planc. xix. 46 *quos tu si sodales uocas, officiosam amicitiam nomine inquinans criminoso* that the word had disagreeable associations.

5. Sudden question and answer as in I. 1-3 *Qui dono lepidum nouum libellum?* . . . *Corneli, tibi*. *Qui*, for *cui* or *quoi* as in I. 1.

6. The construction seems to be *tua amicitia exigitur nobis perfecta unica* either (a) 'your friendship is tested by me complete and singular,' or (b) 'your friendship is tested by me as consummated to a rare perfection.' In this case *Perfecta* is strictly participial and *unica* depends on it as *nitens* seems to depend on *perfecta* Aen. vi. 895. *exigitur*. Stat. shows from Plin. xxxvi. 188 that *exigi* is used of testing measurements of length, thickness, etc., with a foot-rule or plumb-line. That *exigitur* might end the first half of a pentameter before a word beginning with a vowel seems to be indicated by <sup>1</sup> Martial xiv. 77 *Si tibi talis erit qualem dilecta Catullo Lesbia plorabat, hic habitare potest*, which can scarcely be anything but a Catullian archaism. Yet the reading is doubtful and Quintilian ii. 4. 4 uses *perfecta exigi potest (oratio)* in the sense of 'can be exacted:' the natural meaning, but impossible here. Of proposed emendations I prefer that of A. Palmer (Hermathena for 1879 p. 361) *Perspecta est igni tum unica amicitia Cum uesana*, etc. He quotes from the oration post Redit. in Senatu ix. 23 *ut bene de me meritis referam gratiam, amicitias igne perspectas tuear*. Add Ov. F. iv. 37 *Hinc sahus Aeneas, pietas spectata per ignes, Sacra patremque umeris, altera sacra, tulit*, a passage which suggests ordeal by fire. See Jebb on Antig. 264. But Otto in Archiv für Latein. Lexicographie v. 383 seems to prove that the metaphor is taken from gold tested by fire. Fam. ix. 16. 2 *ut quasi aurum igni, sic beneuolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspicui possit*, de Off. ii. 11. 38 *quod in quo uiro perspectum sit, hunc igni spectatum arbitrantur*, with the other Greek passages cited by Otto. [Palmer's conj. has however one serious flaw, that the same metaphor of *fire* is immediately afterwards used in a *different* application, referring to *love*.]

7. *Cum*, i. e. *exigitur tum fuisse perfecta cum flamma torreret*. Caelius may have sent Catullus a poem of consolation, like that which the poet begs of Cornificius, XXXVIII (Westphal): or, as is more probable, may have

<sup>1</sup> See Friedländer's note. He cites another instance, ix. 101. 4 *Libyn domuit, aurea poma tulit*.

spoken his sympathy and tried to amuse him. Conr. de Allio, comparing LXXXII, suggests that Caelius had been tested in regard to Lesbia and had not tampered with her, whereas Quintius had tried to withdraw her from Catullus.

8. *potens*, 'successful,' as in Prop. ii. 26. 22 *tota dicar in urbe potens*. 'In amore eueniat tibi ut potiaris.' Turnebus Aduers. xvii. 11.

## CI.

A POEM written on the arrival of Catullus at Rhoeteum, where his brother was buried (LXV. 7). It would naturally be his first thought when starting on his Bithynian journey to visit this spot with as little delay as possible: and I cannot agree with Schwabe and B. Schmidt in supposing that it was on his *return* from Bithynia that Catullus visited the tomb and wrote these verses. Certainly this is not the first impression left by 1-4, in which Catullus says he had travelled over many peoples and seas and had just reached the grave, *in order that* he might pay the last sad duties to the dead. Nor can it be inferred from 10 *in perpetuum, frater, aue atque uale* that Catullus was then leaving Asia finally. The poem, as Gruppe suggests, would naturally be inscribed upon the tomb, or at least upon a stone at the place where the ashes were deposited; and would of course express the final leave-taking. But even if they were not so engraved, there is no difficulty in supposing that Catullus at the time when he wrote them did not contemplate the chance of a return to Rhoeteum. Or again, we might regard the words *in perpetuum aue atque uale* as the solemn expression in poetry of the last words uttered at the funeral ceremony, cf. Aen. xi. 97 *Salue aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, Aeternumque uale*.

Parthenius can hardly be right in explaining the poem of a cenotaph<sup>1</sup> (Aen. ix. 215 *Absenti ferat inferias decoretque sepulcro*) erected by Catullus to his brother's memory on returning to Italy, though the words *te abstulit ipsum* would agree well with that view, and *parentum* would have more meaning if the rite was performed on some part of the poet's patrimonial estate. But this is certainly not the obvious meaning of the first four lines: especially of *Aduenio ut te donarem*.

1. *uectus* more strictly belongs to *multa per aequora*, like *uentosa per aequora uectis* G. i. 206, and in fact Catullus had performed most of the journey by sea.

2. *Aduenio*, 'I am come,' Stich. iii. 2. 18 *Cenem illi apud te?* Gel. *Quoniam saluos aduenis*. Poeta ap. Tusc. Disp. i. 16. 37 *Adsum atque aduenio Acherunte*.

3. *munere mortis*, 'death-gift,' i. e. the gift which belongs to death and is therefore the last (*postremo*).

4. *mutam*, see on LXVIII. 90. Antipater in Anth. P. vii. 467. 7, 8 ἀντὶ δὲ σεῖο Στάλα καὶ κωφὰ λείπεται ἄμμι κόνις. *nequiquam*, as

<sup>1</sup> Cenotaphs were common. Appian says many of the captives taken by the pirates before their suppression by Pompeius found, on returning to their homes, cenotaphs erected to their memory as dead. B. Mithr. 96.

Aeneas addresses the ashes of Anchises Aen. v. 81 *Salute recepti Neququam cineres.*

5, 6. That these verses are the protasis to which 7-10 are the apodosis is probable from the imitation of Cir. 42-46 *Sed quoniam ad tantas nunc primum nascimur artes, Nunc primum teneros firmamus robore nervos, Haec tamen interea quae possumus, in quibus aevi Prima rudimenta et primos exegimus annos, Accipe dona meo multum uigilata labore.* The connexion of thought is 'Since destiny does not permit me to see you again in person (*te ipsum*), receive meanwhile as compensation (*tamen*) these last rites traditionally offered to the dead.'

5. *Quandoquidem*, a choriambus as in XL. 7. *fortuna*, LXIV. 218.

6. *frater adempte mihi*, repeated from LXVIII. 20, 92. *indigne*, 'wrongfully,' because the death was premature. C. I. L. i. 1422 *Parentibus praesidium amicis gaudium Pollicita pueri uirtus indigne occidit. Quoius fatum acerbum populus indigne tulit.* Cael. xxiv. 59 *cum hic uir* (Q. Metellus, husband of Clodia) *integerrima aetate, optimo habitu, maximis uiribus eriperetur indignissime bonis omnibus atque uniuersae ciuitati.*

7. *tamen*, as some compensation, though a poor one, with a notion of consoling. Capt. ii. 3. 44 *in tantis aerumnis tamen.* Cluent. vii. 22 *filium quem tamen unum ex multis fortuna reliquum esse uoluisset.* Verg. Ecl. x. 31, Aen. iv. 329. Exactly like Catullus a Greek inscription now at Verona Kaibel 530. 3-5 *Εἰ καὶ μοι θυμὸς, Διονύσιε, τείρεται ἀλγῶς Ἀμφὶ σοί, ἀλλ' ἔμπης οὐκ ἄρα ἐστι, δέχου ὕστατα δῆ, φίλε, δῶρα.* The passage of the Ciris illustrates the meaning, 44 *Haec tamen interea quae possumus . . . Accipe dona.* In both passages *interea* conveys a promise, or at least an intention, of some more costly or elaborate offering *in the future*, to which the present offering is only a preliminary. Probably Catullus may mean that on his return to Italy he will erect a cenotaph to his brother's memory. *prisco more parentum*, 'according to ancestral custom,' Aen. vi. 223.

8. *Tradita*, 'handed down' as the traditional usage. Tib. ii. 1. 2 *Ritus ut a prisco traditus extat auo.* *munere*, 'by way of donation,' as in LXV. 19. Mart. ix. 58. 2 *Et mansura pio munere templa dedit.* Tac. Ann. i. 62 *primum exstruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos.* The word *munus* was specially used of offerings to the dead. Key cites Aen. vi. 885, Ov. M. xiii. 525, Val. F. v. 13. The abl. *munere* is supported by most of the good MSS against the ordinary reading *tristis munera ad inferias*, with which however cf. Tib. ii. 4. 44 *Nec qui det maestas munus in exsequias.* *inferias*. Serv. on Aen. x. 519 *Inferiae sunt sacra mortuorum quod inferis soluuntur.* The offerings to the dead were wine, milk, blood, honey, flowers.

9. *manantia* would seem to imply that the offerings were mainly solid: possibly flowers as in Tib. ii. 6. 31 *Illa mihi sancta est, illius dona sepulcro Et madefacta meis sarta feram lacrimis*, and so Ovid, after asking his wife to have his ashes put in an urn, adds *Tu tamen extincto feralia munera semper Deque tuis lacrimis umida sarta dato* Trist. iii. 3. 81, 2 Ehwald. A passage of Martial vi. 85. 11, 12 which looks like an imitation might suggest that Catullus means *incense*. *Accipe cum fletu maesto breue carmen amici Atque haec absentis tura fuisse puta.* There also a deceased friend is addressed.

10. So *Haue Vale* C. I. L. ii. 3490, *auē et uale* ib. 3506, 3512, 3519.

*haue et uale* ib. 3686, all funeral inscriptions, and so Vergil joins *salue* and *uale* when Aeneas utters his farewell to the corpse of Pallas Aen. xi. 97. Either word *haue* or *uale* is often found alone in Inscriptt. to the deceased. Catullus no doubt conveys in this line what was actually the conclusion of the *inferiae*; the solemn words of farewell to the dead.

## CII.

A SHORT expression of resolute secrecy on some matter unknown. Schwabe conjectures that the Cornelius to whom it is addressed is the C. Cornelius who was impeached by the Cominii and defended by Cicero. 688 | 66. See on CVIII. Another Cornelius of the same period was P. Cornelius Sulla who was suspected of participation in the conspiracy of Catiline, was prosecuted by T. Manlius Torquatus (probably under the *lex Plautia de ui*, Reid pro Sull. p. 23) in 692 | 62, defended by Cicero in the speech pro Sulla, and acquitted.

1. **Si quicquam.** See on LXXI. 1, Holtze Synt. i. p. 400. **tacito,** 'to one who kept silence.'

2. **Cuius**<sup>1</sup>, epexegetis of *tacito*. **fides animi**, 'inward good-faith.'

3. **Meque** = *me quoque* or *et me*. So *uosque XXXI. 13, postque Manil. iv. 39, hodieque, iamque*, perhaps also *Meque Prop. iii. 1. 35, Tac. Ann. iv. 74 donec idque uelut*, where *idque* = *id quoque* is defended by Shilleto on Thuc. i. 9, Colum. vi. 17. 8 *quotiensque mel adhibetur* for *quotienscumque, posteroque tempore* Pseudo-Sallust. de R. P. ii. 13, where however *posteroque* is followed by another clause beginning with *que* and may be 'both,' 'and,' as **que** . . . **et** are believed by Munro to be here. But where a personal pronoun with *que* is followed by *que* or *et* in this sense, the words thus connected are generally other pronouns, not verbal clauses, e. g. Asin. iii. 2. 31 *Vt meque teque maxime atque ingenio nostro decuit*, Pseudo-Sallust. de R. P. i. 5 *quoniam tuque et omnes tui agilitatis*, ib. vi. 1 *illosque nosque et socios in pace firma constitues*. **illorum iure sacratum**, 'bound by their oath of initiation.' So Vergil Aen. ii. 157 *Fas mihi Graiorum sacra soluere iura* where Servius explains *quia non licet soluere sacramentum militare aduersariis uel hostibus*. The oath (*iur*) is sanctioned by the penalty of a curse on him who violates it (*sacratum*); and conversely the man who takes the oath is bound by its sanction (*sacrat*). **illorum**, seemingly *tacitorum quorum fides penitus nota sit*. Catullus here disclaims what Sinon avows Aen. ii. 158 *Fas omnia ferre sub auras Si qua legunt*.

4. **Harpocratem.** Varro L. L. v. 57 *Hi dei (Caelum et Terra) idem qui Aegypti Serapis et Isis, etsi Harpocrales digito significat ut taceas eam (l. taciscam)*.

## EXCURSUS ON CII.

MUNRO differs from all other edd. in his interpretation of this epigram. He writes it thus:

*Si quicquam tacite commissum est fido ab amico  
Cuius sit penitus nota fides animi,*

<sup>1</sup> This verse seems to have been known to a writer of the Middle Age, Hugo Sotovagina. See T. Wright's *Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, ii. p. 220 *Vnus de multis sit consiliator amicis Cuius nota fides et sapientia sit*.

*Meque esse inuenies illorum, iure sacratum,  
Corneli, et factum me esse puta Harpocratem.*

Translating 'If aught has been confided in secrecy by a trusty friend whose sincerity of soul is thoroughly proved, you will find me to belong to that order, consecrated with full right, and you may rest assured that I have become the god of silence incarnate.'

1. For the change of *tacito* to *tacite* (Ald. 1515) Munro compares CXVI. 1 *studioso*, which he would change to *studiose*. 3. *illorum*, 'my friend Cornelius will find me as trusty as himself, and one of his own order, regularly initiated in the guild: the plural has reference to the generic notion contained in *fido jamico* ust as in CXI *Auflena uiro contentam uiuere solo Nuptarumst laus e laudibus eximiis*.'

See also Postgate Catulliana p. 256.

### CIII.

AGAINST a *leno* who was at once exacting and rude. Schwabe following Vulp. states the argument of the poem thus: Silo had received 10,000 sesterces from Catullus as payment for introducing him to some *traipa*, had then refused to introduce him, and on being pressed had broken into threats and violence. Catullus remonstrates, 'pay me back the money, and then be as violent as you please: but if you want to keep it, it becomes you as a man of your profession to keep a civil tongue.'

This is possible, but not necessary: nor even, I think, probable. Catullus, who shudders at the 15,200 sesterces for which his villa is mortgaged, and indignantly declines to pay Ammiana the 10,000 sesterces she claims, is not likely to have paid this very sum to any *traipa in advance*. It is enough for our purposes to suppose that after Silo and Catullus had both performed their part of the bargain, the poet gave some ground of complaint to the *leno*, which caused the latter to fall into a violent rage: then Catullus expostulates with him as unreasonable; such rudeness might be pardoned if he were called upon to give back the sum paid him for his services; but if he keeps his money, he is expected to show the ordinary civility of his profession.

The name Silo seems like Rufa typical of a class. Plaut. Rud. ii. 2. 11 *Recaluom ac silonem senem, statulum, uentriosum, Tortis superciliis, contracta fronte, fraudulentum*. The meaning is defined by Festus p. 340 M. *Silus appellatur naso susus uersus repando* to be snub- or flat-nosed, by Nonius 25 *superciliis prominentibus*, 'with projecting eye-brows,' 'beetle-browed,' an explanation hardly proved by the passage he cites in support of it from Varro's *ἰνῶδι σεαυτόν, nonne non unum scribunt esse grandibus superciliis, silonem, quadratum, quod Silenus hirsutis superciliis fingeretur*? fr. 207 Bücheler, who writes *hominem* for *non unum* and considers the clause *quod—fingeretur* not to be part of the quotation.

*M. Fausto Siloni* (so Garrucci) is found in a Pompeian Inscription C. I. L. iv. 1455 (Zangemeister), *SILONIS* in a republican inscript. 1034 in C. I. L. i, and on a denarius Q. SILO C. I. L. i. 419.

1. *sodes*, a mild but firm remonstrance 'if you please.' See Ramsay's *Mostellaria* p. 236. *decem sestertia*, a sum little short of £90: not



very considerable in itself (Iuven. xiii. 71 sqq.) but a large amount to pay to a *leno*, as we may perhaps infer from XLI. 2.

2. 'After that understand that you may be as angry and violent as you will.' *esto*, i.e. *hac lege, ut reddas*. *indomitus*, violently overbearing, Men. i. 2. 1 *Indomita inposque animi*.

3. *si te numi delectant*. Mart. xi. 70. 7 *Si te delectat numerata, pecunia*. *desine quaeso*. Ciceronian. Verr. ii. 59. 144 *sin Timarchidi pecunia numerabatur, desine, quaeso, simulare te gloriae studiosum ac monumentorum fuisse*.

4. *atque idem*, 'and all the time' = 'and yet' XXII. 14, 15.

#### CIV.

SOME one had remonstrated with Catullus for his harsh language to Lesbia. Catullus denies the fact, and charges his accuser in turn of shrinking from nothing, a certain Tappo, not otherwise known, abetting him in this inhumanity.

Catullus' denial may be true on this particular occasion; but it is in direct contradiction of his assertion above XCII. 1 *Lesbia mi dicit semper male*, 3 *sunt totidem mea: deprecor illam Assidue*, and he has left undoubted proof of his determination not to spare Lesbia's failings in each division of his poems. See especially XI. 15-20, XXXVII. 14-16, LVIII, LXVIII. 135, 136, LXXVI. 23-26.

2. *Ambobus*. Anth. P. v. 122. 1 *Μὴ σύ γε, μὴδ' εἴ τοι πολὺ φέρτερος εἶδεται ὅσων Ἀμφοτέρων*. Munro cites Apul. de Magia ix *Hoc mihi uos eritis quod duo sunt oculi*, and from a speech of Oliver Cromwell's 'When these two things were desired, the Ambassador told us, It was to ask his Master's two eyes, to ask both his eyes, asking these things of him.' Carlyle ii. p. 422, ed. 1845. See above LXXXII. 2, and add Aesch. Theb. 530 *ὁμμάτων θ' ὑπέρτερον*.

3. Catullus may have remembered Terence's *Neque faciam neque me satis pie posse arbitror* Ad. iii. 4. 13. Att. xii. 28. 2 *Maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui, nec si possem, uellem*. Plin. Epist. ix. 31. 2 *Neutrum possum satis, et si possem, timerem*.

4. *Tappone*, a name found in inscriptions *T. Titius T. f. Ser. Tappo* Henzen 6457, Orelli 3827 C. APPVLEIVS M. F. TAPPO, and in Liu. xxxv. 10, 20, xxxvii. 46, xxxviii. 36. *omnia monstra facis*, 'you shrink from nothing as too shocking,' i.e. you do such things yourself and accuse others of doing them. Scaliger's translation πάντα τερατολογεῖς or τερατοποιεῖς in the sense of 'you make a monstrosity of everything,' cf. ξενίζεσθαι, might be illustrated by a line quoted by Cicero Cael. xv. 36 *Quid clamore exorsa uerbis paruum rem magnam facis?* Catullus would then seem to imply that he had said something which Tappo and his friend had exaggerated into a *maledictum* against Lesbia. B. Schmidt citing a fragmentary inscription at Vercellae with the heading *Tappula*, in which the name . . . *ius Tapponis f. Tappo* occurs with a number of others, two of them obviously jocose, *Multiuorus* and *P. Properocius*, as proposing and carrying what seems to have been a *lex conuiualis*, of the kind mentioned by Festus p. 363 M. *Tappulam legem conuiualis ficto nomine conscrip-*

*sit iocoso carmine Valerius Valentinus, cuius m. Lucilius hoc modo: Tappulam rident legem concere optimi* (congerae Scaliger, *optimi* K. O. Müller) considers that Tappo was a 'sollemnis figura iocularis in conuiuuiis Romanorum,' and explains 'you, under the inspiration of the presiding genius of feasting and wine, catch up the chance words I drop and turn them into a gross attack on Lesbia.'

## EXCURSUS ON CIV. 4.

THE fragmentary *lex Tappula* found at Vercelli in 1882 is printed in the *Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* for 1882, p. 186, with an accompanying facsimile, and remarks by Mommsen. See also Kiessling *Ind. Lect. Gripiswald.* for 1884 | 5, Ettore Pais in *Supplement.* Ital. to C. I. L. Romae 1888, p. 898. I have not been able to use either of these. On the *lex Tappula* Bücheler has written in the *Ind. Lect. Bonnens.* for 1877. He considers the line quoted by Festus p. 363 M. to be a hexameter with hiatus in the last dactyl,

*Tappulam rident legem congerae Opimi.*

## CV.

ON Mamurra's attempts at poetry. See LVII. 7.

1. **Pipleium**, a village sacred to the Muses, in the Thracian Pieria, not far from Dion. Strabo 330 fr. 18 'ὅτι ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ πόλις Δίων. ἔχει δὲ κόμην πλησίον Πίμπλειαν' ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ὀρφέα διατρέψαι φασὶ τὸν Κίκωνα . . . ἐνταῦθα πλησίον καὶ τὰ Λεῖβηθρα. *ib.* 410 Τεκμαίρουτ' ἂν τις Θράκας εἶναι τοὺς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα ταῖς Μούσαις καθιερώσαντας, οἱ καὶ τὴν Πιερίδα καὶ τὸ Λεῖβηθρον καὶ τὴν Πίμπλειαν ταῖς αὐταῖς θεαῖς ἀνέδειξαν. *ib.* 471 Πιερία καὶ Ὀλυμπος καὶ Πίμπλα καὶ Λεῖβηθρον, which shows the original form to have been Pimpla. Cf. Apollon. R. i. 25, Lyc. 275, Varro L. L. vii. 20. Paukstadt adds Mart. xii. 11. 3. Müller *Dorians* i. p. 501 considers the names *Λεῖβηθρα* 'a well-watered valley,' *Πίμπλη* 'a full fountain,' *Ἑλικῶν* 'a winding stream,' purely Greek. *scandere*, as Enn. Ann. 223 Vahlen *Cum neque Musarum scopulos quisquam superarat Nec dicti studiosus erat.*

2. **furcillis**, 'two pronged forks,' used for various agricultural purposes, Varro R. R. i. 49. 1. Cicero has the same expression Att. xvi. 2. 4 *quoniam furcilla extrudimur* 'I am obliged *nolens uolens* to retire,' Horace *Naturam expelles furca* Epist. i. 10. 24. So *δυκοῖς ὤθειν* Ar. Pax 638, *δυκράνοισι ἐξωθεῖν* Lucian Tim. 12.

## CVI.

AN epigram on a boy whom the poet had seen in the company of a crier. Such an association can have but one meaning; he wishes to put himself up for sale. The epigram is well illustrated by a passage from the Bacchides of Plautus iv. 7. 16 C. *O stulte, stulte, nescis nunc uenire te: Atque in eo ipso adstas lapide ubi praeco praedicat.* N. *Responde, quis me uendit?* Slaves thus sold by auction were made to stand upon a stone to elevate them above the crowd and thus give buyers a better view (Ramsay Most. p. 270).

Possibly the epigram is directed against Clodius, Cicero's *pulcellus puer*,

who may have used the services of a crier to harangue the people, as Augustus sometimes did Suet. Aug. 84, or to command silence when necessary. Tac. Ann. xi. 7 *prompta sibi exempla quantis mercedibus P. Clodius aut C. Curio contionari soliti sint*. This would add to the meaning of *se uendere*.

1. *bello* for *obellio* or *obelio* of MSS is supported by Lucr. vi. 377 where *A B* give *bellio* for *bello*. *praeconem*. Criers were used to announce sales and call the articles put up for sale. A. P. 419 *Vi praeco ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas*. Hence *uoci praeconis subicere* = to sell by auction de Off. ii. 23. 83. *ipse* if genuine seems to mean *suis oculis* as in Aen. iv. 358: cf. *ipse flagilabam* LV. 9. It of course implies that the sight was an unusual and surprising one, like the similar spectacle in Cicero's in Rull. ii. 20. 53 *Ponite ante oculos uestros Rullum in Ponto inter uestra atque hostium castra hasta posita cum suis formosis finitoribus auctionantem*. But *isse* is an easy and plausible conjecture, 'has walked in the company of.'

2. *Quid credat*. Calvus fr. 6 Lachm. *Magnus quem metuunt omnes digito caput uno Scalpit. Quid credas hunc sibi uelle? uirum*. *discupere*, 'longs,' Trin. iv. 2. 87. Caelius in Cic. Fam. viii. 15. 2. The word is not common.

## CVII.

To Lesbica, who had returned unexpectedly after an absence. The poem implies a temporary reconciliation; but it is mere trifling to attempt to fix the period at which it was written.

1. *cupido optantique*. The unelided *o* is extraordinarily harsh, yet cf. LXVI. 11, LXVIII. 158. But *que* often falls out and may have done so here, possibly as Bährens suggests, when the *Q* of a MS written in capitals was confused with *O*.

2. *Insuperanti* after *optanti* as in de Orat. i. 21. 96 *Insuperanti mihi et Collae sed ualde optanti utrique nostrum cecidit*. Here it is the determining word of the clause, 'if a man has seen something he wished ardently fall in his way unexpectedly.' *proprie*, 'in the strict sense.' Sest. xli. 89 *Descendit ad accusandum. Quis unquam tam proprie rei publicae causa?* Phil. ii. 31. 77 *O hominem nequam! quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie nihil possum dicere*.

3. *carius auro*. Choeph. 372 *Ταῦτα μὲν δὲ παῖ κρείσσορα χρυσοῦ*, where Conington quotes Pind. Ol. i. 1 and Aristotle Hymn. in Hermiam *χρυσοῦ τε κρείσσω καὶ γυνέων*. Sappho fr. 122 *Χρυσὸν χρυσότερα*. *Lido* is my conjecture for the MS reading *nobis*. So Sappho fr. 85. 3 *Ἀντὶ τὰς ἐγὼ οὐδὲ Λυδίας πᾶσαν*. Lygdam. 3. 29, Stat. S. ii. 2. 121 *Viue Midæ gazis et Lido ditior auro*. Bährens' conjecture *quouis* would be like Cic. Rep. iii. 5. 8 *iustitiam rem multo omni auro cariorem*, Curt. iii. 13. 6 *gratiorem omni pecunia praedam*. Ov. Pont. ii. 8. 5 *omnique beatius auro*<sup>1</sup>.

5. *insuperanti* has been constructed amongst others by Hertzberg

<sup>1</sup> Postgate Catulliana p. 258 would write—

*Quare hoc est gratum nobis quoque, carior auro  
Quod te restituisti, Lesbica, mi cupido.*

Quaestt. Propert. p. 121 with *nobis* = *mihi* on the analogy of *absente nobis* Eun. iv. 3. 7, *praesente his, praesente omnibus, praesente testibus* ap. Non. 454, *praesente legatis omnibus* Varro ap. Donatum ad Eun. iv. 3. 7. Changes from a singular to a plural are not uncommon in Latin especially in pronouns of the first person, Prop. iii. 16. 1 *dominae mihi uenit epistula nostrae*, Mart. x. 14. 9 *Nil aliud uideo quo te credamus amicum*; but here such a combination is very harsh and at least not necessary, to say nothing of the increased effect of the line if *ipsa* begins a new clause. 'Insuaui est repetitio uerborum restituis cupido non accedente ad ea alia notione, qualem insperanti praebet, idque cum praegressis uerbis coniungendum esse comparatio quoque huius loci cum exordio carminis docet.' B. Schmidt. refers *te*, Prop. i. 18. 11 *Sic mihi te referas leuis*.

6. *candidiore nota*. See on LXVIII. 148. Od. xxiv. 514 *Τῆς νύ μοι ἡμέρῃ ἦδε, θεοὶ φίλοι; ἢ μάλα χαίρω*. Eur. Ion 1354 *ὦ μακαρίων μοι φασμάτων ἦδ' ἡμέρα*. Plin. Ep. vi. 11. 3 *O diem laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo. Quid enim aut publice laetius aut mihi optatius?*

7. *Quis me uno uiuit felicior?* Eun. v. 8. 1. *aut magis ab dis Optandum in uita?* This is my conjecture for what seems to have been <sup>hac</sup> the reading of the archetype *aut magis me est optandus uita*. Stich. ii. 1. 24 *Vix ipsa domina hoc si sciat exoptare ab deis audeat*. [In ed. 1 (1867) I conj. that the verse ended with *aeui* or *aeuist* comparing Cul. 79 *Quis magis optato queat esse beatior aeuo?* Munro Journal of Philology ix. 185 (1880) also thinks the passage of the *Culex* modelled on Catullus' verse, and conj. *aut magis acuum Optandum hac uita ducere quis poterit?*]

## CVIII.

LIRSIUS (Var. Lect. iii. 5) was the first to identify the Cominius of this epigram. Cicero (Cluent. xxxvi. 100) mentions two brothers P. and L. Cominius as accusers of Staienus; and in the Brutus (lxxviii. 270) notices amongst the less eminent speakers of his own time P. Cominius of Spoletum *quo accusante defendi C. Cornelium, in quo et compositum dicendi genus et acre et expeditum fuit*. C. Cornelius was prosecuted for *maiestas* 688 | 66, but the trial was interrupted, as narrated by Asconius in Cornelianam p. 59 Orelli *Detulit nomen Publius, subscripsit Gaius<sup>1</sup>. et cum P. Cassius praetor decimo die, ut mos est, adesse iussisset eoque die ipse non adfuisset, seu auocatus propter publici frumenti curam seu gratificans reo, circumuenti sunt ante tribunal eius accusatores a notis operarum ducibus, ita ut mors intentaretur, si mox non desisterent. quam perniciem uix effugerunt interuentu consulum, qui aduocati reo descenderunt. et cum in scalas quasdam Cominii fugissent, clausi in noctem ibi se occultauerunt, deinde per tecta uicinarum aedium profugerunt ex urbe. postero die cum P. Cassius adsedisset et citati accusatores non adessent, exemplum nomen est de reis Corneliis. Cominii autem magna infamia flagrauerunt uendidisse silentium magna pecunia*. In the following year Cornelius was again accused by P. Cominius, but acquitted mainly owing to Cicero's speeches in his defence,

<sup>1</sup> Not *Lucius*, as we should expect. Baiter thought C and L had been confused, just as in the argumentum prefixed to the Commentary of Asconius, L. Cornelius and L. Piso occur instead of C. Cornelius and C. Piso.



an oratorical display which Quintilian (viii. 3. 3) ranks amongst his most brilliant efforts: cf. Ascon. ad Cornel. p. 61 Orelli.

Schwabe considers this P. Cominius to be the object of Catullus' epigram. This would agree with the words *populi arbitrio* (1), as Cornelius was a popular champion, and would not be inconsistent with Cicero's statement (Brut. lxxviii. 271) that P. Cominius was recently dead in 708 | 46, if we suppose Cominius to have died at an advanced age and to have been already old (*tua cana senectus*) when he prosecuted Cornelius, in 688 | 66.

On the other hand I cannot see in Cicero's language Cluent. xxxvi. 100 *P. et L. Cominiis equitibus Romanis honestis hominibus et disertis* anything cold or disparaging. Yet the speech pro Cluentio was delivered in the very year when the two Cominii accused Cornelius.

This however is nothing against the general probability of the hypothesis. The epigram bears on its face the marks of being aimed at a public character, and such the principal in the prosecution of a man so well known as C. Cornelius could not fail to be. We can no more conclude from the acerbity of the epigram that P. Cominius was a monster than we can conclude it from similar attacks made by Catullus on other public men. He may have had a personal motive, possibly friendship for Cornelius, as Schwabe suggests, see on CII; but it is quite as possible that he wrote under the influence of the moment, during the height of the popular indignation against Cominius as detailed by Asconius.

3. **Non equidem dubito**, like *Haud equidem patiar* Ovid M. viii. 497. Vergil similarly *dubitem haud equidem implorare quod usquam est* Aen. viii. 311. **inimica bonorum Lingua**. Sen. de Vita beata xx *Gemite et infelicem linguam bonorum exercete conuicio, hiscite, commordele*.

4. **exerta**, 'protruding,' in life a sign of Cominius' contemptuous effrontery (Liu. vii. 10, Gell. ix. 13, Pers. i. 60), in death of the barbarity practised on the corpse. *execta*, the reading of most edd. and Lachm. might be supported by Cluent. lxvi. 187 *Stratonem in crucem esse actum execta scitote lingua*, Fronto de Eloquentia p. 145 Naber *Si linguam quis uni homini execat*: cutting out the tongue would be a natural and appropriate way of punishing for scurrility or perjury. Fornerius Select. iii. 27 shows that perjury was specially punished by loss of the tongue. **auido uulturio**, Trist. i. 6. 11 *edax uultur*. **sit data**, of a future distinctly foreseen, as in Sen. de Ira ii. 21. 10 *Non dubito quin citius patrem imitatus sit quam Platonem*.

5. It is not easy to decide whether **Effossos** refers like **uoret** to the raven, or is the preliminary punishment inflicted by men. *Effodere oculos* is common in Plautus (Aul. i. 1. 14, 146, Men. i. 2. 46, Trin. ii. 4. 62, cf. Ter. Eun. iv. 6. 2) as a threat, and Caesar B. G. vii. 4 *leuiore de causa auribus desectis aut singulis effossis oculis domum remittit*, mentions cutting off the ears or gouging the eyes as a lighter sort of punishment in Gaul; cf. Suet. August. 27 *iussit occidi prius oculis eius sua manu effossis*. Domit. 17. But the two lines together (5, 6) suggest a single picture: the raven, the dogs, the wolves are respectively busy on the eyes, the intestines, the rest of the limbs of one body and at the same time; hence it is better to take **Effossos uoret** as 'peck out and devour,' cf. *fodere* of a crow pecking the breast of a cow Am. iii. 5. 24, 39 and ὥσπερ οἱ κόραρες

παρεδρέοντες ἐξορύττουσι τοὺς τῶν νεκρῶν ὀφθαλμούς, Plutarch fr. inc. 27 Didot.

6. This and the preceding verses are imitated by Ovid Ibis 167-170 *Vnguibus et rostro tardus trahet ilia uultur, Et scindenti auidi perfida corda canes. Deque tuo fiet, licet hac sis laude superbus, Insatiabilibus corpore rixa lupis.* Magnus suggests that both Catullus and Ovid copied the Callimachean Ibis: a view which cannot be proved, as the poem is lost. Paukstadt adds Mart. x. 5. 11, 12 *sentiat canum lilem Abigatque moto noxias aues panno.*

## CIX.

ANOTHER poem to Lesbia, apparently of reconciliation. The distrust in verses 3, 4 points to a not very early period of the amour; yet hardly the latest, at which time Catullus would have avoided such language as *Aeternum sanctae foedus amicitiae.*

1. *proponis*, 'you promise.' Val. Max. ii. 7. 15 *Recursum iis ad pristinum militiae ordinem proposuerunt, si quis bina spolia ex hostibus tulisset.*

2. *inter nos* with *iucundum perpetuumque fore.* Holtze Synt. i. 365 shows that *inter se amare*, etc. is a recurring formula.

3. Att. xvi. 1. 6 *Di faxint ut faciat ea quae promittit: commune enim gaudium.*

4. *sincere.* Catullus uses the words of Phaedria Eun. i. 2. 95 *Vtinam istuc uerbum ex animo ac uere dices 'Potius quam te inimicum habeam: si istuc crederem Sincere dici, quiduis possem perpeti.*

5. Lachmann Lucr. p. 367 denies that *perducere* here and in Prop. i. 3. 37 *O utinam tales perducas inprobe noctes* can be used without some idea of a specified limit or end as in Lucr. v. 1027. But here the end is sufficiently defined by *tota uita*; whilst *producere* would suggest a slightly different idea, that of *prolongation* in uninterrupted sequence, as opposed to mere *continuation*.

6. *Alternum*, 'reciprocating,' (Turnebus) though not supported by any good MS is not impossible. In G. i. 60 some MSS have *alternaque foedera*, perhaps rightly; in each passage the meaning would be the same; a treaty implies two parties: hence Catullus would repeat in *Alternum* the *inter nos* of 2: Vergil would express the mutual agreement of any particular region and its natural growths, to produce and be produced by each other. Ennius Ann. 104 is believed by L. Müller (following Columna) to have written *Alternum seritote diem concorditer ambo* where the MS of Charisius 196 Keil gives *Aeternum* (Q. Ennius p. 157). There also the word seems to be used of a *treaty*. Yet, as Riese shows from Eun. v. 2. 33 *spero aeternam inter nos gratiam Fore*, Thais, Plaut. Capt. iv. 1. 13 *Speroque me ob hunc nuntium aeternum adepturum cibum*, Catullus would have literary precedents for using *Aeternum* as 'lasting' rather than 'everlasting.' *sanctae*, 'inviolable,' *amicitiae sanctum et uenerabile nomen* Trist. i. 8. 15. *foedus*, not merely poetical: *foedus et amicitia dabuntur* is said of a treaty of alliance between the Roman people and Bocchus Sall. Jug. 104. Liu. xlii. 12 *ad scribendum amicitiae foedus.* Tac. Ann. ii. 58 *amicitiam ac foedus memoraturos.*

## CX.

THIS and CXI are both addressed to a woman named Aufilena, probably the person mentioned in C. 1 as beloved by the Veronese youth Quintus. If this is so, Aufilena may be supposed in the interval to have grown scandalous; for here Catullus accosts her as an *amica*, and in CXI accuses her of incestuous intercourse with one of her relations.

The point dwelt on in the epigram is repeated more emphatically by Ovid A. A. iii. 463-466 *Illa potest uigiles flammās extinguere Vestae, Et rapere e templis, Inachi, sacra tuis; Et dare mista uiro tritis aconita cicutis, Accepto Venerem munere si qua negat.*

Aufilena, mistresses who deal with their lovers kindly are always in favor; they get their price for what they engage to perform. But you sin against me in *many* ways: sometimes you promise and then do not perform; sometimes you reject love's reciprocal 'give and take' entirely, and will neither love nor be loved.

A woman of nice feeling would not promise without performing: a chaste woman would never have promised at all. But what you are *now* doing is more heinous than this: you promise your favors, receive the money in advance, and then refuse performance: this is rapacity and worse than the rapacity of a prostitute lost to all shame.

1. *bonae*, 'kind,' i.e. not exacting, Tib. ii. 4. 45 *At bona quae nec auara fuit.*

2. *facere instituunt* is Terentian. Eun. Prol. 18 *si perget laedere, Vi facere instituit*, if he goes on as he has begun. This is, I think, the meaning here: 'what they set about doing,' 'set themselves to do.' *quae*, neut., for *eorum, quae*.

3. 'But you, in making me a promise, in disappointing me as only an unkind mistress can, in refusing either to give or take, are guilty of flagrant and repeated crime.' *mentita*, as in Hor. Epist. i. 1. 20 *Vi nox longa quibus mentitur amica*, *inimica* seems to be here the opposite of *amica*, (as *amicus* and *inimicus* in the ordinary sense are opposed Phil. xii. 9. 23) but with special reference to Aufilena's *perfidy*, as in Prop. ii. 9. 44.

4. *das* and *fers* are correlative 'give and take,' as in Most. iii. 1. 82 *feram si quid datur*, Trist. i. 2. 68 *quodque dedit cum uolet ipse feret*. So δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν, δός καὶ λάβε. Anth. P. v. 208. 2, 3 ἢ μὴ δούς τι λαβεῖν ἐθέλει; 'A χεῖρ γὰρ τὰν χεῖρα. Plat. Axioch. 366 τὸ 'Επιχάρμειον' 'A δὲ χεῖρ τὰν χεῖρα νίξει, δός τι καὶ λάβε τι. Anth. P. xvi. 240. 5 Dübner 'Ἐστὶ νόμος πον' Δός λάβε: where the double meaning is explained in detail. The words may refer either to the reciprocal enjoyment which each of the lovers receives from the other *amatorie*, or to Aufilena's refusing to give (her favors) or take (the price of them). Both senses of *dare* are combined by Ovid A. A. iii. 461 *Si bene promittunt (men), totidem promittite uerbis. Si dederint, et uos gaudia pacta date*: and *ferre* is used of the lover favored by his mistress Rem. 522. *saepe* seems to contrast what Aufilena had often done to Catullus before with the present exceptional case introduced by *sed data corripere* in 6, in which she had not only promised compliance, but actually taken the money in advance.

...aue. Conr. de Allio quotes Fam. ii. 6. 2 *Est animi ingenui*  
*debeas eidem plurimum uelle debere*: the word seems to express  
 all nice feeling, cf. A. A. ii. 530 *Dedecet ingenuos taedia ferre*  
 ...t and *fuit* are strictly correct: if you had the feelings of an  
 woman you ought now to perform the contract which, had you  
 ...ste, you would never have made at first.  
 ...ut to purloin one's gifts by cheating him of the returns they bring,  
 conduct of a woman more grasping than the harlot who has pro-  
 ...l herself in every limb.' The construction is like de Off. iii. 13.  
*id est enim aliud erranti uiam non monstrare si hoc non est, emptorem*  
*uere? Plus etiam est quam uiam non monstrare, nam est scientem in*  
*rem alterum inducere.* *data*, nearly a substantive as in Asin. i. 1. 42,  
 i. 22, Prop. iii. 15. 6. It is often used of the sums given to women.  
 1. *Fraudando*. By withholding the promised favors after receiving  
 the money for them, Aufilena became a thief: the *fraudatio effecti* con-  
 stitutes the *furtum dati*. *effectis*, i. e. *quae ex datis efficiuntur*, the  
 returns (*amatorie*) which the *data* bring in. *Efficere* is often used of yields  
 whether of land, Verr. ii. 3. 63. 148. Col. iii. 3. 3 or money, Att. vi. 1. 3.  
*effectis* is my conj. for *efficit* of MSS. The corruption may have arisen  
 thus. *effectis* was written *effictis* like <sup>1</sup> *RESPECT.* for *RESPECTO* a name in  
 C. I. L. ii. 3557: the *s* dropt out and *efficti* became *efficit*. Of the other  
 conjectures Bergk's *officiis* is the only plausible one. It would mean  
 the compliances which a woman owes to her lover. *plus quam*  
*meretricis auaræ*, sc. *est*, an unusually harsh omission. So *parum*  
 Heroid. iii. 25. The words seem to admit of two constructions, (1) (*est*)  
*plus auaræ quam meretricis*, in which case *plus* is used with an adjective  
 = *magis*, cf. Nemes. iv. 72 *plus est formosus Iolas*, and *meretricis*  
 attracted into the case of *auaræ*; (2) *meretricis est plus quam auaræ*, 'is  
 the act of a prostitute more than grasping,' i. e. something more than  
 ordinarily rapacious, on which view *est* seems indispensable. Hand,  
 Tursellinus s. v., cites instances of *plus quam* so constructed both with  
 substantives and adjectives. Ben Jonson imitates Catullus Every Man In  
 His Humour iv. 8 *thy more than strumpet impudence*.

## EXCURSUS ON CX. 3, 4.

In the notes I have given what seemed the most plausible interpretation  
 of the MS reading. It would also be possible to punctuate

*Tu quod promisti mihi, quod mentita, inimica es:*  
*Quod nec das nec fers saepe facis facinus,*

for there is not much difficulty in supplying *es* to *mentita*, when *inimica es*  
 immediately follows; and the antithesis to *bonae semper laudantur amicae*  
 is perhaps more pointed if *inimica es* is the predicate of the sentence.  
 'But you in making me a promise, then falsifying it, prove yourself the  
 reverse of kind.'

Most edd. however prefer to read after Baptista Guarinus *Quod nec*  
*das et fers*. Thus Riese prints—

*Tu quod promisti mihi quod mentita, inimica es;*  
*Quod nec das et fers, turpe facis facinus,*

<sup>1</sup> The 1 is not certain.



explaining 'quod mihi mentita es id quod promisisti, inimica es: ' *Quod nec das*] sc. te ipsam; *et fers*] sc. pecuniam.

Munro writes—

*Tu, promisisti mihi quod mentita, inimica es:  
Quod nec das et fers saepe, facis facinus,*

translating 'you, in having made to me feigned engagements, are unfriendly and unfair: in not granting your favors and yet taking money for them again and again, you are guilty of a crime.' This is followed by Bährens, who however accepts *turpe* in 4, the conj. of Fröhlich.

With most edd. I prefer to retain the double *quod* of MSS and to regard *promisisti* as the ordinary, indeed almost invariable, MS representation of *promisti*. Nor would it be easy to find in any other poem of Catullus an inversion so harsh as *Tu promisisti mihi quod mentita* for *Tu mentita quod mihi promisisti* if *mentita* is deponent: or so unusual in the Latin of Catullus' time as *mentita* used passively and in the sense of 'things falsified.' Again, the change *nec das et fers* is open to the objection that *das* is used metaphorically, *fers* of actual receipt of monies paid. Nor is it quite clear to me that Catullus would have thus contrasted *nec, et*, of which no instance from the other poems is alleged.

#### EXCURSUS ON CX. 6, 7.

*sed data corripere  
Fraudando effectis.*

In the notes I have given to the gerund *Fraudando* its full instrumental meaning. But it must remain doubtful whether Catullus did not use it more laxly, in that *modal* sense which somewhat later made the gerund a mere variation on the present participle, as shown by Dräger ii. p. 812. Rebling, Versuch einer Charakteristik der römischen Umgangssprache p. 21, rightly observes that this use of the gerund belongs to popular language and must have been known quite early. He quotes one very clear instance from Bell. Hisp. 36 *ita erumpendo naus, quae ad Baetim flumen fuissent, incendunt*. Dräger adds Bell. Afric. 47 *procedendo propiusque hostem accedendo castra communiebat*. As belonging to the speech of the people, it naturally recurs, as Rebling shows, in the Fables of the freedman Hyginus. Catullus would use it as addressing Aufilena in the everyday language of *meretrices*.

#### CXI.

On the incestuous intercourse of Aufilena with one of her relations, her uncle, as is generally thought: perhaps her brother, as from C. 1, 3 we know she had one.

From 1, 2 we may infer that Aufilena was married. If she was married when CX was written, it is possible that Ovid alludes to Aufilena Trist. ii. 429, 30 *Nec contentus ea* (Lesbia) *multos uulgavit amores In quibus ipse suum fassus adulterium est*.

1. *contentam*, but *Nuptarum*. So Lucilius ap. Lact. v. 9. 20 *Vni se atque eidem studio omnes dedere et arti Verba dare ut caute possint, pugnare*

*dolose. Blanditia certare, bonum simulare uirum se; Insidias facere, ut si hostes sint omnibus omnes.* Lex Bantina 18, 19 C. I. L. i. p. 45 *iouranto per Iouem deosque . . . sese facturum neque sese aduersum hanc legem facturum.* Lex Iulia Municipalis 17 *Queiquomque frumentum populo dabunt, dandumue curabit;* and so, I think, Lucr. vi. 956 *Et tempestate in terra caeloque coorta In caelum terrasque remotae iura facessunt.* uiro solo. Merc. iv. 6. 8 *Vxor contentast quae bonast uno uiro.* Afran. Epistul. 116 Ribb. *Nam proba et pudica quod sum, consulo et parco mihi, Quoniam comparatum est, uno ut sinus contentae uiro* (K. P. Schulze).

3. *succumbere*, of cohabiting. Varro R. R. ii. 10. 9 *Quas uirgines ibi appellant, nonnunquam annorum xx, quibus mos eorum non denegauit ante nuptias ut succumberent quibus uellent.* Mart. xiii. 64. 1. Hence *succuba*. Orat. Claudii Imperatoris in Orelli's Tacitus Excurs. ad Ann. xi *Tarquiniensi matre generosa sed inopi ut quae tali marito necesse habuerit succumbere.*

4. The interpretation depends on the meaning of *patruo*. (1) Aufilena may have committed incest with her *uncle*: then *matrem fratres concipere ex patruo* will be either (a) by incest with an uncle to have sons that as born of the same mother are *brothers*, as the children of an uncle and a niece are cousins (*fratres* in another sense); or, (b) to be a mother who by incest with her uncle bears sons, who as her uncle's children are also her cousins (*fratres patruels*). (2) Aufilena committed incest with her *brother*; then *matrem* and *patruo* are both in reference to *fratres*, the mother and uncle respectively of the incestuous offspring, 'that the mother by intercourse with the uncle should conceive sons who are at once brothers (*fratres*) as the sons of the same father and mother, and cousins (*fratres patruels*) as the offspring of a brother and sister.' This is, in my judgment, the most probable view, as giving each word its significance in relation to the others. MSS omit *concipere*. B. Schmidt prefers the conjecture of the early Italians *ex patruo parere*, which has the advantage of alliteration and might be compared with C. I. L. ii. 3475 *Nec nimium matres concupiant parere.*

## CXII.

THERE is nothing to identify the Naso of this epigram. In the trial of Cluentius 688 | 66 Q. Voconius Naso, had acted as *iudex quaestionis* Cluent. liii. 147: and he must have held the praetorship in that or some other year, Flac. xxi. 50. See Waddington Fastes 24.

Salmasius is right in calling the epigram very obscure: but most of the alterations suggested are unconvincing. It is possible that the word *multus* had popular meanings which have not reached us for that very reason: at any rate none of the commentators quite establish the sense they give it.

Danysz compares Mart. i. 67—

*Liber homo es nimium, dicis mihi, Ceryle, semper.  
In te qui dicis, Ceryle, liber homo est,*

where however the reading is doubtful. See Friedländer in loc.

1. **Multus** cannot be shown to mean *multorum hominum*, 'a man of many friends,' like *homo perpaucorum hominum*. The possible senses are (1) 'tall' or 'large,' as we sometimes say of a tall or gross man, 'there's a great deal of him.' So Ov. Am. ii. 4. 33, 34 *Tu quia tam longa es, uelut heroidas aequas, Et potes in toto multa iacere toro*. (2) 'Multiplied' or 'manifold' like *multo Hercule* Macrob. S. iii. 12. 6 the diverse Hercules, or Hercules under many shapes. Naso might then be **Multus homo** as indifferently *uir* or *mulier* (Balth. Venator). (3) Turning up often and in many places, Flor. iv. 2 *multus in eo proelio Caesar fuit*, much in company, so 'tiresome.' Men. ii. 2. 41 *hominem multum et odiosum*, de Orat. ii. 4. 17 *qui aut tempus quid postulet non uidet aut plura loquitur aut se ostentat aut eorum quibuscum est uel dignitatis uel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnum aut multus est* (officious, troublesome, A. S. Wilkins) *is ineptus esse dicitur*, and thence 'loquacious,' as in de Orat. ii. 87. 358 (Wilkins) or 'prolix.' (4) Marcilius and lately J. B. Bury in Bezzenberger's Beiträge viii. p. 329 thought **multus** might stand for *molitus* = *fututus*. Magnus in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher for 1888 p. 484 supports this by the analogy of *colo cultum, adulesco adultum*; and quotes for the obscene sense of *molere* Petron. 23 and 93, Hor. S. i. 2. 34, Theocr. iv. 58. He reserves this meaning of **multus** for the last clause *multus es et pathicus*. In the first clause he explains **Multus** as *loquax*. In the intermediate clause the word has both meanings, primarily of *loquax*, allusively, and by anticipation, of *fututus* 'non est, ut tu, loquax, nec fututus (sed fututus).' The epigram becomes no doubt clearer, thus interpreted; but (a) it is arbitrary to make **Multus** = *loquax* in the first clause: it must surely have some bodily reference. (b) It has not yet been shown that *molitus* was ever written **multus**. On the whole, it seems more probable that the prevailing idea is (1) or (2) and that this combines with (3) 'there's much of you' passing into 'you're too well (commonly) known,' as we might say of a public man who happened to be full in person, that he was a large figure much in the public eye. **neque tecum multus homo qui Descendit**, i.e. (1) *neque multus homo (est) qui tecum descendit*; (2) *neque multus tecum (est) homo qui tecum descendit*. The position of **tecum** is designedly ambiguous: in (2), **multus tecum** = 'is seen often in your company,' and *descendit* is of course obscene.

2. **Descendit**, as some word is required to prepare the way for **pathicus**, must be primarily obscene, and it might perhaps be pronounced nearly as *Te scindit*, Haupt's ingenious conj.; so Iuven. xi. 164, cf. *inclinare* Iuven. ix. 26, x. 224. But it may also have (2) the sense ascribed to it by Gronovius *Observat.* iii. 12 'in forum uenire.' Phil. ii. 6. 15 *Hodie non descendit Antonius*. viii. 2. 6 *Consul se cum praesidio descendurum dixit*. Rosc. Am. xlv. 133 *Aller tibi descendet de palatio et aedibus suis*. de Orat. ii. 66. 267 *in forum descendens*; or (3) of stepping into a bath. Schol. Iuven. viii. 86 *Cosmus luxuriosus fuit, qui solium in quod descendebat, multis diuersorumque unguentorum odoribus miscebat*. Catullus associates *cinaedi* with baths in XXXIII: and so Martial. **multus es**, returning to **multus homo es** of the first clause as now explained by *neque tecum multus homo est qui Descendit* of the second, ends with a new definition of the meaning as **pathicus**. **et** explains **multus** nearly = *et quidem*, 'in fact.'

## EXCURSUS ON CXII.

MANY critics have doubted the correctness of *Mullus*. Thus Munro conj. *Mutus*, Bährens *Mundus*, E. B. Birks *Mulus*, 'a mule of a man,' cf. LXXXIII. 3. I add one more suggestion.

*Nullus* homo es, Naso : neque tecum *nullus* homost qui  
Te scindit : Naso *nullus* es et pathicus.

*Nullus homo* = a nobody, a man of no account : in the second clause it has its ordinary sense of *nemo*.

## CXIII.

PLEITNER (Q. Val. Catullus Epigramme in Iul. Caesar und Mamurra Speyer 1849) has identified the Maecilia of this epigram with Mucia, wife of Pompeius. The arguments in favor of this view are—

1. The change from *Maecilia* to *Mucilla* is a very slight one, whether we suppose a corruption in the MSS, or assume that Catullus disguises the name, as he seems to have done in the case of Aquinus. *Mucilla* would be a diminutive of *Mucia*, as *Domitilla Claudilla Terentilla Liuilla Octaulla* from *Domitia Claudia Terentia Liuia Octavia* (Schwabe Quaestt. p. 214); and the diminutive might be used with a notion of disparagement as in Suet. Oct. 69 (ibid).

2. Mucia committed adultery with J. Caesar, and was accordingly divorced by Pompeius on his return to Italy after his conquests in the East 693 | 61. Plut. Pompeius 42 'Εξύβρισε γὰρ ἡ Μουκία παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ πόρῳ μὲν ὢν ὁ Πομπήιος κατεφρόνει τοῦ λόγον' πλησίον δὲ Ἰταλίας γενόμενος καὶ σχολάζοντι τῷ λογισμῷ μᾶλλον, ὥς ἔοικε, τῆς αἰτίας ἀψάμενος ἐπεμψεν αὐτῇ ἀφαισιν, οὔτε τότε γράψας οὐθ' ὕστερον ἐφ' οἷς ἀφῆκεν ἐξειπών. ἐν δ' ἐπιστολαῖς Κικέρωνος ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται. Cicero says the divorce was much approved Att. i. 12. 3. Mucia afterwards married M. Aemilius Scaurus, a man of profligate character, Ascon. in Scaurianam p. 19 Orelli; and is perhaps the same Mucia who is mentioned with Fulvia by Val. Maximus ix. 1. 8 as prostituting her chastity in the house of Gemellus, in the consulship of Metellus Scipio 702 | 52 (Schwabe p. 217).

The name Maecilia is a real one, e.g. C. I. L. ii. 1277 *Maeciliae P. F. Herennianae*; and this throws some slight additional doubt on a theory certainly very plausible.

The two dates B.C. 70 and 55 are interesting on a very different ground; the first as the year in which Vergil was born; the second as that in which, on Oct. 15, Vergil assumed the *toga uirilis*, Lucretius died. (Donatus in uita Vergilii.)

In the first consulship of Pompeius, Maecilia counted two paramours; now that fifteen years have elapsed and Pompeius is a second time consul, Maecilia still counts two, but with the addition of a thousand to each unit. Nothing breeds like adultery.

1. **Consule Pompeio primum** with M. Licinius Crassus 684 | 70. The Romans reckoned their age by consuls. *Nec quotus annus eat, nec quo*



*sit nata require Consule*, says Ovid to the lover, A. A. ii. 663. 4. **solebant**. Plautus has *solere cum uiris* of women cohabiting with men Cist. i. 1. 38 and it is possible that Catullus constructs the accusative *Mecitiam* after *solere* in this sense, not as dependent on an infinitive understood, *stuprare* or something similar. Cf. the construction of *posse* with an accusative sens. obscen. Hor. Epod. xii. 15, Mart. iii. 76. 4, iii. 32. 1, 2, 3, xi. 97. 1 (Friedländer). Mähly ingeniously conj. *molebant*.

2. **nunc iterum**, with Crassus 699 | 55. The occasion was memorable for the games exhibited by Pompeius, including a show of 600 mules in the *Equus Troianus*, 3000 *craterae* in the *Clytaemnestra*, and a great display on the last day of elephants. Cic. Fam. vii. 1. 2.

3. **sed creuerunt milia in unum Singula**, 'but there has been an increase of a thousand for each one of the two,' i. e. instead of two there are 2000. The only other sense possible would be to take **in unum** with *milia*, a thousand taken together i. e. in the aggregate, 'Two still remain, but grown in each case to an aggregate of 1000.' Seneca Epist. 95. 27 contrasts *singula* and *in unum* as individuals and an aggregate.

#### CXIV.

THIS and CXV describe an estate of Mentula's at Firmum, a Picenian town somewhat to the south of Ancona. The reason which determined Catullus to devote two poems to this subject was probably the opportunity it gave him of another attack upon the *decoctor Formianus*. *Firmanus* would suggest *Formianus*, even though the change to *Formianus* which was introduced into the text as early as Muretus and afterwards adopted by many editors, has been rightly rejected by Conr. de Allio as metrically impossible.

The Picentine territory was a very fertile one (Varro R. R. i. 2. 7, Colum. iii. 3. 2) and the language of Catullus in 1 *salutis non falso diues Fertur* implies that the owner of this Firman manor was thought a fortunate man. Nor does Catullus deny that it was a fine property to look at; but its value was not equal to its size, the greater part of it was unproductive, either forest-land or marsh or water. Hence the profits derived from it were less than the necessary outlay (4). From CXV. 7 *Omnia magna haec sunt* I think we may infer that in mere extent it was considerable; the depreciation of CXV. 1, 2 is perhaps exaggerated; if Mentula is Mamurra, he would probably take care to make his property at Firmum correspond with his wealth elsewhere; cf. Att. vii. 7. 6 *Et Labieni diuitiae et Mamurrae placent*.

Firmum was a town of Picenum, far away from Formiae, the "urbs Mamurrarum." We might fairly then infer, I think, that Mamurra got his "Firmanus saltus" by the favor of Caesar. We find in the Gromatici vet. (lib. col. i. p. 226 Lach.) this statement: *Ager Firmo Piceno limitibus triumuiralibus in centuriis est per iugera ducena adsignatus*. If the triumvirs made this assignation, it is likely enough that Caesar may have intended to do something of the same kind: and he may well have bestowed by special grace on the favored Mamurra an "ager uiritanus." Munro, p. 222.

Mentula has an estate at Firmum which may well entitle him to the name of rich; for what a variety of fine things there are in it! Game, fish, meadow and arable land in profusion. Still it does him very little good; for the costs are greater than the returns after all. Allow then that he is a rich man; still he is a rich man in want of everything which constitutes wealth; allow his manor to be a fine one, still the master of it is a beggar.

1. **Firmanus**, Att. iv. 8b. 3. **saltu**, which is technically a measure of land = 800 iugera (Varro R. R. i. 10 fin. *Quattuor centuriae coniunctae, ut sint in utramque partem*<sup>1</sup> *binæ, appellantur in agris diuisis uirilit publice saltus* i. e. 200 iugera  $\times 4 = 800$  iugera) is here extended to mean an assignment of land, where the ground was mainly pasture or wood, not arable: see on CXV. 5, and cf. Varro L. L. v. 36 *Quos agros non colebant saltus nominarunt*. The abl. is not after **diues**, but causal or instrumental, 'on account of.'

2. **qui tot**. Some MSS have *qui quot*, 'for think what a number of fine things it contains!' as in Iuuen. vi. 277, Heaut. ii. 3. 122 *quae solet quos spernere*. Mart. xiii. 95 *Matutinarum non ultima praeda ferarum*, *Saeuus oryx constat quot mihi morte canum*! Dionys. Antiqq. Rom. iii. 21 *ἐξέστηκας τῶν φρενῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐπείκεισαι κακοῖς τίνος ἔχων ψυχὴν θηρίου*; **res** is often used of edibles, see Boot on Att. iv. 10. 1. So *πράγματα*. Diphil. "Ἀπληστος fr. 14. 2-4 *Kock ῥάφανος λιπαρά, σπλαγχνίδια πολλά, σαρκία Ἀπαλώτατα, οὐδὲν μὰ Δία τοῖς ἐμοῖς βλίτοις Ὀμνία πράγματ'*, where Kock cites Antiphan. 183. 2 *σκόροδα, τυρός, πλακοῦντες, πράγματα Ἐλευθέρ'*.

3. **Aucupium**, 'game,' so *uenatio*. Cels. ii. 26 *Minima inflatio fit ex uenatione aucupio piscibus*. De Fin. ii. 8. 23 *Piscatu aucupio uenatione*. [MSS give mostly *Aucupiā*, whence Stat. read *Aucupia*, and so Munro. The instances collected by Wölfflin Archiv für Lateinisch. Lexicogr. v. p. 394 show that this indeclinable **omne genus** was used both with singular and plural nouns, but preponderantly with plurals. The earliest writer cited, Cato de Re Rustica, has both, 8. 2 *hortum omne genus, coronamenta omne genus*. In Varro and Lucretius the plural is more usual. Here Wölfflin follows me in writing and punctuating *Aucupium omne genus*. **omne genus** with **Aucupium**, since the birds would be found in the *ingentes siluae* as well as in the *saltus paludesque* CXV. 5. Yet Pomponius ap. Non. 488 has *omne piscati genus*.

4. **Nequicquam**, Lucretian, iv. 1110. **exuperat**. Plin. H. N. xvii. 213 *Vilitate redditum impendia exsuperant*. It is hard to determine whether the nominative is **saltus** or **Mentula**. Munro prefers the latter, translating 'he exceeds his profits by his expenses.' The Datanus gives *sumptus fructibus*. Keeping this we might explain: 'an abundance it is vain to exhaust: it exceeds all outlay by the returns it brings.' This, though harsh, might be defended by the similarly vague use of *nequicquam* in Lucretius.

5. **sit**, sc. **Mentula**. **dum omnia desint**, 'you may call him rich in name, if you allow that his extravagance leaves him without a penny,' Munro.

<sup>1</sup> *Binæ* = double, after the *centuria* contained twice its original number of iugera. Varro L. L. v. 35 *Centuria prima a centum iugeribus dicta, post duplicata retinuit nomen*.

6. Mart. xi. 12 *Ius tibi natorum uel septem, Zoile, detur, Dum matrem nemo det tibi, nemo patrem.* *dum modō ipse* is impossible metrically, and weak as Latin, after *dum* in 5. Munro's *modō* abl. of *modus*, 'by all means let us praise his manor's fine proportions, provided we may criticize its owner as one to whom all proportion is unknown,' is, I think, a little flat, even in view of the *mentula magna minax* of CXV. 8. But none of the conjectures satisfy: Lachmann's *domo*, A. Palmer's *dum modo homo*, or B. Schmidt's *modulo*. Postgate's *Saltus laudemus commoda, dum ipse egeat* is ingenious; but it is perhaps more likely that *DUMDOMIPSE* has been corrupted into *DUMMODIPSE*. The antithesis would thus be very distinct: let us praise the park and its out-door appurtenances, provided only its master is a beggar in his home.

### CXV.

MENTULA owns about thirty *iugera* of meadow-land, forty of arable: the rest of his estate is marsh and water. Such a man may well be thought a Croesus, possessing as he does in one single estate an endless variety, meadow, plough-land, forest; pasture and marsh stretching on to infinity. Yet vast as all this is, the master of it is vaster still; what shall I call him? he is not a man, but a monstrous menacing *Mentula*.

1. *habēt*, like *fulgēt* Lucr. ii. 27, *scirēt* v. 1049, both retained by Munro. See Prof. Nettleship's Appendix on the lengthening of short final syllables in Conington's Vergil, Vol. iii. *instar*, 'to the amount of,' to be constructed with *triginta*. This use of *instar* with numerals is pretty common. Att. xvi. 5. fin. *Mearum epistularum nulla est συναγωγή, sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta*. Colum. iv. 8 *recedere ab ipso codice instar unius digiti spatio conueniet*. xii. 28. 1 *Item odorama trila, id est irim cribratam, quae sit instar pondo quincuncem et trientem*. The accusative *iugera prati* depends immediately on *habet*<sup>1</sup>. [If any change is required, I suggest *bostar* = *boum stationem*. Phillipps Glossary 4626 *Bostar boum statio boum passus* (l. *pastus*), a word corresponding to Callimachus' *βοόστασις* Del. 102. A similar corruption of *bustar* (a funeral pile) into *instar* seems traceable in the MSS of Ausonius' Ludus vii Sapientum 108 *At ille captans funeris instar sui*, said of Croesus on his funeral pile.]

2. *maria* can hardly be as sometimes explained 'big talk,' like *maria et montes polliceri* Sallust Cat. 23; nor, as Passerat thought, channels of sea-water introduced artificially like the *euripus et maria* which Lucullus constructed for fish in one of his villas near Naples, Plin. H. N. ix. 170, unless indeed we suppose that the sea overlapped the estate and formed such channels naturally. It remains to interpret it 'mere waste water,' a succession of salt-water or brackish pools, (cf. the *septem maria* made by the Po not far from its mouth Plin. H. N. iii. 119 *qua largius uomit septem maria dictus facere, 120 egesto amnis impetu per transuersum in Atrianorum paludis quae septem maria appellantur*), which took up space and gave the estate its appearance of size, but could not be turned to much profit. Vulpis' interpretation 'lakes' is not supported by Suet.

<sup>1</sup> See Wölfflin's detailed examination of *instar* in Archiv für Latein. Lexicographie II. 581-597.

<sup>2</sup> See my article on Ausonius in Hermathena for 1886, pp. 1-18.

Ner. 31 *Stagnum maris instar*, nor by the two passages of Pliny cited above, where the name *septem maria* no doubt expresses the mixture of the Padus with the sea-water.

4. *totmoda* would be like *multimodi* Lucr. iii. 856, if the MS reading there could be trusted: but Lachmann in his note on the passage reads *multimodis* and says '*multimodus* adiectivum lingua Latina non agnoscit, quamquam *totmoda* Catullum scripsisse multi crediderunt 115. 4.' Yet Fronto p. 24 Naber has *omnimode*. The Venice codex of Catullus recently collated by K. P. Schulze gives *tot modi* as a variant. If this means anything, it must be for *totmodis*, a possible nominative; *qui totmodis possideat* representing *qui totmodis possessor sit*, 'so manifold a land-owner.'

5. *saltusque* as part of a *sallus* in its technical sense of an estate of 800 iugera (*sallus in saltu*) would seem to mean pasture-grounds, the main idea of the word. Aelius Gallus ap. Fest. p. 302 M. *Sallus est ubi silvae et pastiones sunt, quarum causa casae quoque*. The hypermetrical *que* of *paludesque* conveys the idea of infinite continuity, like Vergil's *pugnent ipsique nepotesque* Aen. iv. 629. Munro wrongly concludes from this verse that Mamurra 'got in addition to his *sallus* of 800 iugera or so a large tract of uncultivated hill and forest-lands:' an inference at variance with the plain meaning of the poem.

6. *Hyperboreos* here probably represents the extreme north, but with the farther notion of fabulous or mythical. Plin. H. N. iv. 89 *Pone eos montes (Ripaeos) ultraque Aquilonem gens felix (si credimus) quos Hyperboreos appellauere, annoso degit aevo, fabulosis celebrata miraculis. Ibi creduntur esse cardines mundi extremique siderum ambitus*. Schol. Aeschin. in Ctesiph. 165 *ἐξω τῆς ἀρκτου ἐν ὑπερβολῇ λέγει, ὃ λέγομεν αὐτοὶ ἐν Ὑπερβορίois*. *mare Oceanum*, the great Northern ocean. *Oceanus* is similarly used adjectively in Caesar B. G. iii. 7 *proximus mare Oceanum*, Mel. ii. 6. 2 *nostrum et Oceanum mare*, iii. 1. 1 *Oceano litore*, Tac. Ann. i. 9 *marī Oceano*, Iuven. xi. 94 *Oceano fluctu*. But in Tac. Hist. iv. 12 the Mediceus gives *mare Oceanus*<sup>1</sup> and Nipperdei (Opusc. p. 41) denies the correctness of the MS reading in Caesar B. G. iii. 7, Tac. Ann. i. 9. In this verse of Catullus he admits it, 'potest dixisse Catullus.' The idea of the Ocean as a sea surrounding the earth must have been unusually familiar to the Romans at this time in connexion with Caesar's conquests in Gaul and Britain. Paus. i. 33. 4 *Ὁκεανὸς γὰρ οὐ ποταμὸς, θαλάσση δὲ ἐσχάτη τῆς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πλεομένης, προσοικοῦσιν Ἰβηρες καὶ Κελτοί, καὶ νῆσον Ὁκεανὸς ἔχει τὴν Βρεττανῶν*. Cicero had said *usque ad Oceanum* Verr. v. 20. 50: and Pliny H. N. vii. 136 says of Cornelius Balbus, the Gaditane favorite of Caesar and Pompeius, *primus externorum atque etiam in Oceano genitorum usus illo honore (consulatus)*.

7. *Omnia magna haec sunt, tamen ipsest maximus ultro*. 'All these are on a large scale; but the master goes beyond them and is largest of all.' *ipse* and *ultro* are combined similarly Varro R. R. iii. 17. 6 *Neque satis erat cum non pasci e piscinis, nisi etiam ipse eos pasceret ultro*, Plaut. Men. v. 2. 79 *insanire me aiunt, ultro quom ipsi insaniunt*. Very similarly Fronto p. 27 Naber *amoris imber non uestem modo permanauit, sed in medullam ultro fluit*. In all these cases *ultro* seems to waver between the ideas (1) of a farther point reached (*ultra*) and (2) of a

<sup>1</sup> *Ocean*; the MS.



thing done by *oneself* in antithesis to the action of others (*ipse*). MSS have *maximus ullor*, without meaning, though the words are joined by Vergil Aen. viii. 201. Of other emendations the cleverest is Bruner's *maximu multo* which, pronounced in a particular way, might sound as *maximu mulo* (*multo* = *mentula*), and prepare the ear for the *mentula magna minax* of 8. It is also the end of a Lucilian hexameter xx. 6 L. Müller *nugator cum idem ac nebulo sit maximu multo*<sup>1</sup>.

8. **Non homo, sed**, a recurring comic formula, Stich. i. 2. 7 *Non homines sed sues*. Asin. ii. 4. 88 *Lupus est homo homini, non homo*. Ter. Hec. ii. 1. 17 *lapidem non hominem*. Att. i. 18. 1 *non homo sed litus atque aer et solitudo mera*. vii. 13. 6 *Non hominem, sed scopas solutas*. In Pison. fr. 6 *beluam non hominem*. Petronius S. 38 *fantasia non homo*. 43 *discordia non homo*. 44 *piper non homo*. Schol. Iuven. iv. 77 *Pegasus iuris studio gloriam memoriae meruit ut liber non homo diceretur*. Menand. Ὀργή 363 Kock Κτήσιππος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος. Philemon Incert. 155 Kock Στρατιῶτα, οὐκ ἄνθρωπε. **sed uero**. Lucr. iv. 986 *Non homines solum sed uero animalia cuncta*. Verr. Act. Secund. V. 6. 14 *O praeclarum imperatorem, nec iam cum M. Aquilio fortissimo uiro, sed uero cum Paulis Scipionibus Mariis conferendum!* **mentula magna minax**, alliteration in the style of Plautus and the comic writers. For *minax* cf. Priap. 31. 1, 51. 28, 56. 2, 72. 2.

## CXVI.

ADDRESSED to Gellius, probably the person attacked in LXXIV, LXXX, LXXXVIII-XCI: see introduction to LXXIV. There I have suggested that the Gellius of this poem is the person afterwards known as Pedius Publicola, an orator mentioned by Horace (S. i. 10. 28) as affecting, like his contemporary Messala Corvinus, a pure Roman style from which Greek words were carefully excluded. The present poem proves Gellius to have been a man of some culture; for only to a man of culture could translations from Callimachus be an acceptable offering. The first line indeed almost implies that he was a very exacting critic; as such he might look for something more exact and finished than the only specimen which we still retain of Callimachean translation by Catullus, the *Coma Berenices*. That version can scarcely be said to show signs of careful word-hunting (*studioso animo uenante*); it is rough, and where we can compare it with the original, inexact; we may form some idea of its imperfections by contrasting it with the one complete elegy extant of Callimachus, the *Λουτρά Παλλάδος*, a poem marked by singular delicacy of feeling, as well as by great finish in language and versification. If Catullus ever completed his design of sending Gellius a Latin version of some of the works of Callimachus, the poems have not descended to our time; unless indeed the fragment of five lines *Num te laena montibus Libystinis* (LX) may be so considered.

I see no reason to doubt that this epigram was written after the others; the anger which Catullus says he had vainly attempted to soothe would

<sup>1</sup> Schwabe and Postgate conj. *maximus alter*, the former constructing *alter* with *Non homo*, the latter explaining *maximus alter* as an allusion to the *Great Pompeius*. Neither view seems to me probable.

naturally have been roused by the gross charges which those epigrams contain: while the solemn tone of the concluding lines of CXVI is stamped with the conviction of a mutual hostility which nothing now could alter.

1. **studioso** is not to be constructed with **tibi** (B. Schmidt Proleg. p. xiv) but with **animo**. **uenante**, like **saxosus sonans** G. iv. 370, **lenis crepitans**, **inexpletus lacrimans**, etc. Bährens cites from Plin. Epist. vi. 16. 9 *quod studioso animo incohauerat, obit maximo*. Catullus alludes to the careful hunting for words which was part of the literary training introduced by the Alexandrian poets and grammarians: this word-hunting was called **λεξθηρία**, Gell. ii. 9. 4, cf. Plato's **θηρεύειν ὀνόματα** Gorg. 489 B, **θηρατὴς λόγων** Aristoph. Nub. 358, and Anth. P. xi. 321. 5 **Συνδίσμων λυγρῶν θηράτορες**, οἷς τὸ μὴν ἢ σφὶν Εὐδαε καὶ ζηρεῖν εἰ κύνας εἶχε Κύνελωψ. Plautus had said *de meis uenator uerbis*, 'take your cue from me' (Tyrrell) Mil. iv. 2. 38 in a different sense. **requirens** expresses the labour of the search as Ovid says Pont. iii. 4. 47 *Vix bona post tanto quaerenti uerba subibant*. Longin. Rhet. p. 164 Bake τὰ καθ' ἑκαστα τῶν ῥημάτων ἀπαινεύομεν κατὰ πόδας ζητοῦντες.

2. **uti possem mittere carmina**, 'seeking how possibly to send,' refers not to the difficulty of transmitting the verses to Gellius, but to the labour of transmuting Callimachus adequately.

3. **Qui = quibus carminibus**. Cato R. R. 11 *cola qui florem demant, 12 constabilis ligneas qui arbores comprimat*. Capt. v. 4. 6 *Aut aniles aut co-turricanes dantur quicum lusilent* (Holtze Synt. i. p. 379). **nobis = mihi** with **lenirem** immediately preceding is noticeable. See on CVII. 5, 6.

4. The order of the words suggests constructing **Telis** with **mittere** like **βάλλειν ἐπὶ δοῦπι**, etc. and so Hertzberg in his metrical Translation 'dass du nach meinem Leidendem Haupt nicht stets zieltest mit deinem Geschoss.' The addition of **in usque** is rather in favor of this; as the instrumental ablative is more in place where a distinct **effort** is expressed. Otherwise **Telis infestum** might be taken together, 'and that you might not attempt to shoot far enough to reach the head which your arrows assailed,' cf. Q. Curt. iv. 6. 22 *interiora quoque urbis telis infesta erant*. **in usque** is rare. Stat. Theb. i. 438 *Quae causa furoris Externi, iuuenes? neque enim meus audeat istas Cuius inusque manus*. By **Telis** Catullus no doubt alludes to some attack, either written or spoken, which the author of the gross epigrams on Gellius might naturally draw upon himself. Ad Herenn. iv. 28. 38 *Vehementer auditorem commouet eiusdem redintegratio uerbi et uulnus maius efficit in contrario causae, quasi aliquod telum saepius perueniat in eandem partem corporis*. Ov. Pont. iv. 6. 33 Ehwald of a speaker *Cum tibi suscepta est legis uindicta seuerae, Verba, uelut tinguat singula, uirus habent. Hostibus eueniat quam sis uiolentus in armis Sentire et linguae tela subire tuae*. For **mittere** used absolutely 'to shoot,' 'aim,' cf. Ov. F. iii. 584 *Quam quantum nouies mittere funda potest*.

5. Caesar B. G. iii. 14 *intellexit frustra tantum laborem sumi*.

6. **hio**, 'in this point,' viz. of averting your anger. Others read *huc*, 'to effecting this object,' sc. of 'appeasing your anger.'

7, 8. 'Instead of that, while I am wrapt close to parry those darts of yours, you shall be pierced by mine and so pay the penalty.' Catullus means that pacificatory measures had failed; he can no longer play the

suppliant to Gellius, or attempt to avert a hostility which has declared itself openly. On the contrary he makes up his mind for war, and in that war he is sure to have the best of it. *Contra* refers both to *euitamus* and *dabi*, and more to the latter. In what sense Catullus was close-wrapt against the attack of Gellius he does not say: possibly he means that it would be dangerous to Gellius to attack him by name. Or, if we suppose the epigrams against Gellius were written before Catullus was known as a poet, *amictœi* might express the obscurity which he enjoyed under his incognito, as compared with the notoriety the epigrams drew down upon Gellius. Compare the words of Apuleius on his obscure accuser Aemilianus Apol. 16 *Hoc mihi aduersum te usu uenit, quod qui forte constitit in loco lumine conlustrato atque eum alter e tenebris prospectat. Nam ad eundem modum tu quidem quid ego in propatulo et celebri agam facile e tenebris tuis arbitraris, cum ipse humilitate abditus et lucifuga non sis mihi mutuo conspicuus.* *amictœi* seems to include not only the safety of the poet's own person, but the difficulty of seeing him; a close wrapper would of course serve both purposes. So Aristides T. ii. 155 Dindorf *εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἄλλοι παραβοῶντες ῥητορικὴν ψέγουσι, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν θορύβωντες ἐκ τοῦ ψέφους τοξεύοντες κατὰ Ἀλκαίον... τοσοῦτόν μοι πρὸς τοίτους ἀποκεκρίσθω, ὅτι ῥητορικῇ παρὰ πόδας διδῶσιν τὴν δίκην.* Eur. H. F. 198 *ἐκὰς δ' ἀφεστῶς πολεμίου ἀμύνεται* *Τυφλοῖς ὁρῶντας οὐτάσας τοξεύμασι, Τὸ σῶμά τ' οὐ δίδωσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, Ἐν εὐφυλάκῃ δ' ἐστί.* Munro with most editors prefers *amictu*, 'by wrapping my toga round my arm,' as a simple and easy means of parrying the darts: cf. Sen. de Constant. 7 *Non minus latro est cuius telum opposita ueste elusum est*, Pacuuius Hermiona (Non. 87) *currum liquit, clamyde contorta astu clipeat brachium*, Petron. S. 80 *intorto circa brachium pallio composui ad proeliandum gradum*, ib. 63 *inuoluta sinistra manu curiose*: Catullus would then mean 'I have only to lift my arm to be quite safe, my toga will defend me without any other armour.' But if this were the meaning, would *amictu* have thus stood alone? and if Catullus alludes to a covering of the head (4), *amictœi* would better include this than *amictu*.

8. *dabi*, the single<sup>1</sup> certain instance in Catullus of an elided *s*: an old-fashioned custom which Cicero considered in his time *subrusticum*, Orat. xlviii. 161. He adds that it was avoided by the new school of poets (*poetae noui*): and we may feel sure that Catullus would not have allowed it in any of his lyrics. It is noticeable that the elided *s* precedes another *s*; perhaps Catullus would not have admitted it before any other letter.

<sup>1</sup> See however on CXV. 4.

## FRAGMENTS.

## I.

SEE ON LIV.

## II.

A DEDICATORY poem to Priapus, written at or at least for Lampsacus, one of the chief seats of the worship of the god. Few poems of Catullus are so often quoted by the grammarians as this; it is ascribed to him by Terentianus Maurus, Atilius Fortunatianus, and Marius Victorinus, and cited, though without the author's name, by Censorinus p. 97 Iahn. The metre is called Priapeus, and was particularly associated with this ithyphallic divinity: it recurs in this connexion Priap. 86 in Bücheler's Petronius *Hunc ego o iuuenes locum uillulamque palustrem*, a poem which was long ascribed to Catullus and inserted in the editions of his works. Catullus himself uses the metre XVII *O colonia quae cupis ponte ludere longo*.

We can hardly infer from this tetrastich that Catullus actually consecrated a planted inclosure to Priapus. Possibly the poem was written for a Roman friend living at Lampsacus, as the Greek epigram to Priapus Anth. P. xvi. 242 may have been written for a resident in the town. We may conjecture that the occasion of a visit to Lampsacus prompted not only this, but whatever other poems Catullus wrote on the same subject. Dedicatory or epigrammatic verses on Priapus were common (Priap. 6. 13, and cf. Anth. P. xvi. 236-243). An inscription is extant C. I. L. v. 2803, usually appended to the Priapea, 82 Bücheler, in which, like Catullus here, a certain Perspectus dedicates a temple to the god.

1. *lucum*, some MSS *locum*, a frequent confusion. Apuleius plays on the two words Flor. i. 1 *Cum aliqui lucus aut aliqui locus sanctus in uia oblatus est*, Apol. 56 *Nullus locus aut lucus consecratus* (Koziol Stil des Apuleius p. 203). *dedico consecroque*, formulistic like *dabo dedicoque* on a Narbonese altar to Augustus (Hermes 1872 p. 203). **Priape**, a god unknown to Hesiod, and introduced at a later period, Strabo 587 fin.

2. 'At Lampsacus your special domicile.' Priapus calls himself *Ille tuus ciuis*, *Lampsace* Priap. 55. 6. and *so te ruricola*, *Lampsace*, *tula deo* Ov.



mann) than *abit*. Hephaestion defines the Proceleusmatic tetrameter γίγνεται γάρ, ἐκάστου τῶν πρώτων τριῶν ποδῶν ἀναπαίστων λελυμένου εἰς τὸν προκελευσματικόν, δίμετρον ἀκατάληκτον ἀναπαιστικόν, quoting as a specimen Aristophanes' τίς ὄρεα βαθύκομα τὰδ' ἐπέσυτο βροτῶν; and Marius Victorinus p. 2545 P., 99 Keil *recipit autem prima et secunda et tertia sede proceleusmaticum, quarta Tribrachyn aut Anapaestum, quibus et clauditur, scilicet detracta Proceleumatico syllaba ultima, aut duabus brevibus ultimis in unam longam redactis propter anapaestum uti metrum sit, non numerus*: and he gives as specimens *Nemus aue reticuit, ager homine sonat, and Perit abit auipedis animula leporis*. This is also the specimen given by Terent. Maurus 1464, with the explanation that the verse is a tetrameter, with the last foot a tribrach. Cf. the line quoted from the lyric poet Timotheus fr. 7 Bergk (Etym. M. 630) Τεταμένον ὀρίγανα διὰ μυελοτρεφῆ with the appended description σύγκειται δ' οὗτος ὁ στίχος ἀπὸ προκελευσματικῶν, ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος ποὺς ἀναπαίστός ἐστι τῶν δύο βραχέων (? βραχειῶν) εἰς μίαν μακρὰν συναρθευσῶν. This is also the form of the metre in the four verses of Ausonius Parent. 29 Schenkl. *Et amila Veneria properiter obiit*, etc. On the other hand the writer, whom the MSS call Atilius Fortunatianus but whom Keil identifies with Caelius Bassus, gives as a specimen of the Proceleu(s)maticus three verses, of which the first ends with an iambus, the second and third with an anapaest: though the reading of the first verse is not quite certain, 2679 P., 265 Keil.

## V.

SEE ON LXIV. 235.

**Lucida.** Plin. H. N. ii. 164 *Eadem est causa propter quam e nauibus terra non cernatur e nauium malis conspicua, ac procul recedente nauigio, si quid quod fulgeat religetur in mali cacumine, paulatim descendere uideatur et postremo occulletur*.

## VI.

THE new edition of Thilo and Hagen gives the passage of Servius on Aen. v. 591 thus: 'FRANGERET. deciperet, falleret, est autem uersus Catulli.' This is not a *quotation* from Cat. LXIV. 115, but a mere reference to it as the original which Vergil copied. See L. Müller, Q. Ennius p. 141.

## VII.

**Cannabiae** (for *Cannubiae*) is perhaps right. Gratius Cynege. 46, 7, has *At pauper rigui custos Alabandius horti Cannabias nutrit siluas*, where *siluas* is explained by the statement of Pliny H. N. xix. 174 that hemp was known to grow to the height of a tree.

## VIII.

CATULLUS is here speaking of the famous Rhaetian wine, which was of course well known in Verona, Comum, and the neighbourhood of the Rhaetian Alps. Strabo 206 Οἱ μὲν οὖν 'Ραιτοὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας καθήκουσι τῆς ὑπὲρ Οὐγγάρων καὶ Κώμου. Καὶ δ' γε 'Ραιτικὸς οἶνος τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰταλικαῖς ἐπαυνο-

μένων οὐκ ἀπολείπεσθαι δοκῶν ἐν ταῖς τούτων ὑπωρείαις γίνεσθαι. Celsus iv. 12 mentions Rhaetic as a good wine for complaints of the chest. Mart. xiv. 100 *Si non ignota est docti tibi terra Catulli, Potasti testa Raetica uina mea.* Verg. G. ii. 95 *et quo te carmine dicam, Raetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.* Plin. xiv. 67 *In Veroniensi item Raetica, Falernis tantum postllata a Vergilio*, ib. 25 *Namque est aliquis tantus locorum amor ut omnem in iis gloriam suam relinquunt nec usquam transeant totae. Quod et in Raetica Allobrogicaque quam supra picalam appellauimus euenit, domi nobilibus nec adgnoscentis alibi. Fecundae tamen bonitatis uice copiam praestant, eugenia feruentibus locis, Raetica temperatis.* This was the favorite wine of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 77). From Sen. N. Q. i. 11 *His quod nomen inponimus? an facio quod Vergilius, qui dubitauit de nomine, deinde id de quo dubitarat proposuit? Et quo te nomine dicam Raetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis*, it might seem that it had another name: but he probably quotes from memory. There was an inferior *Raetica uua* Plin. xiv. 41.

Otto Keller in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. für Philol. 1886, p. 698 connects the German *Riessling*, a kind of grape, with *Raetica*.

Bährens thought Catullus attacked the Rhaetic vintage and its admirer Cato, as stated by Servius, in a lost *prose* work: and Stüss accepts this as probable. In default of any evidence to prove such prose authorship, I hold with Peter (in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 185, p. 749) that it is more likely that Catullus' attack was contained in some lost *poem*.

## IX.

BIRT Antike Buchwesen p. 405 concludes from Pliny's words that Catullus wrote an imitation or paraphrase of Theocritus' *Pharmaceutriai* (Eidyll. ii), probably containing the same number of verses, 166; and that this Catullian version may have suggested to Vergil the employment in his own *Bucolics* of a subject not specially bucolic.

I have suggested, Vol. I. p. 357, that it was in this Theocritean poem that Catullus introduced the word *turben* (see fr. xii), in reference to a magic wheel: for Servius on Ecl. viii. 21 translating the refrain of Theocritus' Eidyl Ἰνυξ, ἔλκε τυ τήνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα uses the word *O turbo maritum meum domum adducito*; and it is obvious that the form *turben* would have been more appropriate in this sense, and not impossible that Catullus used it as a neuter.

Peiper however, whom Stüss follows, explains Pliny's words *Theocriti apud Graecos, Catulli apud nos proximeque Vergili incantamentorum amatoria imitatio* as meaning only that Catullus in LXIV *Currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi*, Vergil in Ecl. viii. *Ducile ab urbe domum mea carmina, ducile, Daphnim*, follow the example set by Theocritus in the refrain of Eid. ii Ἰνυξ, ἔλκε τυ τήνον κ.τ.λ., and that in all three cases the refrain was used as a form of incantation.

## XI.

THILO and Hagen give the note on Servius as follows (v. 610): NVLLIVISA. *ad ipsum retulit numen: nam arcus semper uidetur: quem non Irim, sed uiam Iridis dixit. alii celeritatis esse uolunt 'nulli uisa.' notandum*

*sane etiam de Iride arcum genere masculino dicere Vergilium: Catullus et alii genere feminino ponunt, referentes ad originem sicut 'haec Cattus' et 'haec gallus' legimus.*

Most MSS give *cattis* and Sitl confidently infers from them the existence of this *-is* form, although his interesting researches into the history of the domestic cat (*Archiv für Latein. Lexikographie* v. pp. 133-135) seem else only to have encountered *cattus catta*. It is true however that the Greek *κάττις* might seem to support a Latin *cattis*.

In spite of this threefold verdict in favour of *cattus* or *cattis* in the passage of Servius, I cannot help doubting whether the other reading *Attis* (accepted by Lachmann) is not right. We must remember that the word *cattus* is at best rare; it does not seem to occur before Mart. xiii. 69 *Pannonicas nobis numquam dedit Vmbria cattas* (*gattas* some MSS); that it is difficult to see in what connexion this animal could be mentioned by Catullus; that the MS reading *haec cattis* would easily be corrupted from *haec attis*; that *haec attis* is the actual reading of one MS (*F*) and the correction of another (*L*); that in connexion with *haec gallus* (the well-known name of Cybele's *castrati*) such a reference to *Attis* would be natural, and much more when the poet in question was Catullus: lastly that in Catullus' *Attis* not only is this name combined with a feminine participle (LXIII. 8. 32, 49, or adj. 11, 33), but *Gallus* appears in a fem. form 12, 34.

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